





L<sup>t</sup>. Col<sup>t</sup>. Pepper.





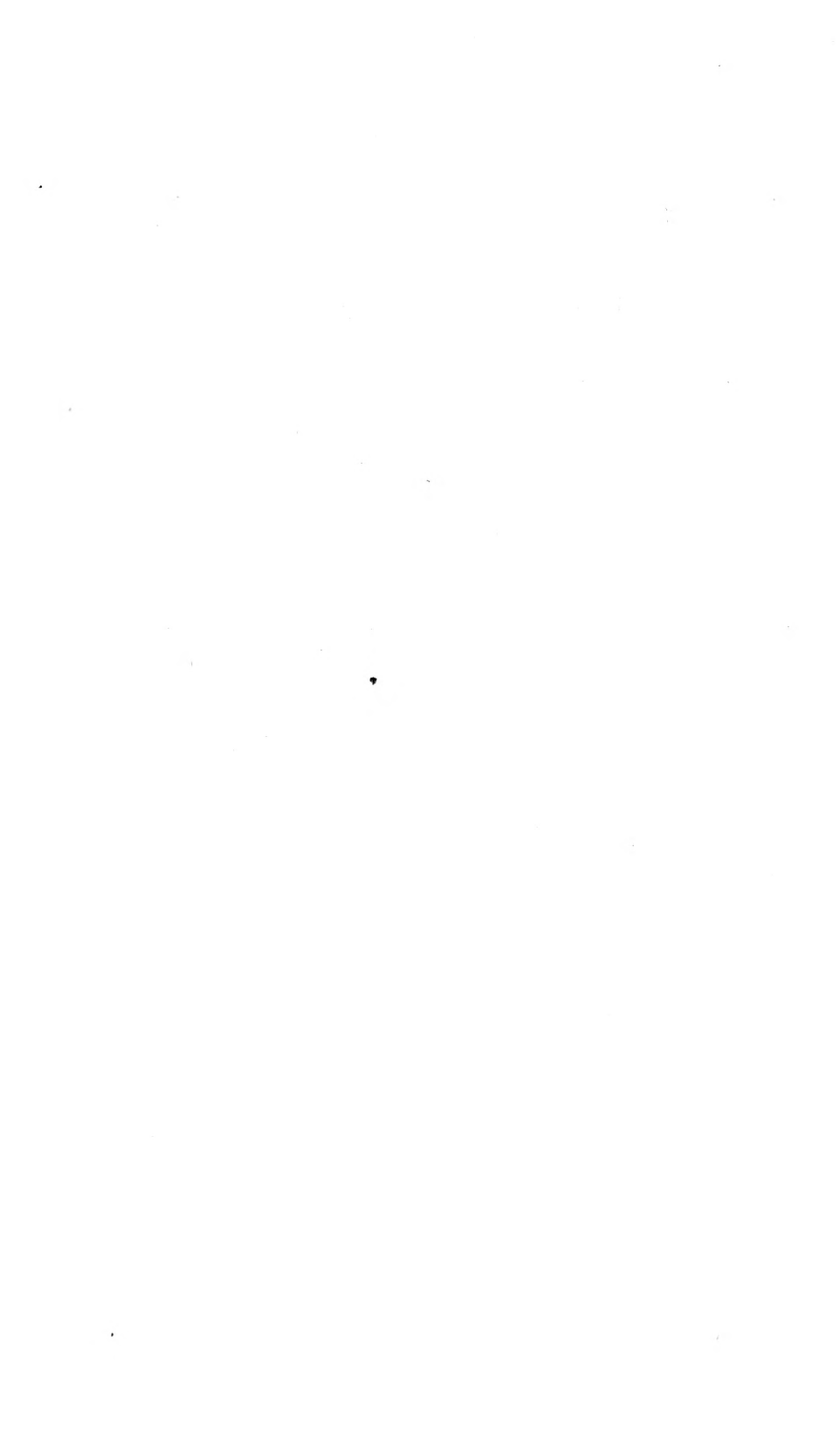




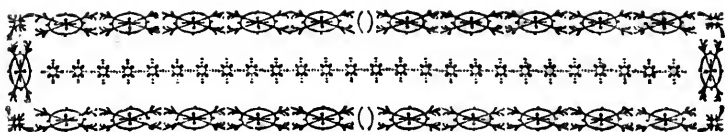
THE  
ANNUAL REGISTER,  
OR A VIEW OF THE  
HISTORY,  
POLITICS,  
AND  
LITERATURE,  
For the YEAR 1789.



L O N D O N:  
Printed for J. DODSLEY, in Pall-Mall, 1792.







## P R E F A C E.

**I**T would be taking too great a liberty with our readers, to trouble them with any detail of the causes which have unfortunately delayed us in the production of this Volume. Private misfortune and calamity can afford no satisfaction in the recital, and are too common even to gratify curiosity. We have been long in the service of the Public, and have at length felt the “cankered tooth of time,” and experienced some of those vicissitudes incident to his progress, which, however grievous, must be endured.

We trust the perusal of our Work will afford sufficient conviction, that whatever deficiency

## P R E F A C E.

deficiency in point of time we have been unavoidably subject to, there has been none in the diligence and industry which we have exerted in the discharge of our duty. The great and extraordinary affairs of War, Politics, or Revolution, which have agitated almost every part of Europe, necessarily swelled our History far beyond its proper and customary limits; while these, and other corresponding circumstances, rendered it, by many degrees, the most arduous task we had ever undertaken. Happy, however, shall we always deem ourselves, and count all labours and difficulties light, if we continue to receive from the Public that favour and kindness which we have so long experienced, and which it is our utmost wish and ambition to appear in some degree worthy of receiving. With respect to gratitude and intention we shall never be found deficient!

T H E

THE  
ANNUAL REGISTER,  
For the YEAR 1789.

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
EUROPE.

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C H A P. I.

*Retrospective view of the affairs of France from the year 1787. Confidence of the parliament of Paris on their success in invalidating the royal edicts for the new taxes. Remonstrance on behalf of their exiled members. Answer. Resolutions, in violation of the King's injunctions. Consequences of the parliament's declaration of its own incompetence to levy, or to concur in levying taxes. Spirit of liberty general, and accompanied with a rage for innovation. Nothing but reforms heard. Admirable reform in the codes of civil and criminal justice. Edict in favour of the Protestants, happily passed. Flame already raised on the subject of Lettres de Cachet, much increased, by the seizure and committal to prison of M. de Catalan, president of the parliament of Tholouſe. Long remonstrance from the parliament of Paris to the King, discussing many points relative to the constitution. Some remarks on that piece, with an account of the origin of enregistering edicts, and of the cause and manner of holding beds of justice. Answer from the King to the remonstrance. Administration deeply but secretly engaged in framing a new constitution. Some particulars of this system, and of the form, composition and nature of the new supreme court, which was to supersede*

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*sedes* parliaments in all matters relative to government. Silence, and apparent inactivity of the court, excite suspicions, which are increased to general apprehension and alarm, by circumstances observed at the royal press in Paris. M. d'Espremeuil, by indirect means, becomes master of the whole secret, which he communicates to the parliament. Sudden meeting of that body; various resolutions passed; order copies of their proceedings to be transmitted to all parts of the kingdom. Meet again suddenly on an attempt made to arrest M. d'Espremeuil, and M. de Monsabert. Strong protest, ordered to be presented by a deputation to the King. King refuses to receive the deputation, and the parliament are suddenly surrounded by a regiment of guards. Commanding officer enters the assembly, and commands, in the King's name, the two obnoxious members to be delivered up. After a long silence, the president answered, that they were all Monsaberts and d'Espremeuils; upon which the officer returning for fresh orders, the parliament continues locked up in its chamber for near twenty-four hours. On the officer's return, charging them, under the penalty of high treason, to deliver up the two members, they still continue silent, but the two gentlemen give themselves up. Bed of justice ordered to be held at Versailles on the 8th of May. Protests entered, and addresses prepared by parliament. King severely reprehends the conduct of parliament in his introductory speech: Announces the new constitution: Ordinances read and registered: Farther particulars of them. Strong protest of Parliament, dated at seven o'clock the following morning. Protest seconded by a letter signed by a number of the peers, declaring their utter disapprobation of the reforms in government, and their determination to take no part in the functions assigned them by the new ordinances. Clergy no less disposed to adhere to the parliaments than the peerage. Another protest and memorial from parliament, who order their proceedings to be sent to a notary, and effectual means used for their publication. Governor of Paris enters the chambers of parliament at the Palais Royal, seizes their papers and archives, then locks and seals up the doors. All the parliaments in the kingdom about the same time suspended. Chatelet issue a strong declaration against all these proceedings that were inimical to the parliaments. Memorial of an extraordinary nature, signed by forty-seven peers and bishops, presented personally to the King. Alarming aspect of affairs. Seditious and treasonable papers continually posted upon the gates and in the streets of Paris. Publication of an incendiary libel of the most obnoxious and dangerous kind. Great disorders and tumults in the provinces. Bretagne. Count de Perigord, governor general of Languedoc, obliged to fly from Tholouse, and the troops to withdraw from that place. At Grenoble the excesses carried to the highest pitch of violence; much blood said to be shed; Duke de Tonnerre saves his life by surrendering the keys of the palace; his large and valuable cabinet of medals and curiosities plundered and destroyed. Arsenal and magazines seized by the rioters. Parliament of Britany meet in defiance of the King's

*King's express command. Pass violent resolutions. Are interrupted by the military. Great riots and confusion. Nobles of the province meet, and send a deputation to Versailles, who are sent to the Bastille. Great and visible agitation of the King's mind. Peculiarly unfortunate in the great sacrifices which he made for procuring felicity to his government, and to afford ease and content to his subjects. Recapitulation of some preceding events. Dreadful hurricane destroys the harvest and vintage, in several of the finest parts of the kingdom. Great benevolence to the distressed people; and various measures pursued for their further relief. Arret relative to the meeting of the states general, causes great joy, and occasions the stocks to rise. King obliged to relinquish the new constitution. Arret relative to payments at the treasury, causes the greatest confusion in Paris, along with a violent run upon the bank. Ministry changed. Archbishop of Sens retires to Italy, and Mr. Neckar is placed again at the head of the finances. Great public joy; stocks suddenly rise; and general good humour prevails. Measures pursued by the new minister to support the public opinion. Parliament of Paris meet. New altercations with the crown, relative to the prosecution of the late ministers. Great riot in Paris, and several of the populace slain. Parliament publicly burn the King's arrets. Convention of the notables, in order to settle the preliminaries necessary to the meeting of the states general. Distresses of the people greatly increased by the extreme severity of the winter.*

**W**E have shewn in our historical article for the year 1787\*, the strong remonstrances made by the parliament of Paris to the king towards the close of that year, in consequence of the banishment of the Duke of Orleans, and of the imprisonment of two of their members, on account of their conduct in the course of the great debates which took place in the king's presence, upon the preceding memorable 19th day of November.

Although the king seemed to have given way in some degree to their remonstrances, by alleviating the circumstances of severity which in the first instance attended the imprisonment of the Abbe Sabatier and M. Frenau, yet, as the banishment of the duke

and the confinement of the two members was still continued, and the principle of authority upon which both were founded still maintained, the parliament shewed themselves determined to persevere in their opposition to and reprobation of the measure, until they should finally succeed in overthrowing the principle itself, and thereby procuring future security to the persons of their members, and an unlimited freedom to their deliberations and debates.

They had already succeeded in carrying a great point against the crown, and in establishing a precedent the most dangerous to its authority that could be conceived: a precedent without example in the history of the French nation, or of its parliaments. This was the pro-

\* Vol. xxix. pp. 196 to 200.

test by which they in effect annulled the two edicts for raising a tax upon territorial revenue (or, as we call it, a land tax) and another upon stamps; they having in that piece declared, that all persons who attempted to carry those edicts into execution should be considered as guilty of treason, and regarded as enemies to their country. A vigorous government would have easily set aside the effect of this protest; for the edicts had been enregistered according to the usual forms in a bed of justice, which, from the undisputed sanction of ages, conferred on them all the efficacy and force of laws; but the enfeebled state of the court, the want of vigour in its councils, along, probably, with an ill-founded hope, and ill-timed desire of accommodation, served all together to induce the king to submit to this dangerous inroad upon his authority, and to relinquish these decrees, which could alone have enabled him to conduct the business of government with security and effect.

After such a triumph over weakness and fear in so recent an instance, the parliament could not be much apprehensive of a failure of success in other matters, which, though of consequence to themselves, were of infinitely less importance to the crown. The last answer received from the king, viz. "That they should not demand from his justice what solely depended upon his will," was taken into consideration by that body soon after the opening of the new year, when they passed several resolutions, strongly enforcing and enlarging the principles laid down in their former remonstrance. They charge the

king with departing from the professions held out in some of his former declarations or answers. Their reprobation of *lettres de cachet*, places them in every point of view that could render them odious or terrible. They describe them as being the common instruments of concealed views and private revenge; and they scruple not to charge the monarchy with degenerating into actual despotism, through the nefarious abuse of the king's authority by ministers, in applying these letters, without any form of law, or colour of justice, to deprive individuals of their liberty. They argued upon strong ground, that the same power which arbitrarily deprives the first prince of the blood and the two magistrates of their liberty, might, undoubtedly, with greater ease, attack that of all other citizens; and if the repeal of such arbitrary orders depends only on the monarch's goodness and pleasure, it must follow that no Frenchman has any security for his liberty, that *lettres de cachet* are to have the effect of laws, and are to be considered as necessary and essential parts of government.

This principle they totally condemn, as subverting the most sacred foundations of the constitution. They declare, that they therefore cannot, and indeed that they ought not, to recur to the king's goodness in order to obtain the liberty of the duke and of the two magistrates: such a step would be no less derogatory from the essential principles of the constitution, and of public order, than from the generous sentiments of the sufferers themselves. That, all his majesty's subjects are equally interested in preventing the sad effects of so dangerous

dangerous a principle; and that they neither could themselves, nor ever would, make any difference between the cause of the prince and the magistrates, and that of any other citizen whatever. They sum up the whole, with repeating their declaration, that parliament, therefore, will never cease to demand the liberty or the impeachment of the prince and the magistrates; and that, thinking themselves equally bound to employ the same zeal and the same perseverance for the welfare of all their fellow citizens, they will not cease to intreat his majesty to grant and to insure to every Frenchman, that personal security, which is solemnly promised by the laws, and due to them by the principles of the constitution.

The parliament was sent for 17th. to Versailles, to receive the king's answer to this remonstrance, which afforded as little satisfaction to that body as any of the preceding. They were informed, that although he had condescended to receive their representations in behalf of the two magistrates whom he had punished, he did not think proper to recall them. That, besides, the manner in which their representations were expressed, was by no means such as to deserve his indulgence. On the subject of *lettres de cachet*, he assured them, that the lawful liberty of his subjects was as dear to him as to themselves; but he at the same time declared, that he would not suffer his parliament to oppose the exercise of an authority, which the tranquillity of families so much and so often required; which magistrates themselves so frequently solicited and implored; and of which

he had the satisfaction to know, that he had made a more moderate use than his predecessors. He then informed them, that the expressions made use of in their resolutions of the 4th instant, were as indiscreet and improper, as those which they had used on the 27th of August in the former year. That he therefore suppressed the resolutions of both those days, as being contrary to that respect and submission which his parliament owed, and was bound to set an example of to all his subjects. He concluded by forbidding them to pursue such a conduct, or to form any such resolutions in future.

So little effect did this charge produce, that the parliament, on the succeeding day, passed a new set of resolutions, which besides reiterating the principal arguments and positions of the former pieces, held out such new matter, as, if it could not add much to their force, was, however, well calculated to operate upon the minds of the people, which were already exceedingly inflamed in every part of the kingdom.

In this manner was the contest continued for some time longer, the apparent firmness on one side being met by an equal degree of perseverance on the other: nor in the mean time was it at all clear, whatever concessions had been made, or even if all the claims of the parliament had been granted, that the latter had left it in their power to relieve the crown from its distresses, or consequently to enable it to carry on the business of government. This proceeded from their unexpected declaration, that it was neither in their power, nor in that of the crown, nor of both united,

to grant or to raise any money by the levy of new taxes upon the people; a declaration evidently designed to lay the king under a necessity of convoking the states general of the kingdom.

Whatever were the particular motives of the party by whose influence that body was induced to make this voluntary surrender of its authority, the new doctrine ran like wild-fire through the nation. In proportion to the general odiousness of taxes, was the joy at this emancipation from all actual authority to raise new ones; whilst the patriotism of that body, which had thus testified its own incompetence, in order thereby to establish the disqualification of the crown, was scarcely less than idolized. Thus circumstanced, it would not have been easy for the parliament, however inclined, to retract its own measure, and to resume a competence which it formally declared it did not possess; as little could it renew that ancient authority in the crown, which it had just endeavoured to cancel.

In the mean time that spirit of liberty which we have heretofore had occasion to take notice of, and for the growth and progress of which we then assigned different causes, was not only now every where spread, but seemed already, in some instances and places, disposed to over-leap all restraints, and to trample upon that distinction of ranks, and those lines of subordination, which had hitherto not only been deemed necessary to the well-being of government, but even to the preservation of society.

This was accompanied by its usual concomitant, a spirit of innovation, which attempted to reach and to embrace every thing. The

French seemed transformed to a nation of projectors; and every projector wished to be a reformer. Nothing almost could be heard or listened to but reforms; and the language and disposition seemed to become as prevalent at court as with the people or parliaments. Two instances, however, occurred, in which this spirit was landably and advantageously exerted. The first was a general reform in the codes both of civil and criminal justice, a reform long wished, and than which nothing could be more wanted; but its difficulty and magnitude had hitherto deterred any minister from venturing upon so arduous an undertaking. M. de Lamoignon, the keeper of the seals, had not only the courage to encounter these difficulties, but the happiness and honour to form so excellent a plan for completing the design, as to leave but little to be done by those who were destined to be his successors in carrying it into execution. And, for the relief of those persons who might be liable to trial in the interim, before the great work could be perfected, he introduced several most humane and essential regulations into the immediate proceedings of the criminal courts; particularly with respect to evidence, and the mode of obtaining it (in which the system was extremely faulty): and still more particularly in those cases where the life of the accused was affected.

The second was the edict in favour of the protestants, which was introduced by the king on the memorable 19th of November, and was registered by the parliament on the 29th of January 1788. This edict contained 37 articles, the greater number as well as the most essential of which, were those relating



lating to marriages, births, baptisms, and burials, subjects which had frequently been the cause of great trouble, difficulty, and grievance to the protestants, with respect to the legitimacy of their issue, and the legal descent of their inheritances.

While all France was waiting with the utmost attention and solicitude, the issue of the contest between the king and the parliament of Paris, relative to *lettres de cachet*, an incident took place in Languedoc which threw the whole kingdom into a ferment upon that subject. M. de Catalan, the president of the parliament of Tholouse, having, in conjunction with that body, refused to register the late edict for levying a tax of two twentieths on the nation, the king immediately ordered a *lettre de cachet* to be issued against the president, the execution of which was committed to the count de Perigord, governor general of the province. M. de Catalan was accordingly arrested, and sent prisoner to an old castle at the foot of the Pyrenean mountains.

The month of April brought on an argumentative written discussion between the parliament of Paris and the king, which afforded not only a more full explanation of the respective claims of the parties than had yet appeared, but likewise some view of their separate opinions with respect to sundry great questions of law, upon which the French constitution was either supposed to be founded, or its preservation appendant.

April 11th. The parliament presented a remonstrance, in which, representing the 19th of November as the epoch of a direct attempt to subvert the public rights, and to establish despotism, and stat-

ing all the subsequent proceedings as a continuation of the same system, they inform the king that his parliament can never allow, that one act of arbitrary power should destroy the essential rights by which his subjects had been governed for 1300 years past. They then enumerate several loose indefinite charges against government, as the grounds or justification of the present remonstrance,—that public liberty is attacked in its very principles; that despotism is substituted for the law of the land; that the privileges of magistracy are trampled upon, and parliament made the mere instrument of arbitrary power.

They declare that their privileges are not their own; that they are the property of the people at large, and that they, as trustees or conservators, are bounden to preserve them from violation. That the will of the king, alone, does not make a law complete, nor does the simple expression of that will constitute the formal act of the nation. It is necessary that the king's will, in order to be effective, should be published under legal authority; and that in order to make the publication of it legal, it must have been first freely discussed. "Such, fire! are the principles of the French constitution."

In support of this doctrine they go back to the early stages of the French monarchy, and endeavour to shew from history, the ancient as well as the more recent circumstances which attended the passing of laws, and which they represent as having been held indispensably necessary to give them validity. Under the first race of kings, the sovereign being surrounded by his court, either presented a new law

to the people, or they demanded one. In the first instance, the acceptance of the people, whose suffrages were entirely free, established the law: in the second, the proposed law was considered and debated by the court, (which was the royal council) according to whose suffrages, which were equally and inviolably free as those of the people, it was confirmed by the king's assent, or rejected. The same order was observed under the second race. The court was composed of noblemen, bishops, and senators. They were styled the *adjutants*, *co-operators*, and *administrators* of the public weal. In all cases, laws were enacted with the consent of the people, and the confirmation of the king through his court.

Under the third race of kings, they say, that the form of government did not change, although the court went under different names. It was at different times called the *king's court*, the *court of France*, the *royal court*, the *common council*, and the *parliament*.

Upon the whole it does not seem that the information obtained by these researches into the ancient history of the French monarchy, was much to the purpose, or served to throw any additional light upon the subjects of the present disputes. The consent of the people to the passing of laws would have been equally curious and important, if it had been shewn in what manner it was given or obtained; whether the whole nation assembled in one vast plain, to afford the sanction of its confused voice; or whether the suffrages were communicated by delegation. It might perhaps be found no less difficult

to establish the fact in one case than in the other.

It is always to be remembered in considering these contests, (and though we have heretofore mentioned it, it is of so much consequence to the subject that we shall venture to repeat the observation) that the French parliaments are properly courts of justice. That these bodies are merely administrators of the laws, without any power to make, or even, in the smallest degree, to alter or amend them. And that they are not farther removed from the powers of legislation, than from the most distant pretence of being considered in any degree as the representatives of the people. The powers of legislation have resided solely in the crown, ever since the convocation of the states has fallen into disuse; and it possessed them equally before, in the intervals between the meetings of those assemblies.

We have formerly shewn, that the practice of calling upon the parliaments, or courts of justice, to enregister the king's edicts, did not originate in an idea of their communicating any authority or force to those laws, nor even with a view of receiving their approbation, but merely as notaries to record and authenticate their existence, and thereby, as well to promulgate them, as to prevent any doubts being entertained by the public of their reality. The parliaments, however, as their popularity and power increased, and times and circumstances proved favourable to the design, assumed a right of judging whether these edicts were injurious to the public; and if this was determined in the affirmative, they, under the colour of a sort

of

of legal fiction, refused to register them. For they pretended, that being injurious to the people, and contrary to the king's wisdom, justice, or clemency, they did not believe them to be the king's real acts, but considered them as an imposition practised by his ministers; and on this ground they presented memorials or remonstrances to the king, placing, in the strongest colours they could, all the evil consequences which they presumed would attend their being passed into laws.

In troublesome times, or under weak administrations, this opposition was frequently successful, and the contested point was given up by the king. But if the governing power was firm and determined, the king had recourse to what was called a bed of justice; that is, he went in person, attended by several of the great officers of state, to authenticate and confirm his own deed, in the presence of the parliament, all the members of which had previous notice to attend; and as all debate was precluded by his presence, he had nothing farther to do, than to order the edict to be registered, a command which he saw executed upon the spot.—The circumstance of the French courts of justice holding the same name with the English parliament, we presumed might render this illustration not entirely unnecessary, although it be in part a repetition.

We now return from this digression to the remonstrance. After the quotations from history, and precedents which they had adduced, the parliament tell the king bluntly, that he could not suppose himself able, in defiance of all these testimonies, to destroy the constitution at a single blow, by concentrating parliament

in his own person. They put the following question, "Since then  
"there exists reciprocal duties be-  
"tween kings and subjects, what  
"would become of this principle in  
"practice, if kings by a single word  
"had the power of restraining some,  
"and of extending others, as they  
"pleased?"—And they conclude thus, "It remains therefore for us  
"to supplicate your majesty, to pay  
"an attentive regard to the state of  
"your kingdom. We are igno-  
"rant how long the enemies of ma-  
"jesty and the public tranquil-  
"lity, may have the ignominious  
"glory of triumphing over the  
"laws; but we will venture to an-  
"swer to your majesty, for the cou-  
"rage and fidelity of those who  
"have the execution of them."

The king, in his answer, after observing that he had perused their remonstrances very attentively, professes to answer them with such precision, that they should no longer doubt of his intentions, nor again attempt to oppose them. He tells them it was quite unnecessary to talk to him of the nature or prescription of enregistering, or of the manner which they adopted in giving their suffrages. When he went to his parliament upon the subject of a new edict, it was in order to benefit by their discussion of it, and from the light which he thus received, to determine in his own mind, after hearing their arguments and opinions, upon the propriety of passing the law, and of having it accordingly registered. This was exactly what he had done on the 10th of November. Every thing had been conducted precisely according to law, and to the ancient and established forms, at that sitting. He had heard all their opinions, and therefore their deliberations

deliberations were complete; they had done their part; he then decided according to his own judgment, and thereby fulfilled his. Their voices were not collected, because his presence rendered it unnecessary; his decision did not rest upon the number of votes: of what avail could it be then to know the exact majority, when their number afforded them no power?

For he insisted, that the collecting of suffrages was only necessary in his absence, as the most perfect means of affording him a precise knowledge of the sentiments of his parliament; but his presence rendered it not only unnecessary, but idle. He farther argued, that if the plurality of voices, in his courts, could forcibly direct his will, the monarchy would be changed to an aristocracy of magistrates; an event, as contrary to the rights and interests of the nation, as to those of the sovereign power. That would be, indeed (he continues) a strange constitution of government, which should reduce the will of the king to submit to that of his ministers; and subject the sovereign power to as many different determinations, as there were deliberations in the various courts of justice throughout the kingdom. But it behoved him to guaranty the nation from such a misfortune.

He likewise lays it down as a position or rule not to be departed from, that parliament had no authority to pass any arrêts (or decrees) either upon subjects of legislation or administration, which did not come to them from him. That he therefore reproves them for such arrêts as they had thus passed, and prohibits them from a repetition of the practice. And states, that to destroy, and leave no trace of an error,

which he is disposed to attribute to a momentary surprize or illusion, is to purify, and not to alter their registers.

He then seems to advert to their quotations and precedents, by putting the following question: For how many salutary laws, which now daily form the rules for guiding your judgments, is France indebted to the authority of her former monarchs? who not only ordered them to be registered without any regard to the plurality of suffrages, but in direct opposition to them, and in defiance of reluctant or resisting parliaments.—The king concludes abruptly, “These are the principles which ought to regulate your conduct; and I shall never suffer the smallest deviation from them.”

With opinions so directly opposite in regard to the prerogatives and authority of the crown, the privileges of parliaments, and the rights of the subject, as were now avowed by the contending parties, little hope of any compromise or amicable conclusion could remain; and it became every day more apparent, that things were drawing to a crisis, the management of which would be attended with greater difficulties than were yet foreseen; but which could scarcely fail in its effect of proving decisive, and of either establishing on a firmer basis the authority of the crown, or of modelling, altering, and perhaps greatly reducing its power. All civil public business was at a stand; for the provincial parliaments, as well as that of Paris, either refused to act under the present circumstances, or were disabled from acting; so that it was morally impossible things could continue long in their present state.

In the mean time, the ministers were

were deeply, but most secretly engaged in forming an extensive plan for a new order of government, which, if it could be carried into execution, would have freed the king entirely from that continual vexation and trouble which he had so long endured through the refractoriness of the parliament. This system, which was attributed to M. de La-moignon, was so extensive, that it seemed rather to carry the appearance of a new constitution, than to look like the repair of an old one. But its prominent and leading feature, was the establishment of a grand council of state and government, under the appellation of *La Cour Pleniere*, which was to be endued with such powers, and placed in the exercise of such functions, as would serve to carry the parliaments back to the original principles of their institution, and reduce them to the condition of mere courts of justice. This, however, was not all; it may be safely concluded that the court looked farther. It was intended that this court, by enabling government to carry on the public business without any other intervention, would thereby preclude the dreaded necessity of assembling, according to the king's promise, the states general.

As it was necessary, in order to render this supreme tribunal effective, that it should acquire, at the first view of its composition, the good opinion and confidence of the public, and thereby be enabled to surmount the strong prejudices which so new and important an institution must inevitably encounter, so it became a matter of indispensable necessity, that it should possess every possible degree of respectability, which could be derived from the

rank, integrity, or talents of its members. It seemed likewise to be part of the view of the framers, that by their being drawn from almost every order and class of men in the nation, they should carry the appearance, in a considerable degree, of being a representation of the whole.

In conformity with these purposes, the supreme court was to be composed of princes of the blood; peers of the realm; great officers of state; clergy; marshals of France; governors of provinces; knights of different orders; members of council; a deputation of one member from each parliament in the kingdom, and of two from the chamber of accounts and supply.

The number of which this court was to consist, was not yet determined; the king only declaring, that the members should not be so numerous as to create delay or disorder, nor so confined as to occasion incompetence, through accidental or unavoidable absences. The times of their meeting, and the length of their sittings, were to be regulated by the king's will, and by the pressure of public affairs.

Upon the whole, this plan, without any reference to its success, shewed greater marks of design and ability, than had been displayed in any other instance by the present administration.

Notwithstanding the means of secrecy adopted by the court, in the conduct of this weighty business, it was impossible, with such multitudes of eyes and ears eternally on the watch, not to afford room for apprehension and suspicion. The mere circumstances of silence and apparent inactivity, would have been sufficient for this purpose. But the unusual haste, precaution,

precaution, and secrecy, which were apparent at the royal press at Paris, not only excited general suspicion, but spread an universal alarm. Above an hundred additional workmen were taken into that department; the place was surrounded, night and day, with armed guards; nothing could escape the vigilance of the centinels; and no person whatever was admitted without certain credentials which could scarcely be counterfeited. Every body foreboded, and seemed to believe, that some designs fatal to the parliament were in agitation; and while rumour continually magnified or created imaginary dangers, the apprehension, dismay and terror spread among the Parisians was inexplicable. Nor was that body itself in a much more tranquil state; some imminent danger was expected, and a total ignorance of its nature, and of the intended mode of attack, could not serve in any degree to lessen the apprehension.

It is not to be expected, that a secret possessed by a number of persons can long be preserved, if the vigilance of suspicion be thoroughly roused on the side interested in the discovery. It is said, that M. d'Espremeni, an active and eminent member of the parliament, by means not publicly known, had the fortune to penetrate this arcanum, without the trouble or danger of forcing the guards. It is likewise supposed that he succeeded by corrupting some of the printers; that he became thereby thoroughly master of the whole project and design of the court; and, it is even said that he obtained a copy of the new code so far as it was yet printed off or known.

The discovery of a design, in ci-

vil matters or politics, as well as in war, is generally equivalent to a defeat. Nothing could be more destructive to the views of the court, than the present proved. The information thus obtained, occasioned a sudden meeting of the parliament on the 3d of May; and as they could not avow the source from whence it was derived, they declared, as the grounds of their meeting, and intended proceedings, that they had been apprized by public report, as well as by a variety of concurring circumstances, that some fatal stroke was in meditation; and they proceeded to state, under the following heads, the causes which drew upon them the enmity, and the present evil intentions of the ministers;—the resistance which they had made to the two ruinous taxes on estates and on stamps;—their refusal to acknowledge their own competence to the granting of subsidies, and to admit the validity of the king's edicts for that purpose;—their soliciting a convocation of the general states;—and their laying claim to liberty for every individual subject.

They then declare it to be their duty, to withstand firmly all plans and attempts of ministers contrary to law, and to the good of the nation. That the system of compliance with the king's absolute will, as expressed in his different answers, was a proof of the minister's destructive project of annulling the national government, which parliament is bound to maintain, and a duty from which it will never depart. That France is a kingdom governed by a king according to the laws.—And, that the right of raising subsidies is in the nation, represented by the states general duly convened.

They

They farther declare, that the court of parliament, alone, has a right to confirm the king's orders in every province, and to order them to be enregistered, in case they are conformable to the constitutional rights of the province, and to the fundamental laws of the kingdom.—That they have likewise the privilege of not being arrested by any order whatever, without being immediately put into the hands of those judges with whom they are connected by their situation.—That the court protests against all acts of force attempted in violation of the principles here laid down, and unanimously declare that they are bound by oath not to deviate from those principles.—That each member is resolved to oppose all innovations, nor will he administer justice in any place but the court itself, composed of the same persons, and possessing the same privileges.—And, that in case they should be compelled by force to disperse themselves, and rendered unable to act in their proper capacities, they each declare, that they will return their privileges and rights undiminished into the hands of the king, his family, the peers of the realm, or the states general. To guard against any suppression of their acts at this sitting, they ordered copies of these proceedings and resolutions to be immediately transmitted to all the courts of the kingdom.

It is easily seen, that the three last clauses were the result of the late unavowed discovery.

The king having ordered M. d'Esprennil, and M. de Montambert, two of the most active members of the parliament, to be arrested in their houses, these gentlemen, in consequence of private intelligence,

evaded the immediate danger by keeping out of the way, but did not on that account refrain from attending in their places at a meeting of parliament which was hastily convened on that account the ensuing morning. The suddenness of the meeting did not prevent the attendance of twelve peers, who, it might be thought, were waiting in readiness to answer any emergency that should occur. The assembly having taken into consideration the measures pursued on the preceding night for arresting the two members in their houses, unanimously concurred in a strong remonstrance upon the subject, which they ordered to be presented to the king by a deputation of their body.

In this piece, besides reiterating former arguments with respect to personal liberty in general, and their own claims to peculiar privileges and exemptions, they charge the royal advisers with departing from all the principles of monarchy, and availing themselves of every resource which despotism could suggest to overturn the fundamental laws of the kingdom. And they conclude, by representing the evils and dangers which must ensue from such proceedings, and by beseeching him to discharge those who advised them; as the farther prosecution of them would involve the public liberty and the lawful authority of the king in such difficulties as to render it impossible for the magistrates to extricate them, or to pursue their duty.

But they were now to experience difficulties which perhaps they did not expect. The king refused to receive the deputation, and a regiment of guards suddenly surrounding

rounding the palais, prohibited the departure of any of the members. In this state of consternation and apprehension, M. Degout, who commanded the troops, entered the assembly, and demanded, in the king's name, that the two magistrates, whom he had ordered to be arrested, but who had made their escape, should be delivered up to him. A profound silence ensued for some time, and not a man would point them out. At length the president put an end to this solemn silence, by rising up and declaring, (accompanied with the acclamations of the whole court) that he, and every other person present, was a d'Espremeniil and a Monsambert, for that they all coincided entirely with these members in their opinions. On this answer, M. Degout returned to the king for fresh instructions; and so infirm and indecisive was his council, so destitute of resource were his ministers, that this small, and easily to be foreseen difficulty, occasioned a pause of full twenty hours before an answer, or the measures to be pursued, could be determined.

During all this time, the parliament continued locked up in its chamber, and surrounded on all sides by guards. On M. Degout's return, he summoned all the members to their respective places, and charged them, under the penalty of being declared guilty of high treason, to point out M. d'Espremeniil and M. de Monsambert. Not a word of answer was returned, nor a look tending to supply its place, until the silence was broken by the rising of the two members in question, who requested the permission of the court to deliver themselves up. The former was conducted to the state pri-

son of St. Marguerite, in one of the islands near Toulon; and Monsambert to the Pierre Encise.

Neither this example, nor the impression made by so many hours confinement under an armed force, were at all sufficient to change the conduct, much less to break the spirit of the parliament. They were assured of the support of a powerful political faction, under whose influence they were believed to act; and still farther fortified by the general spirit and disposition of the nation, from those new ideas of liberty, and of the principles of government, which were so suddenly and so universally spread throughout all ranks and orders of the people.

The 8th of May being appointed by the king for holding a bed of justice at Versailles, and it being expected by themselves, as well as every body else, that the apprehended tempest would on that day fall upon the parliament, that body spent the intervening time in preparing a long and argumentative address, to be presented to him by the president, before the final denunciation took place. Representations of this sort were now so frequent, that the entering particularly into them would be equally tiresome and useless. The principal new heads of grievance were, the late violence committed by investing the seat of sovereign justice with armed men during the sitting of parliament, including all its attending circumstances;—the arbitrary power exercised in the seizure of the two members;—and the refusal of the king to receive their deputation.

In expatiating on these subjects, some strong expressions are used. They partly charge, and partly insinuate, a fixed system for the overthrow



throw of the established constitution or government, by changing the monarchy into a despotism, to have been in train ever since the year 1771.—They tell the king in unequalled terms, that the French nation will never adopt the despotic measures which he is advised to.—That the fundamental laws of the kingdom must not be trampled on, and that his authority can only be esteemed so long as it is tempered with justice.—They declare for themselves, that the interests of the nation have determined each and every member not to take any part, either as a body, or individuals, in any functions which may be the consequence of new regulations; nor will they assist in any measures which are not founded on the unanimous resolutions of parliament, endowed with all its privileges. Such, they say, is the nature of the French monarchy, and a departure from it may produce the most unhappy consequences.

The parliament had previously entered formal protests against the seizure and imprisonment of the magistrates.

May 8. On opening the bed of justice, the king, preparatory to the introduction of his reforms, pronounced a speech of extraordinary length, and loaded with severities against the conduct of the parliament. He charges them with persevering in a continual deviation from their duty, on every point, for a year past. That not satisfied with placing the opinions of individual members on a level with the sovereign authority, they had presumed to assert, that no edict could be valid without their registry, while they declared, that they could not be forced to the performance of that duty, even though the nation suf-

fered by the refusal: that the provincial parliaments had followed their example both in their pretensions and acts: that the consequences have been, that laws equally necessary and desirable have not been carried into execution: that the most useful operations of government have been interrupted or stopped, and public credit greatly injured: that justice has been suspended, and the national tranquillity shaken.

The king declared, that he owed to his subjects, to himself, and to his successors, the suppression of these excesses. That he might have inflicted punishment; but he rather chooses to remedy the evil, and prevent its effects. That he had, indeed, been obliged to punish a few of the magistrates; but acts of rigour were contrary to his nature, even when they were indispensable. That he did not intend to destroy his parliaments, but to bring them back to their duty, and within the limits of their original institutions; to convert the moment of a crisis into a salutary epocha for his subjects; to begin a reform in the judicial order, by that of the tribunals, which are the base of it; to procure justice to be administered in a more expeditious and less expensive manner; and to entrust the nation again with the exercise of its lawful rights, which must always be united with his. That he would moreover establish, in every part of his kingdom, that unity of design and system, that correspondence of the parts with the whole, without which a great state is only weakened by the number and extent of its territories. That the order he intended to establish was not new; for there was but one parliament in the kingdom when Philip the Fair fixed his residence at Paris.

That

That a large state should have but one king, one law, and one power to enregister its acts. That tribunals, with a jurisdiction confined to prescribed limits, should have the future superintendance of the majority of law-suits; and the parliaments those of greater importance and consequence. That there should be a single court of judicature, in which the laws common to the whole kingdom should be enregistered and preserved; and that to complete the whole reform, a general assembly of the states should be convened, not only once, but every time the state of affairs should require it. "Such," says the king, "is the re-establishment which my love for my people has prepared; and I consecrate this day for the commencement of their happiness, which is my only desire."

M. de Lamoignon, the keeper of the seals, followed the king in a speech preliminary to the introduction of the new code, which was so voluminous as to fill a quarto volume of more than 400 pages. The ordinances, though printed, were each signed by the king, and counter-signed by the Baron de Breteuil.

The first of these, with respect to importance, though not the first in place, and that which excited so much opposition and alarm, was the establishment of the *cour plénier*; the supreme authority of which was considered by the parliaments as violently invasive of their privileges and rights, and as totally subversive of their power. The ordinance (we know not upon what ground) calls this institution a *re-establishment*; and the members were to hold their places for life, which tended much to free their proceedings from the influence of the crown, notwith-

standing their original appointment by it.

Another ordinance affected the parliament of Paris so deeply, that it could not be less odious to that body than the former. It went to the reduction of the number of its members, from 120 to 67. This measure was founded on or supported by a precedent, derived indeed from bad times and an arbitrary reign. This was the celebrated edict of Louis the XIth, dated the 21st of October, 1467, which peremptorily ordains that the parliament of Paris shall be composed of a president, nine sub-presidents, twelve counsellors chosen from among the clergy, with a prescribed number of commoners and honorary members, which was not in the whole by any means to exceed that we have stated. So that this was in fact, rather the revival of an old law, than a new regulation with respect to that body.

The first ordinance, with respect to place, went to the establishment of a new order in the administration of civil justice in the provinces. Two new courts were to be instituted in each of the several districts therein specified; the one to decide all litigations not exceeding in value 4,000 livres; the other, all such above that amount, as shall not exceed 20,000 livres; reserving to the parliaments in their respective provinces, when they resume their functions, the right of determining all suits of greater importance.

The second went to the abolition of those inferior courts, which in France were numerous, and whose degrees of authority being ill defined, and in different places variously extended in the exercise, not only occasioned much perplexity and confusion in the courts of justice, but

tended likewise to nourish a spirit of endless litigation among the people. The functions of these petty courts were (and seemingly with great propriety) transferred to the superior tribunals.

Another ordinance went to that excellent reform in the course of criminal justice, of which we have before taken notice: the last of all went to the vacation of the parliament of Paris, as well as of all the others throughout the kingdom. They were to remain suspended in all their functions until the king's pleasure was farther known; and during that period were strictly prohibited, both generally and individually, to assemble or deliberate upon any affair public or private; the king declaring that he would, in the mean time, pursue the proper measures for carrying the new ordinances into execution.

The ordinances being read and registered, the king concluded the business by a short speech, in which, after observing that they had just heard his will, and that the more moderate it was, the more strictly he would have it fulfilled and enforced; he stated, that all his regulations and intentions were directed in every thing to the good and happiness of his subjects. That he depended upon the zeal and fidelity of those who were immediately called to compose his *cour pleniere*; and that he had no doubt but others of the magistracy would, by their good conduct, merit his favour, and to be accordingly successively called to that supreme assembly.

During these whole proceedings, the most profound silence was observed by the parliament, and the meeting was immediately broken up at the king's departure. But on

the following day, what is called the grand assembly of 9th. parliament was summoned, and held at so early an hour, that their protest was dated at seven o'clock in the morning. In that piece they represent to the king, that their silence in his presence on the preceding day, was not to be considered as any consent on their side to his majesty's edicts;—that, on the contrary, they totally disclaim taking any part in what passed at that sitting, or giving their sanction to it;—that they further decline accepting any seat in that new court his majesty wishes to establish, called *La Cour Pleniere*;—and that they cannot accept of it, from its being contrary to their duty, their oath, and their fidelity to his majesty.

The protest of the parliament was seconded by a letter signed by several of the peers, and addressed to the king. In this they declare themselves penetrated with the deepest sorrow at the attempt now made to subvert the fundamental principles of the government so long established in the kingdom. That they shall at all times consider it their duty to give to all his subjects examples of respect and submission; but that their consciences, and the fidelity which they owe to his majesty, will not suffer them to take any part in the functions which these new edicts impose on the peerage. That they therefore take the liberty of laying at the foot of the throne this declaration, dictated by the purest sentiments of honour, and of zeal for the true interests of his majesty, which are ever inseparable from those of the nation.

This extraordinary adherence of a great body of the peerage to the parliament could not, in the present circumstances,

circumstances, but be extremely embarrassing to the court; and not the less so for its being entirely unexpected, although it would seem to require no great skill in divination to have foreboded the event. Nor does it appear that the clergy were less disposed to support the parliament than the peers: so sudden and wonderful a revolution had taken place in the sentiments of a nation, whose leading characteristic for ages had been a fulsome adulation of, and blind attachment to their monarchs, and to whose glory they seemed to have dedicated the exertion of all their faculties, whether in peace or in war.

As if the 9th of May had been destined for a day of continual agitation, the king suddenly convoked the parliament, after the morning business of the protest was over. It is not easy to surmise upon what principle he adopted this measure; for the short speech which he pronounced upon the occasion, was little more than a repetition or confirmation of what he had declared the day before, as to the determined firmness of his resolution to pursue the system then announced, and without regard to any impediments or obstacles, to carry the new ordinances into execution. Some conciliatory expressions were, indeed, thrown out towards the close of the speech, where the king, after observing that the objects of the new plan were the general tranquillity of the kingdom, and the welfare of the people, declares his reliance on the zeal and fidelity of the parliament for the good of his service, when he should have fixed on proper persons to compose his supreme assembly; and he concludes with an assurance that he should call them together before

the ordinary time of their sitting, if the situation of public affairs, and the necessities of the state, should so require.

This produced, as might have been expected, another memorial on the same evening from the parliament, in which they peremptorily persist in all their past resolutions; and further protest, and again declare, that they will not assist at any deliberation in the supreme assembly which his majesty was about to institute. They then resolve, that as it is not in their power to deliver that protest to the person whose former province it was to receive it, and fearing that it would not be presented to the king, they had charged one of their members to carry it to a notary, in order that it might be formally deposited: and they have likewise given him orders to print off as many copies of it as might be necessary to make it publicly and authentically known.

This care of publication, under the inflamed and very dangerous appearances which prevailed throughout the nation, was not consistent either with the wisdom or patriotism of parliament; and seemed rather to indicate the violence of a party, determined to carry their point at all events, and without regard to consequences, than the result of those cool and cautious deliberations which, looking equally to the rights of the crown and the people, regarded the preservation of the public tranquillity as their first object, and the highest of all duties.

But while the parliament were thus engaged at Versailles, their head quarters, and what might be considered as their citadel, was suddenly carried by a *coup de main* at Paris. For the governor of that city,

city, properly attended, proceeded to the palais royal, where, entering the different chambers, and opening the presses and bureaux, he took possession of all the papers and archives of every kind appertaining to the parliament; and this business being finished, after locking, and clapping the king's seal upon the doors, he carried away the keys. All the other parliaments in the kingdom were about the same time suspended from their functions, and forbidden, under the severest penalties, from re-assembling, from holding any private meetings, or from issuing any resolutions or opinions whatever upon public affairs.

The Chatelet, a court next in reputation, authority, and dignity to the great chamber of parliament, was so far from being dismayed at these proceedings, that after a 16th. sitting of 36 hours, they issued an instrument under the name of an arret (but which seems more properly a declaration or protest) in which, after declaring how deeply they are affected by seeing the various acts of authority exercised against the different seats of magistracy throughout the kingdom, they particularize the following instances: The seat of justice invested by armed troops; the liberty of suffrages wantonly violated, by arresting and confining magistrates, who could not be personally answerable for deliberations which were distinct and peculiarly appropriate to themselves; that magistracy was thus debased, and all order overthrown, under a monarch who had declared "that he never would reign but according to the tenor of the laws;" and that, as the edicts and declarations reported by his majesty's attornies, had not been deliberated upon by parliament,

who has a certain and undisputed right, acknowledged by the monarch himself, to address their remonstrances to him (a right which they cannot possibly exercise at present, on account of the forced suspension of their functions) that court declare unanimously, that they cannot, and ought not, to proceed to the reading, publishing, or registering the said edicts, declarations, and orders.

In the intermediate time, a duke, three other peers, and two archbishops, presented themselves in person to the king at Versailles, and delivered into his own hands a paper of so extraordinary a nature, that neither the names of the presenters or subscribers were ever given. It was entitled, the humble and dutiful address of the subscribers, in behalf of themselves and the publick; and was signed by 47 peers and bishops, "for themselves and the nation."

They declare the grief with which they find themselves obliged to approach his majesty in the line of their duty; but it is a duty, they say, which they cannot resist, considering the present very alarming state of public affairs, the discontents which prevail among people of all ranks, the tumults that have already occurred, the accounts that are daily arriving of fresh insurrections of the most alarming kind, and still more than any, the causes to which all these evils are openly and generally attributed.

They farther declare, upon the same ground of shewing their motives and duty, that, as princes pledged in the name of the whole nobility for the preservation of the laws, as peers born for the security of the throne, and as citizens bound

for the public welfare, they cannot, consistently with their loyalty to his majesty, their duty to themselves, to the nation, and to posterity, let the present period pass unnoticed. That, whatever be their sorrow for the occasion, duty presses them forward, justice requires, and zeal for the constitutional law of the land impels them to remonstrate at his throne.

That from these motives and causes, they were bound to protest against the dissolution of the national parliament; against all the late edicts, as well those relative to the *cour pléniere*, as others, and in general against every act which militated against those established laws whose foundations had been laid on wisdom, moderation, and justice.

That with the purest loyalty they lay their sentiments before the king, hoping that God may incline their sovereign to re-consider these measures, and to permit in future things to go on in that channel to which for ages they had been accustomed; and thereby prevent an alteration which could not but entail the most ruinous consequences; consequences too easily to be foreseen, both on the sovereign and on the people.

This remonstrance, independently of its language or spirit, afforded a most alarming and sorrowful demonstration to the king, how totally he had lost all weight and influence with the two great bodies of the nobles and clergy (who, with few exceptions, had at all times been the zealous and powerful supporters of the crown) at a period when he was already so deeply involved in a contest with the parliaments, and consequently with the people at large, who ever adhered to them, and

considered whatever cause they were engaged in as common to both.

It was at the time reported, and we can give it only as a report, that a council having been held on the evening after this remonstrance was delivered, *lettres de cachet* were there absolutely signed and issued against all the subscribers; but that at midnight, Monsieur (the king's next brother, and the favourite of the people) went to the royal bedchamber, and prevailed on the king to have them recalled.

In the mean time, nothing could be more alarming than the temper which now became prevalent among all orders and classes of the people, and the aspect which almost every part of the kingdom exhibited. Paris presented every morning the new spectacle, of seditious, inflammatory, or treasonable written or printed papers, posted upon the gates and corners of the streets. An incendiary libel of the most atrocious nature and dangerous tendency was detected at a private printing-house, where the press was destroyed, and the printed copies, to the amount of several hundreds, seized; but a number of others, it seems, had been already distributed, and several were most daringly put up on the city gates, and other public places: although the king was openly branded in them with the appellation of tyrant; charged with having trampled with impunity upon the dearest rights of the people; and, that he, who should be their father, was become their bitterest enemy, and most implacable oppressor. In a similar strain of seditious invective, the people are reproached with want of spirit, for not having already punished their oppressors; and every other instigation

to immediate violence and rebellion is closed by that emphatic scripture phrase which had been used so many ages ago in similar combustions, of "To your tents, O Israel!"

In several of the provinces things seemed to wear a worse appearance even than in Paris. Bretagne had been for some time in a strange state of disorder. Some local disputes between the nobles and the peasants had induced both sides to take up arms in several places, in support of their real or supposed rights; and as they could not accommodate their own differences, they seemed disposed to let a fruitless task lie dormant for a time, until they had improved their faculties, by a careful investigation of public grievances. Through the agitation produced by these joint operating causes of public and domestic grievance (though we have received but little information of the particulars) it appears upon the whole, that the flame became so violent, and the commotions so alarming, that the bishop of Rennes found it necessary to set out himself express to Paris, and to use such expedition as to spend but 36 hours on a journey of 200 miles, in order to lay before the King a clear statement of the dangerous situation of affairs in that province.

In the provinces farther south things were little better. The parliaments of Tholouse and Grenoble were both in exile, and some of the most refractory members had been committed to state prisons. This procedure irritated the inhabitants of these provincial capitals so highly, that they were guilty of the greatest excesses and vio-

lences, in all which they were supported by their country neighbours, and encouraged, or confirmed in their conduct, by the people at large. The parliament of Tholouse having, before their dispersion, passed the strongest resolutions against the admission of the new ordinances, and the establishment of the new court, the people determined, in their absence, effectually to support their design. This led them to such excesses, that the count de Perigord, governor of Languedoc, and hitherto one of the best beloved noblemen in France, was, notwithstanding his popularity, and great natural influence in the country, obliged to fly precipitately from that city. Two regiments, who were quartered there under his command, were likewise obliged to withdraw, whilst the inhabitants not only took possession of the gates, but are said to have taken up the pavements, as providing for a siege or bombardment.

This was the first instance in which the attachment of the army to the crown had ever been called in question; but it was now strongly reported, notwithstanding the greatest endeavours to keep it secret, that the governor general of Languedoc actually put the fidelity of the troops to the test, and that the two regiments peremptorily refused to fire upon their countrymen. From this circumstance, and some others corresponding with it, which took place about the same time, it came to be generally whispered, that in case of matters being carried to the last degree of extremity, the army would not support the court in its oppressive designs against the people; a new.

and seemingly a strange opinion, in so long a habit of a military and military government; but which served to inspire great confidence and spirit in the numerous discontented part of the nation.

At Grenoble, in Dauphiny, the excesses were carried to the highest point of exorbitance; and much blood was even reported to have been shed in the conflicts between the military and the inhabitants, who were joined by some thousands of the neighbouring mountaineers. All means of communication, whether by post or otherwise, between Paris and the provinces, were at this time so much interrupted, by the caution of the court in the examination of letters, and the extreme violence of party gave besides so deep a tincture to every thing that passed through that medium, that little faith can be placed on any accounts given under such circumstances.

It seems, however, tolerably ascertained, that the life of the duke de Tonnerre, who governed that province, was in imminent danger; that he was obliged to surrender the keys of the palace to the insurgents for its preservation; that among other outrages they plundered his large and valuable cabinet of medals and curiosities; and that they had threatened, during the opposition of the troops, to set the four corners of the town on fire at the same instant. They likewise took possession of the arsenal, from which they furnished themselves with artillery, arms and ammunition. Several lives must undoubtedly have been lost in the course of these disorders, but it is

evident that none of the bloody massacres which were reported at the time took place. It is said, that although the troops did not, like their fellows at Tholouse, absolutely refuse to obey their officers, yet that they acted with such slackness and apparent reluctance, as contributed more than the number or force of the malcontents, to defeat the effect; and sufficiently convinced their commanders that they were no longer to be trusted.

The parliament of Britany, which, as well as the province at large, had long been in a state of great and continual variance with the court, in defiance of the king's positive orders, assembled at Rennes (their capital) in the beginning of June, and after sitting from four o'clock in the morning until six in the evening, among other violent resolutions passed one in which they declared all persons, who should in any degree attempt to carry the new ordinances into execution to be guilty of high treason, and to be prosecuted and punished as such. They were afterwards surrounded and their proceedings interrupted by a strong detachment of the troops in garrison; but the inhabitants flying in crowds to the rescue of the parliament, and being joined by a vast concourse of people from the adjacent country, the troops found themselves compelled, after a great riot and some mischief had taken place, to give way to the immense multitude of their antagonists, and relinquish their design; while no person would venture to serve the lettres de cachet, which had been sent down for the exile or imprisonment of the members.



It does not appear that the troops upon this occasion shewed any reluctance to the discharge of their duty. We hear no more of the parliament, who perhaps did not think it safe to proceed to greater lengths. A great provincial meeting was however convened, in order to determine upon the most effectual measures for opposing the execution of the new ordinances. At this assembly a grand deputation, composed of several eminent persons, was appointed to proceed to Versailles, and to remonstrate strongly with the king, in the name of the province, against the *cour pleniere* in particular, as being deemed the greatest innovation, and the most dangerous to the parliaments, and in general against all the other new tribunals and ordinances. The confidence and ardour with which the deputation set out on their commission, was suddenly checked upon their arrival at Versailles, for they were not only refused an audience, but committed close prisoners to the Bastille.

During this season of fruitless hope, continual disappointment, constant turmoil, vexation and alarm, the agitation of the king's mind was frequently so great and apparent, as to excite the compassion of all who had an opportunity of being near his person; who were convinced that there could not be many men in his large dominions farther removed from happiness than he evidently was. It was universally acknowledged on all sides, and by all parties, that no man could mean better, or more fervently wish and fully intend the happiness of his subjects; so that the epithet of

*well-beloved* seemed a tribute flowing involuntarily from the heart, of the people; and foreigners as well as natives held but one opinion as to the justness of the application. For the king's wish to promote the ease, content, and happiness of the people, was not a passive or inert disposition, indulged only in speculation; it was embodied and brought fully into act; he had done more in a few years for the gratification and benefit of his subjects, than had been done by all his predecessors, put together, from the foundation of the monarchy.

Unfortunately the state was too deeply involved in debt and embarrassment to be extricated or relieved by any thing within the immediate powers of the crown: the same benevolent disposition which made him ready upon every occasion to relinquish his personal interests, rendered him averse to the execution of such vigorous and decisive measures as the exigencies of his affairs absolutely required. To which is to be added, that in consequence of the late reforms, dictated by the same love for his people, the monarchy had been dismantled of what formed an essential part of its strength and security.

It is well known that a considerable proportion of the numerous nobility of France have always been dependent on the crown for the means of supporting their rank, and preserving the dignity of their families. All these saw themselves now for ever cut off from that resource, the king having equally put it out of his power to bestow bounty, and to reward merit or service. Above four hundred

dred persons had already lost their offices in the royal household, and were turned adrift upon the world without means or resource; a much greater number were affected in the same manner by the reductions in the military departments. It would not have been in human nature, that such a change of condition, and such a blight upon hope, did not produce a correspondent change of sentiments in the sufferers, who, if they did not think themselves actually injured, felt themselves at least ruined, and received little comfort in reflecting upon the cause or necessity of the measure; while that great number who were not yet in a state to be losers, but who might be said to live in a great measure upon the hope and credit of future favour and provision, seeing now all the pleasing prospects in life which they had been used to flatter themselves with at once cut off, thought themselves no less unfortunate than the former: they all naturally directed their views to other prospects and to other resources; and thus the king lost the attachment of that brave and powerful order of men, who had hitherto been the constant supporters and defenders of the monarchy.

Upon the same principle of relieving the people, the crown was farther weakened by reducing the *gens d'armes*, and other corps of household troops, who besides their inviolable attachment to the royal person and family, had, by their extraordinary courage, and peculiar sense of honour, powerfully contributed to raise the military renown and glory of France, to that high pitch at which they

arrived under Louis XIV. and his successor.

The institution of provincial assemblies afforded a notable instance of the king's wishes to render government as easy as possible to the people, and even to admit them to something approaching to a republican share in the internal administration of their affairs. These assemblies were to be composed of a prescribed number of each of the three estates, the nobles, clergy and commons, the members being freely elected by their respective orders; so that each assembly seemed in itself a circumscripted meeting of the states general; who were, however, paramount over all. They were to communicate to the crown information and advice on all matters relative to the province, including the sentiments and particular grievances of the people, and had authority in many cases to redress the latter; one of their principal objects was to attend to the collection of the revenue, and to remedy all abuses in that department; and though they were not endued with powers to lay on taxes, they were to point out those that were oppressive or vexatious, and to recommend others upon a better principle. They possessed other powers, which we have not seen fully explained; nor was there time to experience the benefits which the establishment of the provincial assemblies was capable of producing. This measure, however, if not allowed to be a great advance towards a new constitution, was, at least, a wonderful and little expected improvement of the old.

The

The assembly of the notables, whatever were its defects, had done great things towards meliorating the government, and bettering the condition of the lower orders of the people. In the performance of these beneficial acts they were much indebted, not only to the prompt operation of the court and ministers, but to their incessantly pointing out abuses, and proposing reforms; so that it would not be easy to determine on which side many of the measures of improvement originated. The enormities which prevailed in the mode of levying the taxes, and the boundless speculation which attended the collection, besides being ruinous to the state, had, from the days of Sully, been a constant source of the most intolerable grievance and oppression to the people. This subject the notables entered deeply into, traced various evils to their source, and recommended judicious remedies, which were immediately adopted.

The abolition of the corvec, in kind, which had for ages been a source of constant oppression to the country people, through the partial and unjustifiable manner in which the compulsion to labour upon the roads had been frequently exercised, was an act scarcely of greater utility than of mercy with respect to that most useful class of mankind. The commutation of money for personal service, at the option of the farmer, and thereby freeing him from the tyranny of petty officers, along with other regulations which went to guard against oppression in any shape or case, rendered the duty so comparatively light, that it seemed

scarcely to be any longer considered as a burthen.

Other regulations, though lower in degree, were still of great public utility. Of these was the removal of the barriers between the different provinces, and the abolition of all internal taxes, duties and restrictions upon the transit of commodities from one to another, which had ever been so pernicious a check to the internal commerce of the country. The decree for laying open and free the commerce of grain throughout the kingdom, may perhaps be considered of still greater importance. Though we have already mentioned the relief afforded to the protestants, yet a measure which afforded security and happiness to so considerable a portion of the people, should not be overlooked in this enumeration of public benefits.

To those benefits actually conferred, may be fairly and without violence added, that greatest of all which was yet only in contemplation, it being at the present impossible to be carried into execution. This was no less than the total abolition of the gabelles throughout the kingdom, which had ever been the opprobrium of the French government, and the most odious and intolerable of all schemes of taxation to the people. This sublime idea, as it was deservedly termed in the assembly, was communicated to the notables on the day of their rising, by Monsieur, the king's brother, who declared, that it was his majesty's first wish and most earnest intention, and that he should ever consider the moment of its accomplishment as the happiest of his life.

life. This declaration undoubtedly contributed to the extraordinary adulation which marked the speeches of that day, when the mayor, or chief magistrate of Paris, feeling not to be outdone in that figure of speech called the hyperbole, made use of the following expressions:—"That Louis XVI. would have been the exemplar and model upon which Henry the Great would have formed himself, if the partial destiny of the present generation of Frenchmen had not reserved him to complete their happiness."—It was at no very distant period that the king was to be taught experimentally the true value of adulation and compliments.

It may, however, with truth and justice be affirmed, that few long reigns in any country, even among those considered as the best and most glorious, have through their whole course been adorned with so many patriotic and beneficent acts, as had within a short space of time been communicated to the public in the present. And it is evident, that if Louis XVI. had lived at any other period since the foundation of the French monarchy, his name would have been now idolized, and that he would have been universally considered as the father of his people. So much may a man's fortune and fame depend upon the period as well as the country in which he is born.

To render the great improvements which, in conformity with the advice of the notables, had been made in the management and collection of the public revenue thoroughly effective, a new, efficient,

and responsible council of finance, composed of several of the great officers of state, was instituted, immediately after the rising of that body; a measure which they had indeed recommended, but was not at the time absolutely agreed to. This council was bound to publish annually a clear statement of the receipts and expenditure of the preceding year, so that the balance, which had long been, and for the present must be the deficiency of the former, might be seen at a single view, and all the particulars on both sides of the account were open to public inspection and examination. No measure could have afforded greater satisfaction, or have been more generally popular, than the institution of this council, if time had been afforded for its effect to operate. For the whole business of finance being before lodged (with scarcely any check upon him) in the hands of a comptroller general, these ministers were universally suspected and charged with the most unbounded and profligate waste of the public treasure; and these accusations having been in many instances strongly supported by concurrent circumstances, much of the public distress had, at various times, and probably with too much reason, been attributed to this cause.

But these reforms and improvements, however excellent in their design, and however beneficial they might hereafter prove in their effect, could afford no present relief to government. The notables, therefore, recommended to the king, after all the retrenchments which he had already made, a still farther reduction in the royal and public

public expences, to the extraordinary amount of 40 millions of livres annually. Though this proposal was complied with, that assembly were still sensible, that this saving, great as it was, could in no degree supply the immediate exigencies of the state, by enabling government to fulfil the public engagements to its creditors, and at the same time to provide for the unavoidable civil and military establishments. For these purposes, a tax or taxes were indispensably necessary, upon the security of which such a loan could be raised, as would be sufficient to extricate the state from its present difficulties, and thereby afford time for the system of reform and œconomy now adopted, as well as the unexampled presents made by the sovereign to the public, to operate in producing their proper effects.

Though the notables had disclaimed all authority in themselves to grant supplies, and only assumed to advise or recommend, yet their sanction, first in shewing the absolute necessity of laying on new taxes to carry on the public business, and then in recommending or approving those which were intended, was reasonably deemed by government a matter of great importance, considering the difficulties which the parliament threw in the way of all its operations. The first was completely afforded by that assembly, who examining carefully the whole system of finance, shewed the exact amount of the revenue, and excess of the expenditure, rendering it so clear as not to admit of a question, that it was impossible to conduct government without additional supplies.

They in general approved, though

with some difference of degree in respect to its parts, of that scheme of taxation proposed by the ministers for supplying the present emergencies, by which the burthen was to be laid upon those parts of the nation, which were the best able to support its weight, upon the great commercial and landed interests. The intended tax upon stamps, which was afterwards described in such odious colours, not only received the most unqualified approbation from the notables, but they seemed to step beyond the lines which they had prescribed to themselves, by recommending its extension with respect both to objects and duty, farther than either the original design or the adopted scheme reached; declaring that it would be little burthenfome to the people, and particularly so to the laborious countryman, to whose condition they, upon every occasion, paid the greatest attention.

But with respect to the act for the territorial revenue, or land-tax, which would have fallen upon the nobility and clergy, and thereby removed, so far as it went, those exemptions which had been so long considered as an intolerable grievance, here it would seem that the patriotism of the assembly began to fail, or that they were awed by the potent bodies whose interests were concerned. Upon this subject, the notables were guarded, cautious, and indecisive; and though they could not consistently with their own avowed sentiment but approve the principle of the tax, they did it hesitatingly, and to get entirely quit of the question, flew off suddenly to the old plea of total incompetency with respect to taxation, a business, they said, which rested solely

solely with the sovereign, and to whose prudence and discretion it must be entirely referred. It was rather a curious circumstance of observation, that a little before this display of extreme delicacy, they had strongly recommended a tax upon the city of Paris, whose vast increase of population, they represented as extremely injurious to the kingdom at large, and whose inhabitants should therefore be more heavily taxed than the laborious countrymen.

The territorial revenue act, upon the whole, received their tacit approbation; they owned the justness of the principle, made no objection to any of the parts, and only recommended, or hinted at, some doubtful improvement in the mode of regulation.

These two taxes would have been sufficient to remove all the distresses, and to afford energy and ease to all the operations of government. The king had solemnly engaged, that if their produce exceeded the necessary public demands, or without that, as the necessities of the state were diminished by savings and the discharge of debts, he would, in either case, remit the overplus, and continually lessen as much as possible the burthen to the people. Nor could he recede from this engagement, if he was even so inclined, (which was, however, little to be supposed) as the state of the public accounts, which was to be published every year by the new council of finance, must have effectually bound him to the performance.

The people being now relieved from a number of their most crying grievances, and having full room to hope, and rational grounds

for expectation, that what was already done was only introductory to a progressive course of measures for the melioration of the constitution, and the improvement of all the departments of government, it might seem that little more was wanting than an accommodating and conciliatory disposition in the parliament of Paris, by filling up the line already traced by the notables, to have established the prosperity of the present reign upon the firmest basis, that of the happiness and consequent affection of the people.

But the public disorders were too deep and too firmly fixed to be eradicated, and too vigorous and rapid in their growth to be checked by any common restraints or impediments. The nation was split into violent factions; and these, however various and distinct their views might be in other things, were all agreed in one point, which was, to reduce the king to such a state of weakness and distress for want of money, that finding it impossible to conduct the business of government otherwise, he should be compelled by necessity to adopt their favourite measure of convoking the states general. None of the parliaments, any more than that of Paris, could escape being influenced by these powerful parties, and of course adopted their political opinions and principles.

In the mean time the cabals of the innovators began about this time to be regularly formed and embodied, and to spread through every part of France, who, instead of looking with other parties to changes of men, or to an alteration of measures in the administration of public affairs, directed their views to the utter subversion of government,

government. If the parliament was not immediately under the influence of these cabals, they at least prepared the way for the confusion that followed, by their conduct and proceedings in the violent contests with the king since the rejection of the two money bills. For the paper war, as it may justly be termed, which they incessantly carried on, and took so much care to publish, and which was in a great measure directly and personally pointed against the king, could not but tend in a great degree to render the sovereign odious, as well as contemptible. Indeed, many of their published documents, exclusive of their reproach and invective, bore rather the character of manifestos, than of resolutions and remonstrances, as they were called.

Their effect went far beyond the original design. For, while they were intended only to render certain modes or forms of authority odious or ridiculous, they equally affected all; and loosening all those bonds of opinion, which are the great cement of mankind, made way for that general contempt of all orders, establishments, and authorities, which the parliaments themselves have since so bitterly experienced. Disorder, confusion, and anarchy spread through the kingdom; and they found too late, that they had raised a spirit which they could never be able to lay.

On Sunday the 13th of July, 1788, about nine in the morning, without any eclipse, a dreadful and almost total darkness suddenly overspread the face of the earth, in several parts of France, and this awful gloom was the prelude to a tempest or hurricane, supposed

to be without example in the temperate climates of Europe. During this violent concussion of the elements, wind, rain, hail, thunder, and lightening seemed to contend in impetuosity; but the hail was the great instrument of ruin and destruction. The whole face of nature was so totally changed in about an hour, that no person who had slept during the tempest could have believed himself in the same part of the world when he awoke. Instead of the smiling bloom of summer, and the rich prospects of forward autumn, which were just before spread over the face of that fertile and beautiful country, it now presented the dreary aspect of universal winter, in the most sterile and gloomy of the arctic regions. The soil was changed into a morass, the standing corn beaten into the quagmire, the vines broken to pieces, and their branches buried in the same manner, the fruit-trees of every kind demolished, and the hail lying unmelted in heaps, like rocks of solid ice.

The country people, on their way to church, beaten down in the fields by the fury of the tempest, and nearly suffocated as they lay by the water and mud, concluding it to be the last day, and expecting the immediate dissolution of all things, scarcely attempted to extricate themselves. The hail was said to be composed of enormous solid and angular pieces of ice, some of them weighing from eight to ten ounces, and were reported to be as hard as diamonds. Even the robust forest trees were incapable of withstanding the fury of the tempest; and a large wood of chestnut-trees, in particular, was so dilapidated, that it presented  
little

little more after than the bare and naked trunks, the boughs being either entirely broken off, or hacked and mangled in a manner that heightened the deplorable effect of the appearance.

The disorderd state of public affairs prevented both the course and extent of this hurricane from being defined as it would in a happier season. The thoughts of those who were qualified to observe and record so extraordinary a phenomenon, were otherwise occupied; and the sufferers could only describe what they immediately felt, with little curiosity as to the fate of others. The tempest seems to have been very irregular in its operation, and while several large districts were entirely desolated, other intermediate portions of country received much less, or comparatively little damage. One of sixty square leagues, was so totally ruined, as not to have a single ear of corn, nor a fruit of any kind left; and the trees and vines were so miserably hacked and battered, that four years was the shortest period estimated for their being again in any degree productive. Of the 66 parishes included in the district of Pontoise, 43 were entirely desolated, while of the remaining 23 some lost two thirds, and others not above half their harvest.

The isle of France, and the Orleanois, seem to have been the principal scenes of devastation; and the magnitude of the damage may perhaps afford some clue to calculators, whereby to estimate the extent of the calamity. The loss or damage was said to be moderately estimated at fourscore millions of livres, or between three and four millions sterling. This

was confined to the losses sustained by the farmers, or more generally the damage done to the growths of the earth; the devastation of churches, steeples, and houses, not being included in the calculation.

The king, in the first instance, granted an immediate benevolence of 1,200,000 livres to the sufferers, and, as a farther relief, established a lottery of 40,000 tickets in their favour; he likewise remitted all taxes to them for a year to come. All possible measures were immediately pursued for procuring such an importation of corn, from those countries that could at all spare any, as might supply the domestic loss; but unfortunately, the harvests in most parts of Europe had of late been so indifferent, and the devouring war in the north occasioned so incessant a demand for all kinds of provision, that the wished-for supply to be obtained by these means fell far short of expectation: even England could not afford any aid in the present exigence, and America was too distant for present or near relief. The duke of Orleans was eminently distinguished by the extent of his benevolences upon this occasion, which his immense fortune, as the richest subject in Europe, rendered a matter of no difficulty. Several of the nobility and dignified clergy merited great praise upon the same account. In general, the great land-holders, and owners of estates in the ruined countries, besides the remission of a year's rent, and procuring seed corn from distant parts for their tenants, do not seem to have spared any pains in their endeavours to preserve the multitude from perishing in the interim, by procuring them such sustenance



as came within their reach and ability. But notwithstanding every thing that was and perhaps could be done, the distresses of the people throughout France were great, severe, and lasting.

This unforeseen and irresistible stroke of calamity, coming on at a season, already so strongly and unhappily marked, by the violence of faction, by public discontent, and by political dissention, when all men were looking to, or apprehending some great convulsion in the state, produced such an effect upon the people in general, that the nation seemed to have changed its character, and instead of that levity and gaiety by which it had ever been distinguished, and which was ill concealed even in the most serious affairs, a settled and melancholy gloom now seemed fixed in every countenance.

An arret, which had been issued by the council of state, a few days previous to this misfortune, although only remotely preparatory to the future assembling of the states general, yet as it shewed that the court had not abandoned the design, and that measures were in train for the execution of that purpose, was so exceedingly popular, that the funds rose three per cent. upon it, and a gleam of hope, satisfaction, and good humour, was spread through the country for the short intervening time.

The king found himself at length under a necessity of abandoning the new constitution, which he held to much at heart, and from which he had formed the most sanguine hopes. The opposition to it was so great, so general, and so determined, that it was impossible to be surmounted. The dukes de Roche-

foucault, De Noyelles, Luxemburgh, and several others, who stood among the highest of the kingdom in point of rank, weight, and public opinion, rejected the king's nomination, and absolutely refused to sit in the cour pleniere. There was no alternative. The king was condemned to submit to this public insult, and to retract all he had done. Thus was the court sunk to the lowest ebb of degradation, while the parliaments were exalted to the pinnacle of triumph and power.

In the mean time the poverty of government was now so extreme, that it became incapable of discharging its functions, or answering the public demands, through the mere want of money, or of credit to raise it, so that a public bankruptcy seemed fast approaching. In this state, the king issued an arret, in which, after declaring the deplorable situation of the finances, his own inability to raise taxes, and the total want of confidence in the public, with respect to loans, he gives notice that in these circumstances, only a certain proportion of the demands on the treasury could be paid in cash, and the remainder to be taken in bills payable in a year, and bearing 5 per cent. interest, the bills likewise to be received as money in the subscription to the first loan that was raised.

Though publicity was the first object of such a notice, and could alone give it any effect, yet such was the consciousness of shame or apprehension that operated on the court, that the copies of the arret seemed to be distributed by stealth on Monday evening, the 18th of August. But neither this precaution, the fairness of the proposals, nor the

goodness

goodness of the security, which (if government was capable at all of subsisting in any form) must have been considered as undeniable, could prevent such a general alarm, as was nearly without example, from being spread through the city of Paris on the following morning. The immediate consequences were a great fall of the stocks, and a violent run upon the *caisse d'escomptes*; or, as it was considered, the national bank. For two days, the crowd who came to change their notes, were so great and pressing, that the guards were obliged to marshal and keep them in order, to prevent confusion, and that each might be brought forward in turn to the bank. By procuring all the cash that was possible, and using much address to make each payment take up as much time as it was capable of admitting with decency, the bank was enabled to weather the tempest, until an edict from the king relieved them on the third day, commanding all bankers and others to receive their bills in payment as cash; a measure which afforded little satisfaction to the public, although it saved the *caisse d'escomptes*.

In the mean time, public discontent was heightened by private distress. Want and misery began to be felt in different parts of the kingdom, and the capital itself to grow apprehensive of a famine. Bread, which is more properly the staff of life in that country than any other, and where the consumption of it is so prodigious as to appear incredible to strangers, had already risen in Paris from two and a half to four sous per pound: and worse being still ex-

pected, prudent families began to discharge their servants, and contract their mode of living, which necessarily increased the number of idlers, who through the general stagnation of business being unable to procure any kind of employment, already crowded the streets and open parts of the metropolis, and were in a state of the most deplorable distress.

Under this alarming aspect of affairs, the prime minister, the archbishop of Sens, looking more to his own safety than to the duty or gratitude which he owed to his royal master, made no scruple of Aug. 25th, leaving him alone to 1788.

weather the approaching tempest as he could; and as his predecessor had found it necessary to seek an asylum in England upon his own coming into power, so he now, taking a contrary direction for the same purpose, departed with the utmost expedition for Italy. We have heretofore shewn that this prelate, then archbishop of Thoulouse, succeeded M. de Calonne in the administration of the finances. His rise from thence to the summit of power and greatness, was rapid. He was appointed prime minister, an office which conveys so much authority in France as not be frequently filled. He was promoted to the archbishopric of Sens, which conveys along with it the primacy of the Gauls, the greatest and most honourable ecclesiastical dignity in the kingdom, and which besides secures the reversion of a cardinal's hat.

The archbishop came into government under very favourable auspices. He possessed a very considerable

siderable share of popularity; and the nation was generally disposed to hold a favourable opinion both of his ability and disposition. To this may be added, that the odium and aversion which pursued his predecessor, was convertible to a fund of public credit and support in favour of an immediate successor.

Thus far things stood well on the side of the minister. But, having used indirect methods to facilitate his ascent to power, these in their effect proved his ruin. For having assumed an appearance of patriotism, he had long embarked deeply with the popular party in their opposition to the crown, and was initiated in all their secrets and cabals. When this mask was of necessity laid by, he was considered and treated as a renegade, devoid of all honour and principle, and opposed and pursued with all the usual virulence and inveteracy of party; at the same time that his new friends were, from the same cause, at all times doubtful of his sincerity and honesty. From hence his designs were continually defeated in the execution, his schemes, without any regard to their utility, overthrown, and he soon became the most unpopular man in France.

Moderate men, who did not look through the medium of party, considered a total want of system, as the great defect of his administration; they likewise charged him with a hasty adoption of rash and violent measures, with a sudden and weak dereliction of them, and with a total want of that firmness and fortitude which could enable him to support any measure or any line of conduct, in the face of opposition, or under the remotest appear-

ance of danger. To this defect they ascribe the circumstance, of his administration's becoming contemptible as well as odious.

The king's situation was sufficiently difficult and embarrassing; compelled lately to dismiss a favourite minister, forsaken now by his successor, who left him involved in all the troubles which the rashness or failure of his measures had occasioned, and destitute in himself of those great and commanding personal qualities, which have often wrought such wonders in critical affairs, and which were never more necessary than in the present instance, to enable him to stem that torrent of discontent and disorder, which was spreading with such violence through his dominions.

Thus circumstanced, he perceived no other resource, than that of throwing himself into the arms of the popular party, and, by coinciding with their proposals, to endeavour to restore concord and harmony in the kingdom, and to obtain that personal quiet which he sought beyond all things. Little disposed himself to any exertions of arbitrary power, and as little calculated by nature for their support, concessions offered no great violence to his feelings. He saw that the spirit which had been shewn upon different occasions, by persons the most nearly related to him, in their endeavours to support the prerogative, or to inspire vigour into the general measures of administration, had rendered them universally odious, and that their party was become too weak to admit any further attempts with a probability of success.

The first step to be taken, upon this change of system, was in a great measure declaratory and decisive

with respect to those that were to follow. This was the recal of the celebrated Mr. Neckar, and the placing him again at the head of the finances. This gentleman was become the idol of the people, in a degree, perhaps without example, with respect to any man, in any country, under similar circumstances. Several causes concurred in procuring him this extraordinary popularity. His famous "*Compte rendu au Roi*," in which he laid open to all the world the expenditure, revenue, and resources of France, and disclosed all those arcana of the state and monarchy which had hitherto been deemed most sacred and unrevealable, although a measure, perhaps, not very justifiable, and certainly without precedent in that country, was, however, highly captivating to the people. His subsequent contests with, and frequent publications against, M. de Calonne, considering the popular hatred under which that minister laboured, could not but greatly increase these effects; nor could the very able defences of his antagonist be of any avail, with judges whose opinions were predetermined. The circumstance of his being, by birth at least, a republican, was so fortunately adapted to the spirit and disposition of the times, that it was not only sufficient to remove all prejudices with respect to his being a foreigner and a protestant, but would have rendered him popular if he had not been so otherwise.

Such was the state of things when Mr. Neckar was again placed at the head of public affairs. The joy of the people was undescribable, and their expectations and hopes passed all bounds of reason and possibility. It seemed as if they conceived that he possessed a magical wand; that

by waving it he could pay off an immense public debt without money; and that by another movement he could, with the same ease, supply 25 millions of people with corn and bread. Circumstances seemed for a moment to give a sanction to the delusion; the funds suddenly rose, and the general good-humour seemed to dispel all those black clouds, which hung so heavily over the political horizon.

The new minister neglected nothing which could tend to the support of that public opinion so essential to his fame and greatness. Fortune favoured him with an opportunity of signaling his entrance into office by a grand stroke, excellently calculated to justify the most sanguine hopes that had been formed of his administration. This was no less than the restoration of public credit, which had been deeply affected by the late arrest relative to payments at the treasury. Mr. Neckar soon discovered, and perhaps previously knew, that there were large sums of money lying in several of the public departments, destined to assigned purposes which were not yet in being. Secure of this support, he immediately issued public notice, that all demands on the treasury should in future be immediately paid in ready money. Nothing could ever produce greater eclat. He was called the Saviour of the country; the preservation of France from the ruin and disgrace of public bankruptcy universally ascribed to him; and all the evils in which the country was plunged, were looked upon as already cured. He likewise used all possible means to draw corn from different parts to the relief of the metropolis, where the natural turbulence of the inhabitants

bitants was liable, upon any accidental occasion, to be stimulated to acts of outrage and violence.

The coming in of Mr. Neckar was attended with the dismissal of all the principals of the archbishop's party, of whom, his brother, the count de Brienne, minister of the war department, and M. de Lamoignon, the keeper of the seals, could not but lead the way. Every body supposed that the restoration of the parliament of Paris to its functions would have been one of the first effects of the change in the ministry; and the short delay which intervened, was attributed to some explanations which were required from the leaders of that body, as to the course which they intended to pursue, with respect to the measures adopted by the late administration, particularly with regard to the suspension.

However that was, the parliament met about the middle of September, and, after some display of moderation in their first sittings, soon began a new squabble with the crown, on the ground of prosecuting those members of the late ministry who were forthcoming, particularly Mess. de Lamoignon and de Brienne, for the evil advice they had given, and the mischiefs which they had thereby drawn upon the nation. But the king peremptorily refused to admit this prosecution; declaring that he alone was responsible for all the late measures; and that if any mischiefs took place, they proceeded entirely from the refractory conduct and obstinacy of the parliament.

In the mean time the populace of Paris began to make a display of that ungoverned and riotous disposition, which has since rendered them so conspicuous. It seems probable

that the king's refusal to admit the prosecution against M. de Lamoignon, the late keeper of the seals, directed their fury against that gentleman, as the riot commenced immediately after. A multitude of people, seemingly for sport, assembled about the Pont Neuf, where they amused themselves for some time with throwing squibs and crackers, and obliging the passers-by to take off their hats, and bow to the statue of Henry the Fourth. But seeming to grow tired of that sport, they suddenly provided themselves with lighted torches, and proceeded in a body to burn and destroy the house of M. de Lamoignon. The timely interference of the guards saved the house, and probably the life of that gentleman, to whom his country owed so much for his admirable reform of the code of criminal justice, and in whose humane regulations in the mode of prosecution, the order of men who now sought his destruction were so nearly and particularly concerned. The crowd dispersed upon the interference of the military, but re-assembled in another part, and were proceeding to burn the late keeper in effigy, when finding themselves pursued, and again interrupted by the guards, their indignation was raised so high, that they stood a battle with them; but were soon routed, above thirty of their number being killed, and a much greater number undoubtedly wounded.

The parliament soon afforded an instance of the degree of moderation with which they were disposed to exercise power or to enjoy triumph, as well as of the terms upon which they intended to stand with the court. That body caused all the king's decrees, which related to their suspension,

sion, or which they considered as encroaching upon their privileges, O&A. 11th. Paris. In this act, the heinousness of the example to a turbulent and inflamed populace, kept pace with the wantonness of the insult.

The only public business of any consequence which was transacted during the remainder of the year 1788, was the summoning a new convention of the Notables, who met in the beginning of November. The object of assembling them was to receive their opinion and advice, in answer to a number of written questions proposed to them, relative to the organization of the states general, the mode of election to be pursued, the qualifications of the electors, and of the elected, the numbers to be returned by the respective districts, whether with respect to their wealth or population, the general number of which the states were to be composed, the proportionate number of the three orders with respect to each other, and other matters upon the same subject. The meeting of the states was fixed for the 1st of May 1789.

The unequalled severity of the winter could not but produce the most deplorable effects, in a country where the people were already to much distressed for want of subsistence. It was in vain that bounties were offered for the importation of wheat, rye, and other grain. The countries of Europe were in no con-

dition, in any degree, to supply the wants of so prodigious a number of people; the relief, however, thus furnished, although far from sufficient, undoubtedly preserved multitudes from perishing. Paris probably suffered more than the provinces; but the want in all was extreme. The turbulence and extraordinary ill temper of the people, induced them, instead of looking to the general effect of bad harvests, or to the particular ruin occasioned by the late hurricane, to attribute the scarcity and dearness of bread to the nefarious schemes of the court, which they charged with the impossible crime of exporting the corn by stealth to foreign countries. Next to the court, their rage was directed against supposed monopolizers, so that in process of time, the property of those merchants and corn-dealers, who endeavoured to feed the markets regularly with such a proportion of grain, as the stock in the country could afford for a continuance, was not only subjected to the rapine and destruction of the lawless rabble, but their persons to the most ignominious and cruel deaths. Thus every thing concurred to foster and promote that lawless ungovernable spirit which now prevailed; and the common people proceeding successfully from one act of atrocity to the commission of another, became at length thoroughly hardened, and capable, as we shall have occasion to relate, of unheard-of cruelties and barbarity.

## C H A P. II.

*Retrospect continued.* Emperor's conduct in the Low Countries, renews those dissentments and apprehensions, which seemed happily removed by the late accommodation. Count Trautmansdorff and General Dalt appointed to the conduct of civil and military affairs. Dispute about the new seminary at Louvain unexpectedly renewed. Count Trautmansdorff sends a peremptory order to the heads of the university, to carry the emperor's proposed reforms into immediate execution. They, pleading the laws and the constitution, refuse to comply. Council of Brabant, refusing to give their sanction to the said measures intended against the university of Louvain, are threatened with compulsion. Military drawn up, and artillery brought forward to intimidate the council. Populace fired on by the troops, and several killed or wounded. Refractory heads of the university of Louvain expelled by force of arms. Kind declaration of the emperor respecting his subjects in the Netherlands, succeeded by a cruel slaughter of the people by the troops at Malines, Louvain, and Antwerp. General horror spread throughout the provinces. People of condition emigrate to Holland, Liege, and other neighbouring countries.—Germany.—Country of Lippe Schaumbourg seized, on the death of the prince, by the landgrave of Hesse. Distressed situation of the prince. Interposition of the king of Prussia, procures the restoration of their positions to the infant prince and his mother. Dispute between the elector of Cologne and the pope's nuncio. Spirited conduct of the elector. Liberal grant of the magistracy of Cologne to the Protestant inhabitants, allowing them to build a place of worship, a school, and a house for their minister. Wise political conduct of the king of Prussia. League with England and Holland, to counteract the combination of the Eastern powers. Plays a high game in Poland. Diet comes thoroughly into his views. Augmentation of the army to 60,000 men decreed. New commission for the disposition and government of the military force of the republic. King of Prussia proposes a close alliance, and to guarantee all her dominions. Great debates in the diet. Philippic against the emperor. Russian party totally affected. Growing impotence of the republic already apparent. Turkey and Sweden seek alliances with her. Declaration by the Grand Signior. Ministers appointed by the republic to different European powers. Influence of Prussia seems thoroughly established in that country.

WE make no doubt but the public in general participated in the satisfaction with which we announced, at the close of the year 1787, the apparently happy accommodation, which had then recently taken place, between the emperor and our ancient neighbours, his subjects, the states and

inhabitants of the Austrian Netherlands. The joy in the Low Countries was extreme upon this occasion, and the public rejoicings highly spirited; for, notwithstanding the hardness with which the people resented oppression, and their determined resolution to expose themselves to all the dangers and calamities

calamities of war in defence of their ancient rights, yet it was impossible to consider, without terror, the inequality of the contest into which they were entering with so mighty a power; so that their resistance must be attributed rather to the violence of despair, than to a courage founded on any rational hope of success,

This joy was, however, damped with the more serious and reflecting by the fore consideration, founded on repeated experience, that they could place no reliance on the faith of the sovereign, and were destitute of all other security. Some room for hope, however, still remained. It became now known that the emperor was so deeply involved in schemes of war and conquest with Russia on the side of Turkey, that it seemed probable his other neighbours, and the more remote of his own subjects, might, at least for a time, escape the effects of that restless ambition and incurable spirit of innovation, which had been so continual a source of alarm and trouble to both. Yet even this consideration could not remove the apprehensions of those who knew the high resentment and lasting animosity which he bore against all opposers of his authority; which he held paramount to all laws, constitutions, and covenants; and who, regarding all resistance to his will as a deep wound to his dignity, must accordingly consider it as a crime of the first magnitude. These could not but suspect the present calm; nor were they easily induced to believe, that all the late violence was already buried in oblivion. They accordingly dreaded, that however deeply his

generals were engaged on the Danube, he would find leisure himself to renew his designs on the Netherlands, and means to punish the supposed affront he had received.

They saw too well that notwithstanding all the joy excited by the late accommodation, it had been too hastily concluded to afford any well-founded hopes of its permanence; that some of the most critical subjects in dispute, particularly with respect to the new seminary at Louvain, were still undecided; and the consequence of leaving any point of discussion open with such a controvertist, was too much to be apprehended. Too much, they thought, had been trusted on their side to promised and implied gracious and good intentions; and they imagined they knew from experience at what rate to estimate the value of these. Even the emperor's declaration (which had with such difficulty been drawn forth, after every guard had been surrendered on trust to it) was too loosely framed and worded not to be easily set aside by the forced construction which it might receive. To increase their apprehensions they had the mortification to observe, that while no security, that could properly be considered as such, was afforded on the other side, they had themselves given up the only one they possessed. They had disbanded their young, bold and spirited militia; annihilated all their badges and bands of military distinction and union; and taken the arms out of their hands, to place them in those which might possibly use them to their destruction. So that, with respect to defence,



fence, they were in an infinitely worse state than they had been before the accommodation.

The event too soon shewed how well these apprehensions were founded. The spirit displayed by the people in the tumult of the 20th of September, and particularly the signal courage shewn by the militia in braving the regular forces, although these very circumstances, through the excellent temper and conduct of count Murray, led the way to the ensuing happy reconciliation, yet could not but be considered as unforgiveable insults to his authority, by so haughty and arbitrary a spirit as the emperor's. He accordingly, who never considered the multiplicity of troublesome affairs as any embarrassment in his proceedings, or any bar to his engaging in new adventures, now determined, without regard to the approaching Ottoman war, by no means to desist from the execution of his designs on the Low Countries; but while he exterminated the Turks with one hand on his eastern frontier, to astonish the world by the immeasurable extent of that power, which could with the other break and subjugate the stubborn spirit of the Netherlanders at the extremity of his western borders. This would nearly if not entirely complete the design, which many considered as his great favourite, of establishing one simple, uniform, military system of government, through all the parts of his vast dominions; whereby all distinctions

in government, religion, laws, and rights being annihilated, and the people formed into one common mass, the whole empire might be governed with the same regular facility as a single garrison town.

For this purpose new men were necessarily employed, as well as new measures pursued in the Netherlands. The lenient conciliating disposition of the count de Murray, notwithstanding the happy effects which it had so recently produced, and that degree of apparent approbation, which it would not have been prudent to withhold, and which it had accordingly since received, was not at all suited to the objects now in prospect. He was of course laid by, and General Dalton, a veteran of great experience, and standing high in military reputation, was appointed commander in chief of the forces in the Low Countries. This officer being a soldier of fortune and a foreigner, destitute of all local connections in the countries where he served, and weaned by long absence from all ties with his own, naturally looked up to the sovereign, from whom he received employment and promotion, as the only object of his attachment. Thus circumstanced and situated, holding the sword as the only arbiter of laws and rights, and owning himself accountable to no superior but his sovereign, it could scarcely be expected that he should hesitate at the execution of his commands, or enter into any scrupulous enquiries as to their legality, justice, or humanity.

\* General Dalton, or D'Alton, as the emperor constantly calls him in his correspondence, was a native of Ireland. He was raised to the dignity of a count by the emperor. Another general of the same name, but said to be of a different family, and totally different in character, is now living in the Austrian service.

But exclusive of these circumstances, he was a man of a harsh, severe, and perhaps by nature cruel temper; dispositions not likely to be softened by a life not only spent in camps and armies, but, as it happened to be, for several years in the constant fellowship of some of the roughest and fiercest nations in the world, which inhabit the Austrian eastern frontiers, and of course compose a principal part of their armies in that quarter. In that service Dalton had been highly distinguished by his activity and conduct in the suppression of the rebellion which broke out in the mountainous borders of Transylvania and Walachia; where he, however, rendered himself more conspicuous by the ample execution which he made of these unfortunate and barbarous people, and the unrelenting severity, if not cruelty, which he was said to have exercised on the prisoners. Such a man was ill calculated for a military command in such a government as the Netherlands, and in such a state of jealousy and suspicion as now prevailed among the people; but these particularities in his character were possibly what rendered him at this time an object of choice, and soon placed him in the most enviable point of view, as a first-rate favourite.

Count Trautmanndorff was at the same time appointed to the civil government of the country, in the character of minister plenipotentiary; the governors general upon their arrival, which was promised to be speedily, being only, on the new system, to enjoy the splendour, and toil through the pageantries of the court, without their holding any share in the

public business; for their former leniency was so far from being pleasing, that it is said to have been a standing subject of comment and reproof, at least to one of them, during her continuance at Vienna. Trautmanndorff's appointment afforded great satisfaction to the people, as he was reckoned a humane reasonable man, of excellent character and dispositions: but it was soon discovered that good dispositions were of no avail, under the direction of a superintending power which forbade their operation.

Both the civil and military ministers, full fraught with instructions, and the principal lines of the system which they were to pursue fairly traced out, arrived at Brussels some time before the close of the year 1787. They were not, however, immediately to disturb the present peaceable and happy order of things. The states of Brabant were suffered to proceed quietly, previously to their breaking up as usual at Christmas, in voting the customary subsidies, and in making all these concessions to the sovereign, which were either required by the late settlement, or which spontaneously flowed from their own disposition, in that interval of joy and good-humour.

The affair of the new seminary at Louvain was still unfortunately left open; although if it had not existed, some other apt subject would have been undoubtedly found out for lighting up the flames of contention. But though the emperor did not in terms give up that point, it seemed in some sort included in his declaration of restoring the people to all their civil and ecclesiastical rights; and still more fully by his repeated assurances

assurances and professions, that there was nothing he wished more than their ease, content and happiness, and that he would consult the states on all matters relative to those subjects.

The states of Brabant had not, however, time to enjoy the festivity or repose of that convivial season, when they were roused into astonishment by the suddenness and violence of the attack which count Trautmansdorff had already commenced against the university of Louvain. This was scarcely more alarming, or at least not more surprising, than the strange and sudden change which had taken place in the language and tone of government; so that those who had been of late used to its softest and most pleasing sounds, could hardly believe they heard the same voice. Every proposition was now a command, and announced in the most decisive and peremptory terms. The will of the sovereign was the sole authority now held out upon every occasion, and as a sanction to every measure; and to that all things were to give way, under the terrors of military execution. Laws, rights, and constitutions were no more to be heard of. It was in vain to repine; and as fruitless to complain of circumvention and fraud. There was no superior to appeal to; and the people had parted with their arms.

It appears that Trautmansdorff, a little before the end of the year, had sent peremptory orders in the emperor's name to the rector, heads and doctors of the university of Louvain, commanding them without deliberation or delay, without any attempt at remonstrance or representation, immediately to en-

register in their archives, and submit to, that system of reform prescribed by the sovereign, and which went to the direct subversion of the university, and of themselves from their former state and condition. To these commands they as peremptorily refused to submit: not only pleading their long-established rights, repeatedly confirmed by the most solemn sanction; but farther insisting that the university was an integral part of the constitution of Brabant, which could no longer properly subsist if deprived of any of its members; and they boldly appealed to that constitution, and to the laws and justice of their country, for protection against injustice, oppression, and violence.

The minister in his subsequent declarations and orders, besides denying the university to be any part or member of the constitution, and insisting on the supreme right of the sovereign to modify it as he pleased, expressed the utmost indignation at the idea of an appeal, or that the ordinary course of law should be supposed to controul, interfere, or be placed in any degree of competition with the will of the sovereign. And to expiate an offence so nearly inexpiable, they were ordered so thoroughly to cancel and annul that resolution, that no trace of it should remain on their records; and they were commanded, in general and individually, to submit and conform to the emperor's decisions, and enjoined not to maintain, either by *word of mouth* or in *writing*, the pretended right set up by the university, which his majesty had fully and irrevocably cancelled and annulled. And, that whoever should *dare* in the smallest degree

degree to infringe this injunction, should be prosecuted as *refractory* and *disobedient* to the emperor's orders.—They were farther warned, to send no more representations, deputations, or protests whatever on the subject, as, if they should presume to send any such, the ministers were bound by their orders to consider them as formal acts of disobedience, and proceed upon them as such.—The rector was enjoined to cause this declaration to be read in full convocation of the university; to have it entered in its register; as well as in the registers of the different faculties; and to certify the execution of all these orders within 24 hours to the minister.

Superior as military power is capable of being to all laws, courts, and forms of justice, yet they must be wretched politicians, and miserable bunglers in the knowledge of its application, who do not at all times endeavour to lessen its odium, by every degree of legal sanction which can possibly be procured or devised. The emperor, relying almost entirely upon authority and force, seems never to have paid much attention to this maxim; or if he did, the impatience of his temper would not let him bring it into practice. His minister in the Netherlands, however, thought it necessary, finding the obstinacy at Louvain invincible to his threats, to obtain, if possible, some legal sanction for the extremities to which he saw he must proceed; and perhaps he thought that it would be considered as a master stroke of policy, if he could bend the grand council of Brabant to become the instrument of carrying his design into execution; or possibly it was

part of the plan formed at Vienna for urging matters to the last point of disorder and confusion.

We have heretofore shewn that the council of Brabant was the supreme judicature of the country, and the final resource in all cases of appeal; that it likewise possessed privileges, prerogatives, and powers, far superior to our English courts of justice, by which it was rendered a substantial mound to the constitution, of which it was an essential member; and that it had frequently baffled the covert, insidious designs of different governments, as well as resisted, with firmness and success, their more open encroachments and attacks. Their president, who was lord chancellor of Brabant, was an officer of great dignity, authority, and power. We have likewise seen that the subversion of this council was a principal object in the emperor's late scheme, for overthrowing the constitution of the country, and establishing in its place a German military government; and that, in pursuance of this design, he had succeeded in debauching the chancellor to degrade his office, and betray the trust reposed in him, by accepting a place in one of the new tribunals, and thereby giving all the sanction in his power to these innovations, which the people considered as their pest and final ruin. The universal detestation in which he was held, induced this man to fly the country during the troubles; but his restoration to office being made a specific article of the late accommodation, was one of those concessions on the side of the people which was the most unwillingly complied with.

We have not seen the first letter which the Count Trautmanndorff sent to the council of Brabant, relative to their issuing and publishing a declaration in support and confirmation of the emperor's decree against the university of Louvain; but the effect it produced shewed that it had been written in the new style of absolute and peremptory command; for it gave so much offence as to draw out a very spirited remonstrance from that body, in which they complain strongly of the violence offered by it to the free constitution of Brabant, and insist upon the revocation of the letter, as being founded on ignorance of the laws, and aiming at despotism. Though the minister was highly incensed at receiving this remonstrance, yet he seems to have been more affected by the apprehension of its being published than by any other consideration. He accordingly threatened the council with instant banishment if they permitted its publication; and, doubting their obedience, took measures besides to secure the press. But his threats and endeavours were equally fruitless, for the remonstrance was printed and in every body's possession the following day.

We have no particulars of the farther bickerings between the parties for about three weeks; but the day was fast approaching when power was to display all its terrors in Brussels, in order, that if it failed in the great object of immediately subverting the constitution, it might, however, appal its supporters in such a degree, as would render them hereafter very cautious how they ventured to stand forth in its defence.

On the morning of a day fixed and prepared for, the minister sent Jan. 22, 1788. a letter, in the style and manner of the most absolute sovereign, to the council of Brabant, reminding them of his former orders relative to the declaration, that the time was on the point of expiring which he had granted for their being carried into execution, and commanding them to lose no farther time, nor, under the pain of being punished for disobedience, to separate or break up the council, until they had taken the proper steps for issuing and publishing the said declaration, and given him due notice of their proceedings. He informs them further, *in terrorem*, that he had acquainted the deputies or committee of the states (who sat in their absence) with the whole of the consequences which must immediately ensue, upon the smallest delay on the part of the council.

This short letter to the supreme council, was inclosed in a long dispatch to the chancellor, filled with threats, and the most violent and despotic language. He informs him that he is *irrevocably* determined to enforce the execution of what he had already mentioned to him, even though he should be obliged to proceed to those *extremities* which he had the good fortune hitherto to avoid; but the *explosion* of which would this day be *infallible*, as well to the whole body, as to many individuals. It being his majesty's absolute determination, and which his dignity requires, that nothing upon which he has signified his will shall be made a subject of doubt, or altered in consequence of any representation

er remonstrance. He refers the chancellor to the last dispatches from the sovereign, which he had already seen, to shew the decisiveness of his orders, and that he could not avoid acting up to them.— That he had the day before given them 24 hours to determine, but that now, if the publication was not made within two hours, he should compel the council to do it by force, even though he should be obliged to invest the council-house with troops, and have recourse to the dire expedient of *cannon* and *bayonets*, which his majesty had most expressly prescribed. He concluded by declaring, that all the concessions made by the emperor in his late declaration should be revoked, if their obstinacy was continued.

The council received these dispatches, and heard the threats which they announced, without the smallest apparent emotion; and without taking any farther notice of them, than to order the precise time of their delivery to be entered, while they continued sitting in their places to wait the event.

General Dalton had drawn up a regiment of infantry, and a squadron of cavalry, with some cannon, not far from the council-house, in order to quicken their proceedings, while the junior ensign of the regiment of Ligne, with a party of soldiers, patrolled the streets, partly to observe the countenance of the people, and partly to keep them in awe. For the general anxiety for the fate of the council, whose extermination was considered as certain, had drawn almost all the inhabitants of Brussels, both male and

female, into the streets and open places.

The young ensign of Ligne, seems not only to have been a forward youth, but to possess such a portion of sagacity as enabled him to penetrate into the character and secret disposition both of his general and of his sovereign, and to build so much upon this discovery, as to venture to trace out by it that line of conduct which he deemed would lead the shortest way to promotion. He now had a separate command, he might not soon have such another opportunity; if he was mistaken in his opinion, youth, inexperience, and good-will would apologize for his rashness; and, having no scruples about the means, he determined not to hesitate in the pursuit of his object. It is said that some stones were thrown by boys, and that he, pretending that one of them skimmed by his hat, immediately formed his men, and threw in a platoon fire upon the naked multitude by which he was surrounded. Astonished and frightened at the mischief they had done, and dreading the immediate vengeance of the people, both officer and soldiers, without waiting to reload, ran away instantly, in the most unmilitary manner, to seek protection from the main body.

The slaughter was much less than could have been imagined, the nearness and closeness of the crowd considered. Only about near a dozen people were killed outright, but a much more considerable number were wounded. This melancholy affair, however, along with the horror and resentment expressed in every countenance, occasioned a pause in the conduct of the ministers.

ters, and probably prevented their proceeding for the present to other extremities. In a letter written by Trautmanfдорff in the evening to the chancellor, after an exclamation that the obstinacy of the council was incredible, he endeavours to impute the guilt of this affair to them, by observing, that the death of some wretches, of which their obstinacy had been the cause, ought to make it a subject of repentance to the members all the days of their lives.

The young ensign had the satisfaction and happiness to find, that his sagacity was proved by the event, and that his theory of promotion was perfectly right. The emperor highly applauded him for this exploit, and desired Dalton to inform the officer "who commanded the patrol which fired, that he was very well pleased with his presence of mind, and the manner in which he conducted himself, and that he might expect promotion on the first vacancy."—Nor was his gratitude slow or dilatory in displaying itself, for in less than a fortnight, the aspiring junior ensign *Wuchetigb*, was in his sovereign's name (which was expressly ordered) promoted to the first lieutenantancy of his regiment. The emperor was likewise unbounded in his approbation and applause of general Dalton, and in the gratitude which he expressed to him for his firmness in thus supporting the dignity of the military character, and impressing the people with a due dread of the soldiers; and though he considered this petty massacre as a very trifle, yet he seemed to console himself with the reflection, that moderate though it was, it might produce a proper effect. But he seldom omitted in

his letters to urge Dalton to a perseverance in the same firmness.

The interception and publication of these letters would have been a most unfortunate circumstance with respect to the memory of this prince, if he had otherwise any character to preserve, or in reality possessed any claim upon the present or future good opinion of mankind. For though comparatively a young man, he had the fortune to outlive every species of reputation. But what must ever appear inexplicable is, that, setting up as he did for a politician of the first form, and evidently possessing a very considerable share of parts of one sort or other, and having likewise acquired, through the multiplicity of his projects, and never-ending contests with his subjects, as well as frequent disputes with his neighbours, greater experience than several long lives have an opportunity of attaining in the ordinary course of things, he should, notwithstanding, at this eventful period, engaged in a momentous war with a potent enemy, and his mind occupied with schemes of ambition of such a magnitude, as to include the overthrow, spoil, and partition of a vast empire, give up his time and attention to the nursing of petty but teasing, vexatious, and cruel squabbles, in the remotest corner of his dominions; with a people too whose obstinacy he had so lately experienced, and who were at so great a distance as to be in no small degree without his grasp. This will appear still more incomprehensible, when we reflect that the concessions which he so lately made to the Netherlanders were extorted from him entirely, through the desire of having no interruption in the

the pursuit of the Ottoman war, and yet he was not near so deeply involved in it at that time as at present. The perplexity will still be farther increased when we remember, that he was at this very time endeavouring to negotiate a large loan with his subjects in the Low Countries, and that their resentment was so great at what they openly called his treachery and perfidy, that no man would lend him a shilling upon any terms. To those who knew his love of money, which none who were at all acquainted with his character could avoid knowing, his conduct in this respect must appear totally unaccountable.

The army being thus let loose upon the people, and such an easy road to promotion opened to rash and adventurous spirits, the consequences may be easily surmised. In the populous manufacturing towns, as is usual in such places, every new act of oppression, or indeed every novelty whatever, was liable to draw the people in crowds into the streets. Their assembling in this manner placed it in the discretion of whatever officer commanded, whether to consider this as a tumult, or at least as an insult to the dignity of the military, and to punish it accordingly by firing upon an unarmed multitude, and thereby to gain the favour both of his general and of his sovereign; or, by giving way to the dictates of humanity, to sacrifice thereto his future fortune, and to suppress that almost irresistible ambition so predominant with military men, of rising high in his profession without being obliged to undergo the tedious forms of service.

It may be easily judged on which side the decision usually lay. A ma-

major who commanded in the city of Mons was, however, a noble exception to the prevalent conduct: fortune seemed to place herself peculiarly in his hands, by affording him such an opportunity of service and consequent distinction, as others in vain sought. The people seem to have been, in fact, tumultuous and violent, in a high degree, and the commander possessed the means fully in his hands of making a terrible example, without danger, and with a better colour of apparent cause than was usually afforded. He missed the occasion! and quelled the tumult without firing a shot, or a man being killed or wounded. The manner in which the sovereign treated this circumstance in one of his letters, sufficiently shewed how little he was gratified by such moderation. He seemed upon every occasion to consider it as a maxim of policy not to be departed from, that frequent blood and massacre were the only means of impressing these people with a proper dread of the troops, and of bending them to that form of government which he had it so much at heart to establish. We are sorry the name of the humane major has not reached us; it deserves to be remembered.

The more effectually to terrify all orders of men, the most alarming threats were thrown out publicly, not only by the military but the civil minister. Trautmanidorff declared at his levee, that if the forces in the Netherlands were not sufficiently numerous to accomplish the purposes to which they were destined, he was empowered to draw an army of 40,000 men thither on the shortest notice; while Dalton, who had rendered himself particularly remarkable by the unexampled height



height of a gallows which he had erected for hanging the insurgents in Transylvania, is said to have threatened that he would erect such another in the great square of the city of Brussels. The first of these threats was purely a gasconade; for the emperor was so fully occupied upon the Danube, that he grievously regretted, upon a subsequent occasion, that he could not spare a single regiment of cavalry from any part of his dominions which he might send to the support of Dalton.

The arch-duchess and her husband, the nominal governors general, had arrived in the Low Countries before the middle of the spring. Although these princes, as we have heretofore observed, had constantly shewn great dispositions of kindness and good-will to the people, and were so gracious and condescending in their conduct, as to attract the regards of all orders, yet the four leaven, so continually administered by their brother, fermented in such a manner in the minds of the states, that the usual subsidy for their maintenance, and supporting the dignity of the court, upon its being first proposed in the committee to whom the department of finance was assigned, received there a direct negative. This unexampled affront was not only highly resented by the princes, who quitted Brussels upon it, but was much condemned by the people in general, who considered it as no less injudicious than illiberal. The states themselves were ashamed of it, and, having first unanimously granted the subsidy, sent a deputation to the princes at their country seat to apologize for what had happened, and to intreat their return to Brussels; a request with which they complied.

It was not long after, that the emperor thought fitting to surprize the world in general, and particularly to puzzle politicians, by one of those instances of a singular versatility of temper, or of an unequalled duplicity of mind, which few but himself could exhibit. He rendered his brother and sister, May 27th, 1788. the governors general, his organs, through whom he declared, "That, from the emotions of his heart, and the sentiments of affection in which he held his faithful subjects, he seized on the first expression made by a part of their representatives to accelerate, in order to promote their happiness and the public good, the moment of a full and perfect restitution of his good favour; that in consequence, yielding to all the emotions of tenderness and a feeling heart, he meant to give the nation proofs of the return of his benevolence, and of his confidence."

It was about the very time that this declaration was announced to the states, with great satisfaction, by the governors general, that he blamed the major who commanded at Mons, for not seizing the fair opportunity which was offered to him of massacring the inhabitants. And it was within the course of a few weeks after that the cruel executions took place at Malines, Louvain, and Antwerp, where women, children, passengers, and travellers, became victims to the promiscuous firings of the soldiery, who, as they became injured to blood, grew more cruel at every execution. Among many deplorable instances of this sort, it may be sufficient to mention the fate of a mother at Malines, who,

who, serving customers in her shop, with her infant in her arms, they were shot dead at the same instant.

Dalton had gained great applause from his matter for having early in the year, without any specific orders for the purpose, sent a strong garrison to coerce the untractable town of Louvain, as he called it. The university, notwithstanding, still persevered in its refusal to submit to the decrees of the sovereign. All other means having hitherto failed of success, the bayonet was at length considered as the most effectual instrument for determining theological disputes, solving the knotty subtleties of the schools, and purging a vast body, grown stiff and disordered by age, from all those vices and habitual errors which it had been liable to contract during the long course of many centuries. This potent instrument was accordingly applied, with its usual effect, in the month of June. The university was thoroughly purged of all those refractory heads or members who had ventured to oppose its constitution, or the laws of their country, to the will of a great monarch; or vainly thought that the wordy logick of the schools could for a moment resist the ultimate logick of kings. The rector was banished for ten years, under the severest penalties of venturing to appear in any part of the emperor's wide dominions. To render the affair memorable, it was signalized, according to the reigning fashion of the time, with a considerable slaughter of the inhabitants, who could not refrain from assembling to pay the last tribute of grief at the overthrow of an institution which had for so many ages been the pride and support of their

city, and had in fact been its creator.

But though the bayonet had thus far been effectual in its service, it was, however, deficient, at least for the present, in another respect. The theological students had universally abandoned the university and the new professors and teachers made but a sorry figure in vast depopulated halls, without hearers or pupils. The only remedy for this would have been to persuade or compel the bishops and abbots to send the youth destined for the ministry to fill up the empty colleges. But this was a measure much more easily to be talked about than carried into execution. Persuasion was out of the question; for both the bishops and abbots had already held separate meetings, at which it was determined, that it would be more eligible to meet and endure the greatest violence and the utmost extremities of power, than to become the voluntary instruments of poisoning the minds of the future, and perhaps succeeding generations, by permitting the young clergy, who were to be their successors in all pastoral and religious duties, to have their moral and religious opinions and principles contaminated by erroneous and schismatical notions and doctrines. On the other hand, the scheme of absolute, undisguised compulsion would have been scarcely more ungracious and odious, than difficult and probably ineffective in the execution; for if it were carried even to its last extreme of persecution (that extremity which has so seldom ever succeeded in the attainment of its object) still the bishops and abbots could screen themselves under a greater authority than

than their own, that of the parents, whose right of decision, with respect both to the education and the final disposal of their children, would scarcely be called in question.

The attention of the emperor was, however, soon drawn away from the Louvain chace, which now flagged and grew cold upon the scent, to another pursuit of the same kind and nature. This was the college at Antwerp, which was likewise a noted seminary for the education of youth; but more particularly destined to the training up of young men to the episcopal duties and functions. It seems that among these students were several spirited young men of an observing and critical disposition, who ventured to throw into the most ridiculous points of view several of the contradictions and absurdities which were most conspicuous in the sovereign's conduct and projects; while others, of a more serious cast, entered coolly and argumentatively into an examination and exposure of the arbitrary measures, by which they said he was aiming directly at the subversion of the religion, government, and constitution of their country.

It was not to be supposed that any of these things could be preserved from the knowledge of a monarch possessed of unbounded power, consequently of unbounded means of gratifying spies and emissaries, and whose peculiarity it besides was, to wish to be acquainted with all the most private and trifling affairs of a great empire. It is true that he had repeatedly borne at Vienna, and seemed to treat with the utmost indifference and contempt, such severity of censure, charge, and abuse, as had ne-

ver before, perhaps, been offered to any sovereign during life, and within the scene of his own government; and that these pasquinades, libels, or charges, were not handed about privately in manuscript, but printed, advertised, and sold like other publications, without fear or concern. Yet notwithstanding this continence and temper displayed at Vienna, he determined upon exterminating that nest of hornets who seem to have given him so much offence at Antwerp.

A day being accordingly fixed for clearing that seminary of all its members, professors as well as students, and for shutting it entirely up, the necessary military preparations were made in the morning for supporting and enforcing the execution of the decree. Several pieces of cannon were drawn out in the open and public places, and loaded in the view of the people, while a body of 400 foot were drawn up with muskets charged and bayonets fixed, to cover the artillery. The populace, both men and women, assembled in vast crowds upon the quays, and in the great square, to behold this new and extraordinary spectacle. A people nursed up under the protection of laws, are disposed to be sturdy in those matters which they know to be within their sanction; we need make no observation on the natural sullen obstinacy of the people. It is said that they were warned more than once to disperse, and that they replied, that they were unarmed, that they neither possessed the means, nor had the smallest intention of offering any offence, and that they had an undoubted right, while they acted thus peaceably, to walk or stand in the streets as they liked.

The only appearance of any opposition to the measure in hand was a legal one, the reading of a protest against it, under the sanction of law, by a notary.

A captain of grenadiers, emulous of the example set by ensign Wuchetigh, and hoping to benefit equally by the repetition of it, to avoid racking his invention, in finding a new cause, pretended to have received exactly the same insult which the former had done, and instantly threw in a close, regular, and much more effectual fire upon the promiscuous multitude. Above forty men and women were said to have been killed upon the spot, and double that number sent wounded to the hospital.

No words could describe the general horror which this cruel, cold-blooded slaughter diffused through every order of the people, and in every part of the provinces. It is but justice to mankind likewise to observe, that these cruel executions, committed upon a defenceless people, by their rulers, in a season of peace and the most profound tranquillity, scarcely operated less in exciting the detestation and abhorrence of the neighbouring nations, than in producing these effects upon the immediate sufferers. In the mean time personal security was now considered as being so precarious in the Netherlands, that several of the nobility, and a great number of other inhabitants of distinction and property, thought it necessary to provide in time for their safety, by retiring to Holland, Liege, and other neighbouring governments for protection.

While the emperor could not bring himself to look his fierce enemy in the face, either on the Da-

nube, or even in defence of the Batinat, he seemed in some degree to receive consolation for the ruin and disgrace which fell upon his vast armies, from the cheap triumphs which were obtained by his favourite general in the Low Countries. His services never failed to draw forth approbation and acknowledgment. In one of his letters, dated at Semlin, and another at Weiskirchen, a few days before the shameful rout, and the havoc made of his army in the valley of Caransebes by the grand vizir, are the following passages. "I perfectly approve of the vigorous manner in which the troops repelled insulce at Louvain, and yet more at Antwerp: they must appear severe in the same conduct to command respect."—And again, from Weiskirchen, "I altogether approve the measures you have taken to crush those disorders, and enforce respect to the soldiery. I hope, by these acts of vigour, and the flight of the principal malecontents, we shall be able finally to re-establish order."—Is it then any wonder, that with such encouragement and applause from a great monarch, and accompanied with professions of the greatest friendship, couched in the most endearing terms, a soldier of fortune, without other connection or hope to look to, should eagerly wish, and assiduously endeavour, not only to preserve, but to increase that favour and confidence? or will it be any surprize to those acquainted with the world, that such a man, so circumstanced, should be little scrupulous about the means of attaining or preserving, objects to him of greater importance, than the acquisition of a large kingdom would have been to his master?

Though

Though this was the last military execution of any great notice which took place in the course of the year, yet the rashness and violence of government was every day, and in every thing apparent. Laws were repeatedly declared to be of no avail, except in ordinary cases between man and man; but to place them in any degree of opposition to, or competition with, the supreme will of the sovereign, was considered and treated as a crime of the first magnitude. The same principle was extended to all capitulations and compacts, whether ancient or modern, however strongly confirmed, or solemnly sworn to and ratified, between the sovereigns and the people. The breath of the present emperor was to do or to undo all things. While he seemed disposed to wreak all the vexation and vengeance excited by the unexpected valour of the Turks, and the disgrace which he so continually and severely experienced, upon his unarmed subjects in the Low Countries, the bishops and abbots, who bore so great a sway in these provinces, were constantly labouring under the apprehension of being stripped of all their temporalities, according to the threats continually thrown out by the ministers, for their steadiness in refusing to send their youth to the seminary at Louvain; an object which the sovereign seemed nearly to have as much at heart, as even the subversion of the laws and civil rights of the people. The revenues of some of the abbots were already under sequestration, for the spirit and firmness which they had lately so eminently displayed, as members of the assemblies of Brabant and Hainault, in opposing the arbitrary decrees and

measures of the sovereign; the celebrity and popularity which they had thus acquired by no means tending to procure any mitigation of the rigour of the sentence. Both these and the other abbacies, which gave their possessors seats in the provincial assemblies, although they were thereby integral parts of the constitution, legislature, and government of the country, were notwithstanding all threatened with speedy and final suppression and confiscation. The largeness of their estates could leave little room to doubt of the serious intention which accompanied this denunciation.

In the mean time, these so lately flourishing and smiling provinces presented a fallen, silent, settled gloom; melancholy and despair appearing in every countenance. A people of an equable temper and slow passions, are always deeply affected when at all so. The best and most valuable inhabitants were daily quitting the country; those whose affairs would not permit, though their ability might, to adopt that mode of security, under continual apprehension of their persons being seized by some arbitrary and irresistible mandate, while the prisons were already filled with supposed delinquents, under the loose general charge, of being inimical to the present government of sovereign will. Foreign commerce, internal trade, and the various branches of manufacture, seemed so totally annihilated, as scarcely to leave a vestige behind that they had ever existed; and the only trades that could procure employment, were those that administered to the immediate necessities of life. To complete the climax of misfortune, this miserable people could not enter-

tain even a hope that their condition would be bettered; but, on the contrary, expected every day to produce some greater evil or calamity than they had yet experienced.

The important events of the war between the great powers on the borders in Europe and Asia, as well as those connected with the revolution in Holland, necessarily occasioned our postponing other matters, which, though of consideration, were not so immediately interesting, and which would not suffer any diminution of their value or character by a later discussion. The internal affairs of Germany come within this description, where an extraordinary act of violence committed by one prince, afforded a happy opportunity to a neighbouring great sovereign, of dignifying his reign, and unfolding his own character with great advantage to the world, by an act of signal justice.

The circumstances were as follow. The death of the count of Lippe Schaumbourg (a sovereign prince of the empire) having taken place on the 15th of February 1787, a too potent neighbour, the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, could not resist the temptation of seizing the possessions of the infant son and successor of the late count. The latter had appointed his widow to the guardianship of his children, and likewise to the regency and government of the country, during the minority of the young count. But in two days after his death, three Hessian regiments of infantry, as many of cavalry, with a strong body of artillery, suddenly entered the defenceless country, seized the city and castle of Buckebourg, and possessed themselves of the whole coun-

ty of Lippe Schaumbourg. This small principality contains two cities, three towns, and seventy-two villages.

Notwithstanding the suddenness of this unexpected invasion, the vigilance and celerity of the faithful minister and privy counsellor of the late count, preserved not only his son, but the archives of the country, from the hands and designs of his enemies. With these treasures he arrived safe at Minden, where the dominion and protection of the king of Prussia afforded them abundant security; but the countess was laid and kept under arrest in her own castle; while the people were obliged to do homage and swear allegiance to their new master, and all public business was conducted in the name of the landgrave.

It will not be supposed, in such a commonwealth as that of Germany, where the possessions of the numerous states, however small many of them may be, are, however, all secured and guaranteed by many general laws and sanctions, which bind the whole to the preservation of each individual, that so flagrant an outrage would be ventured upon, without some colour of right, or pretence of claim. It appears accordingly, that the ancestor of the late count, by marrying a woman of inferior rank, (a circumstance which is placed in a degree of consideration by the Germans, perhaps without example among any other people excepting the Gentoos) afforded some occasion, or at least pretence, for this exertion of violence: the landgrave insisting that the descendants of this marriage being illegitimate, the fief was become vacant, and likewise, that it reverted, in that case, to the house of Hesse; a question which, perhaps, would

would have admitted of as tedious a litigation as that of illegitimacy.

It happened, however, unluckily for the claim of the landgrave, that the question relative to the validity of this marriage had formerly, and near the time, been much contested, and that it had been fully confirmed, and the legitimacy of the issue accordingly established by the separate decrees of two of the superior tribunals of the empire, which were each competent to the purpose. But though this procedure might not well bear the test of examination with respect to its morality and justice, the design was certainly not ill laid, when tried by the rules of that policy which looks only to advantage. For if no superior power had interposed to save them by an act of summary justice, it may be easily seen what the situation of a poor exiled family would have been, rendered more helpless by a long minority, involved in an endless litigation, with a very powerful, and at least, one of the richest princes of the empire; while the very means which should have supported them in the defence of their rights, were in the hands of their enemy, and applied to their subversion. For it is to be observed that the great tribunals of the empire are so slow in their forms, and dilatory in their proceedings, that a law-suit is at this time depending, upon a question of territorial right, between a great and a smaller family, which commenced above two hundred years ago; the former having been the whole time in possession of the litigated object, which it gained in the first instance by force.

The violence and apparent injustice of the present affair, caused a

very general sensation of pity for the orphan and his distressed family, and of dislike to the oppressor, throughout Germany. The Aulic council took up the business with spirit, and issued a decree, strongly condemning the wrong, and ordaining restitution to be forthwith made to the injured family. But as the efficacy of their decrees depended upon the support they received from the emperor, and every body knew he was too deeply involved in schemes of foreign ambition, to think it at all convenient to embroil himself at home, especially with so powerful a prince as the landgrave, rendered still more formidable from his being a principal member of the German confederacy, and united so closely as he was with the two king-electors of Brandenburg and Hanover, the hope of any near effect to be produced by their interference was weak indeed.

If the king of Prussia had not consulted justice more than the dictates of interest and a narrow policy, he not only would have had a disagreeable card to play, but his sanction to the wrong would, in all human probability, the present posture of public affairs in Germany considered, have rendered it irrevocable, or at least have occasioned the affair to be left open for the decision of a future age, while the poor family were exposed to every degree of ruin and distress. The landgrave was his kinsman, close friend and ally; and his alliance, in the present state of things, and according to the political views which directed the conduct of the court of Berlin, appeared to be of great importance; while the protection of a weak family, and the preservation of a small principality, could an-

swer no immediate political purpose whatever.

The king of Prussia, however, took a nobler part. He sacrificed all interested views to the principles of justice, and to the generous desire of succouring the oppressed. The elector of Hanover, who, both as king and elector, was still more intimately united with the landgrave, took likewise the same disinterested part. The first had a legal sanction for his interference to prevent wrong and injury, both as chief of the circle of Westphalia, and as one of the directors of the circle of the lower Rhine; and he was called upon in these capacities, but only in general terms, by the decree of the Aulic council and the emperor. The landgrave, finding himself thus opposed by his closest friends and most powerful allies, found it necessary to abandon his scheme. He accordingly withdrew his troops out of the country in the beginning of April, restoring every thing to the state they had found it; while in a letter, at the same time, to Berlin, he attributed this condescension entirely to his friendship for the king, and the regard he paid to his mediation; but reserving his own rights for future legal discussion. Great delicacy was observed with respect to the landgrave's feelings, in the account of this transaction, published by authority at Berlin; the king's mediation being attributed rather more to his friendship for the house of Hesse, than to an attention to the discharge of his official duties; and the family whom he had so effectually protected not being at all mentioned.

A great contest took place in the commencement of the year 1787, between the elector of Cologne and

the pope's nuncio. The latter, it appears, had issued an extraordinary ill-timed and imprudent mandate, (to say nothing of any right, real or pretended, by which it might be supported) declaring all dispensations for marriages granted by the elector to be null, and the marriages void. This insult and injury excited in a high degree the indignation and resentment of the prince elector, who accordingly issued a decree, strictly forbidding his clergy, and particularly the parish rectors, from paying the smallest regard to the mandates or letters of the Roman prelate, whom he describes as a *foreign bishop, assuming the title of nuncio from the holy see to Cologne*; and farther, not to obey any brief, bull, or dispensation whatever, unless coming directly from himself.—The measure that brought forth this decree seemed the less defensible in the nuncio, as, besides the other peculiar circumstances of the times, which rendered such a step not only imprudent but dangerous, the German archbishops, as a body, were already involved in a violent contest with the sovereign pontiff, relative to several real or supposed invasions of their archiepiscopal rights: they had appealed from his decisions to the Aulic council, which would have been once deemed a most unpardonable offence; were eager in their demands for the holding of a national ecclesiastical council, in order to reclaim and confirm the rights of the Germanic church; and shewed many unequivocal signs of their disposition to shake off entirely all dependence on the court of Rome. The nuncio, in his conduct, seemed totally inattentive to these alarming circumstances; but it has been an old observation, confirmed by the experience



ence of many centuries, that as soon as the Italian prelates have crossed the Alps, armed with any powers from that court, they seem metamorphosed into a new order of men, and have been more frequently distinguished by pride, assumption, and arrogance, than by any disposition to condescension or conciliation.

The disposition or example of the elector could have no great effect in producing the liberal measure in favour of the protestants, which was adopted by the free and imperial city of Cologne, towards the close of the year 1787. For that city is so nearly a republic, that the authority of the electors is, in effect, more nominal than real; while an extreme jealousy of privileges on the one side, and some disposition to support or renew old claims on the other, has rather generally tended to nourish dislike than to establish any great degree of cordiality between the parties; a stronger testimony of which needs not to be given, than that though the electors possess two palaces in that city, they scarcely ever reside there.

This city has, from the days of the reformation, been generally held among the foremost in Germany, with respect to religious prejudice and bigotry; the spirit of intolerance being so strong among the people, that it produced a serious and alarming dispute between them and the first king of Prussia, from their refusing to his ambassador the exercise of the protestant rites in his own house. The protestants in Cologne were, notwithstanding, more numerous than might have been expected, and much more considerable of merchants and men of business,

and these infinitely more active and industrious than the natives, almost the whole commerce of that great trading city was conducted by them. But they had ever experienced great inconveniencies and difficulties with respect to the performance of their religious duties; they being obliged to cross the Rhine, and go to Mulheim in the palatinate, at about half a dozen miles distance, for that purpose. Nor were they less perplexed with respect to their children, whom they were obliged to send still farther from home for their education.

Some considerable change in the temper of the people must undoubtedly have now taken place, and some unusually favourable disposition been observed in the magistrates and rulers, which induced the protestants to solicit a redress, the acquisition of which had ever been deemed hopeless. A memoria signed by about 70 of the principal protestants, was presented to the magistracy, requesting permission to build a house of prayer for the practice of their worship, with leave to erect an adjoining building for their schools, and a house for the minister. The petition was not only most graciously received, but this long wished and little hoped for favour was, without delay, and with the best grace possible, granted in its full extent. The obligation was rendered still more grateful, by the principal Roman Catholics of the city coming in a body to congratulate the protestants, and expressing the utmost satisfaction at their success.

The high reputation which the new king of Prussia acquired, by the vigour and wisdom which he displayed in settling and restoring the affairs of Holland, was in no degree

impaired by his subsequent political conduct through the course of the year 1788. The general affairs of Europe, as well as his own particular situation, required every exertion of skill and dexterity, along with the greatest resolution, ability, and judgment, which the most consummate politician, and even his great predecessor could have displayed. For the combination, now carrying into act, of two of the most ambitious, as well as most potent powers of the universe, though immediately directed to the subversion of a remote, and what is called infidel empire, in which the christian world did not seem much interested, yet was pregnant with consequences, which might be capable of holding out alarm and danger, in a less or greater degree, to every state in Europe.

It was a singular circumstance attending this extraordinary state of things, that the embarrassment and consequent state of weakness of France, which, at almost any other period within two centuries, would have been considered as equivalent to holding out the olive branch to the rest of Europe, was, at the present day, highly unfavourable to the prospect of preserving the public tranquillity, of maintaining some reasonable degree of equilibrium between the several parts, and consequently of affording security to the weaker states. For, the dreams of universal dominion being long since vanished in France, the strength and resources of that powerful kingdom, in its better and usual state, would have formed an insuperable barrier to the west of Europe, against the unaccountable alliance, and headlong ambition, of the two imperial courts; and she would, besides, have communicated such a

degree of support to the centre, as would have restrained their hostile views to those countries which had the misfortune of being more immediately within their grasp, as Poland, and perhaps the northern kingdoms. But as things stood at present, the great point of political danger seemed to be, that the eastern empires would overwhelm and crush the central and western parts of Europe.

The debilitated state of France consequently rendered the situation of the king of Prussia much more arduous than it otherwise would have been. As Poland was in no degree to be considered as a barrier, but rather as an open road, furnished with excellent accommodations of every sort for the support of an advancing enemy, so it might be said, that he was environed on every side by the dominions of these two vast empires, from whose joint ambition, and the particular animosity of one, he had so much to apprehend. Their success in the subversion of the Ottoman empire, besides the addition it made to their power, he well knew would operate as a fresh stimulus to their ambition, and excite them to farther schemes of conquest and partition. Poland must fall of course, and his dominions, along with those of the other members of the Germanic body, would be enclosed within a narrow circle, and open on every side to attack.

Yet, notwithstanding this perilous state of things, it seemed too hazardous a measure to enter into a direct war in support of the Turk, without any other alliance than that afforded by so weak and unstable a government as the Porte has long been. It was first neces-

fary to endeavour, if possible, to form such a western alliance, as might be some counterpoise to the eastern confederacy. The maritime powers, though farther removed from and less exposed to the consequences, of the ambitious designs of the combined empires, were, however, very far from being indifferent to their progress. The mutual concert between Great Britain and Prussia, in adjusting the affairs of Holland, opened the way to a farther communion of sentiments and interests. That king, as elector of Hanover, and a member of the Germanic league, was already, so far, united with Prussia; while the close connection between the latter and the stadtholder, along with the general influence which he had acquired in Holland, facilitated greatly the design of forming a junction between the three powers.

It was undoubtedly upon these grounds that the king of Prussia visited Holland in the summer of 1788, where that triple alliance was formed, which bound Great Britain, Prussia, and the republic together, in the closest bands of amity, as well as to reciprocal succour and defence. Though these treaties were purely defensive in the letter, it was not difficult to see, that in their spirit, they were convertible to such purposes as the mutual political interests of the contracting parties might dictate. Strongly fortified by this league, the king of Prussia did not hesitate to adopt every means, short of actual war, to impede the designs and progress of the combined empires against the Ottomans. The first effect of the new alliance (which we have already fully

shewn) was a great one, and sufficiently vexatious to Russia. It was that vigorous measure, in which Great Britain bore so eminent a part, by which the invasion of Sweden by the Danes was restrained, their further co-operation with Russia prevented, and Denmark unwillingly obliged to adopt a strict neutrality for the remainder of the war. It has since been universally believed, if not certainly known, that the court of Berlin had no small share in the war undertaken by the king of Sweden against Russia; whose attack on the side of Finland would have embarrassed her more, and probably have produced more immediately dangerous consequences, than any other foreign affair in which she has for a long period of years been involved, if it had not been for those insidious intrigues, by which she had already so effectually debauched the Swedish army and nobility, as to render the very existence of that king a matter of the utmost hazard.

The king of Prussia, upon the same principle of policy which guided his conduct in these matters, was likewise playing a great game on the side of Poland. We have heretofore shewn, that the emperor's application to the actual governing powers of that republic, to permit his troops to march as occasion might require through its territories, was civilly refused upon two distinct grounds; one, that no authority less than that of the diet, could grant the passage of the troops; and, in the next place, that the condition of the country did not admit of its sparing either provisions or forage.

Though this refusal was effective

tive with respect to the emperor, such, if it had been given, could have no operation on the conduct of the Russians. Their troops had been too long used to ravage the country at discretion, and their lowest subalterns for too many years in the habit of exercising the most arbitrary and cruel sway, to have it now expected that they should pay any regard to diplomatic forms, or to claims of territorial right. They had accordingly formed vast magazines in different parts of the country, without the trouble of enquiring whether the wants of the people were real or fictitious, and their troops traversed it in all directions, with as little ceremony as their own provinces.

In the mean time, the lesser factions in which the Poles were usually divided, seemed now to be absorbed in two great ones; the Russian, to which the court adhered, and the country party. The latter was the more numerous, and their avowed objects were to recover the ancient independance of the republic, consequently to shake off all foreign influence and interference whatever in their councils and proceedings, to give effect to this design by the establishment of such a military force as should command respect with their neighbours, and finally, so far as it could yet be done, to use all possible means for recovering the ancient splendour and glory of their country. This a proud people naturally sighed for; and it is easily seen, that the views of this party were directly inimical to the interest and views of Russia.

The Prussian sovereign did not neglect to send a number of able emissaries (mostly officers) into

Poland, to support and confirm this spirit. Writings were now every day published, of an unusually bold tendency, calling upon the Poles, by every thing that could affect their passions, to shake off that ignominious foreign yoke, which had so long been the disgrace and ruin of the country; to remember the glorious deeds of their ancestors, and the splendid station which they held among the greatest nations of the earth; and either to recover their independency, or to perish with their swords in their hands like brave men, in the generous endeavour. These publications operating upon the recollection and immediate feelings of the people, occasioned a violent ferment in the nation; and it was evident, that the want of means, and of some conspicuous leader, were the only restraints upon a great majority, from having immediate recourse to arms.

In this state of temper and things, which could not but produce a great effect upon the elections, the diet was opened in the beginning of October 1788. The opposite parties had each its favourite object in view, the success or failure of which must in a great measure, if not entirely, govern the future proceedings of the diet. The court party wanted to draw the bands of alliance and guaranty with Russia (which scarcely seemed possible) tighter than they had been before, by a new treaty of alliance, accompanied with a new guaranty. This was regarded with abhorrence by the independent party, who attributed all the calamities of the country, all the cruel ravage and devastation which it had undergone for so many years,

years, to that fatal connection. To that, they said, Poland owed the slaughter of her principal nobility, not only in the field, but by private execution under the vilest hands; while others perished still more miserably, in dismal dungeons under the most inhuman treatment, and many were still probably lingering out their lives in those horrible arctic deserts, where, shut out for ever from the habitable world, and lost to all knowledge of their friends and country, existence is the most cruel of all punishments. All these calamities, they said, the recollection of which chilled the blood in their veins, proceeded entirely from the insidious friendship of Russia, and her interference, under that pretence, in their government and internal concerns. This party therefore wished a close alliance with Prussia, as the only power which could enable them to shake off the Russian despotism, and to resume their ancient independency. But in the worst that could happen, and supposing the views of the court of Berlin to be as interested as those of Peterburgh, still a connection with a humane and civilized people, and with a sovereign who, being more nearly connected with the great European republic, must, even from political motives, pay some regard, at least to the appearances of right and justice, would be preferable to the unsufferable insolence, and the lawless despotism which they had so long endured.

The scheme for the new treaty being announced, though not absolutely laid before the diet, by the king, Stackelberg, the Russian minister, and the leading members

of that party, it was easily seen, from the reception the proposal received, that it would meet with a violent opposition. The court of Peterburgh had already communicated the design to the king of Prussia, who totally disapproved of it, among other reasons, for its apparent futility. Russia having long since assumed the office of guarantee to the security of the present dominions of Poland, in as full a manner as she could do by any new treaty; but that if, notwithstanding, she should still continue to think a new alliance necessary to Poland, he should at the same time propose a renewal of the old treaties which had long subsisted between Prussia and the republic, as he did not take a less part than any other power in the preservation of that neighbouring state.

The first business of consequence in the diet was, that great augmentation of the army, from 20,000 to 60,000 men, which was brought forward by the country party. This was violently opposed by the Russian minister, who insisted that it was a direct infraction of the treaties and alliance between the republic and that power; for that Russia was not only guarantee to the dominions of Poland, but that she was likewise guarantee to the preservation of the form of government which was settled at that period, in the year 1775; so that no alteration could take place, nor innovation be admitted in it, without her consent. This representation, however, met with no small degree of ridicule, if not of contempt, as if all states were not competent to the reform or improvement of their own government,

ment, without consulting the opinion or asking the leave of foreigners for so doing.

Oct. 12th. The speedy arrival of a memorial from the king of Prussia, soon afforded new matter of deliberation and discussion to the diet. In this piece the king observes, that if the proposed new alliance has not for its object the preservation of the states of Poland, he cannot see its necessity or utility; but this cannot be the object, as the safety of Poland is already as fully guaranteed by the former treaties as it can be by any new ones; and, as it cannot be supposed that the empress of Russia finds it necessary farther to restrain herself, or her ally the emperor, against any infraction of them, it plainly follows that such a design is imputed to himself, and that this alliance is directed against him.

That he cannot therefore but object to, and protest in the strongest terms against the said alliance, as tending to break the good harmony established between Prussia and Poland by the most solemn treaties.

But if, on the other hand, it should be said, that the term *common enemy*, held out in the proposal for this alliance, was intended to signify the Ottoman Porte, and it was accordingly directed against that power, the king could not avoid, out of friendship for the republic, to represent, that the Porte having, ever since the conclusion of the peace of Carlowitz, inviolably observed and religiously fulfilled all the terms of that treaty, and having not, even in all the violence of the present war, once infringed her territorial rights, it would not only be an act of the highest injustice, but attended with

the most dangerous consequences, both to the estates of the republic, and to those of the king himself, which were so closely involved with them, if she were to contract alliances which must oblige the Porte to consider Poland as an enemy; for that no enlightened citizen of Poland could avoid seeing at once, how difficult and impossible it would be to defend his country against an enemy so near, so formidable, and so unruly.

The king seemed to approve of the augmentation of the army, and to acknowledge the propriety of the republic's placing its forces upon a respectable footing; but he expressed strong apprehensions that this measure might be converted into an instrument for forwarding that alliance and war which he had deprecated, and of involving the republic in those grievous consequences which he had foreboded.

He scarcely applies himself less to the patriotic citizens at large, than to the king, or even the diet, in different parts of the memorial; and in the conclusion, calls specifically upon all the true patriots and good citizens of Poland to unite with him, and to prevent, by their union and wise measures, the imminent dangers with which their country was menaced. The king concludes with an assurance, that he will grant them every necessary assistance, and the most powerful succours, for maintaining the independence, liberty, and security of Poland.

If Russia had not been involved as she was at present, this memorial would have been considered, and would have immediately operated, as a declaration of war. Every politician who knew and considered the affairs of that empire, must have

have seen, that she was now sustaining a more essential loss on the side of Poland, than any benefits she was likely to derive from her Ottoman conquests could in any degree supply.

In the mean time, the decree for the augmentation of the army to 60,000 men, and if practicable to 100,000, was carried with an unanimity unequalled in the annals of Poland; and so high was the public spirit, that all the orders of the state, not excepting the clergy, gave up their peculiar exemptions, and agreed to a general cess on their lands, to support the expence of that measure. In the same spirit a public subscription was opened and liberally supported; but the contributions were more in kind than in money, though equally useful; the people giving those helps which best suited their circumstances, as corn, other provisions, horses, oxen, carriages, military stores, and men. In the mean time, the disposition now so apparently prevalent in the diet, prevented the project for the new alliance with Russia from being at all brought forward.

The answer to the Prussian memorial, though fully expressive of a due sense of the kind, neighbourly, and generous offers made by the king, and of his friendly dispositions to the republic, was, however, conceived and supported with dignity; nor did it seem that some of the implications contained in the memorial, as if they had any disposition to adopt the measures therein objected to, were entirely relished by the diet. They shewed that the project for the new alliance had not been brought before them; that the augmentation of their military force neither had, nor could have, any connection

with that design, if it had; and that the augmentation, and the imposts allotted for its support, were founded upon principles purely defensive. They observed that their proceedings were fair and open; and that their measures were, and should be in every thing conformable to the public will. That if any alliance should be proposed to them, the republic would never veil its proceedings, but act conformably to the independence of its sovereignty, to the rules of prudence, to the sacred principles of public faith, and to the deference due to the friendly sentiments of the king. The states conclude with an unanimous wish and intention of conducting their deliberations in such a manner, as should fix in the opinion of his Prussian majesty an advantageous idea of their *understandings*, and their patriotism.

The strong predilection which the king shewed for the Russian party and interest, besides several severe speeches in his presence, which could scarcely be considered short of reproaches, gave occasion likewise for bringing forward a measure in the diet, by which he was deeply and immediately affected. This was no less than taking the direction of the army out of his hands, the disposal of which till now had ever been virtually lodged in the crown, through the medium of the war department and of the permanent council, which were to be considered only as its agents. Though this proposal was violently opposed, and the question frequently agitated with great heat, it was ultimately carried in the affirmative.

In the mean time the Russian troops were taking up winter quarters in Poland, and were said to have

have forced the tenants of some of the magnates to supply them with provisions and forage. This occasioned a great combustion in the diet, where we have already seen that a powerful party were far from being favourably disposed to that nation. In this state of things the Russian minister, count Stackelberg, presented a declaration to the diet, in which, after seeming to attribute some merit to the profound silence hitherto observed by his mistress, although several of the resolutions passed by the states had already infringed the constitution to which she was guarantee, and commenting on her amicable disposition to the Polish nation, of which she had given so many testimonies, then declares how repugnant it would be to his own feelings, to be reduced to the disagreeable necessity of protesting against any endeavour to alter the form of government solemnly confirmed by the act of guarantee of 1775; yet, that several of the projects lately entertained, and particularly that of establishing a permanent diet, having a direct tendency to the subversion of that form of government, he is now under a necessity of declaring, in the name of her imperial majesty, that, notwithstanding the regret she shall feel at withdrawing from the king and the illustrious republic that friendship which she has avowed for them, she shall be forced to consider, as an infraction of the treaty, the smallest change in the constitution of 1775.

Without taking any notice whatever of this declaration, the diet, on the same day, presented a note to the Russian minister, which, along with many high compliments to the empress on her justice and magnani-

mity, requested, that, as a new proof of both, as well as of the regard which she had always expressed for that country, she would order her troops to evacuate it. In support of this requisition they shewed the propriety and justice of it upon the following grounds: that so great an army, however well disciplined it may be, could not but be very burdensome to the country; that its stay might besides furnish a plausible pretext to the Ottoman court for causing their troops to enter it likewise, and thereby, perhaps, of rendering Poland the theatre of war; an event, which could not of necessity but prove the inevitable ruin of the country.

It seems that the king had made a speech upon the delivery of the Russian declaration, the purport of which we have no information of, but it is said to have given great offence, and that in concert with the declaration, added to the vexation excited by receiving no answer to the requisition for withdrawing the troops, so violent an agitation was raised in the diet, that the king found it necessary, on the following day, in order to allay the ferment, to put an end to the session; by which, however, is meant no more, than is understood by the term adjournment, with respect to the English parliament. But even this measure was so far from procuring the desired success, that, notwithstanding the adjournment, a deputation of several principal members was sent to the king, who, it is said, proposed the following question to him, with the harsh denunciation which accompanies it, "Whether his majesty would adhere to them, or remain attached to the Russian party? and that, in the last case, they



“they were resolved to give him “up entirely.” The king deferred giving an answer to the next session; but warned them to consider well what they were doing.

The king, however, by an eloquent conciliatory speech, restored, for the present, the good temper of the diet. He declared, that he was no farther of any party than as he thought it tended to the public good. That the interest and prosperity of his country had been the invariable objects of his pursuit, and the operating principle of all his actions, from the first moment of his accession to the present. That if the king went hand in hand with the people, and the people with the king, every thing would go well with them, and end happily; but if they suffered causeless jealousies and suspicions to interrupt that harmony, without which nothing could prosper, and the demon of discord again to establish his throne among them, every thing would, as certainly as the succession of night to day, run counter to the wishes and hopes of all true patriots, and they would be reduced to a more deplorable state, than they had even yet experienced.

A new declaration from the king of Prussia, dated the 19th of November, was the means of affording so decided a superiority to the independant party in the diet, as nearly to preclude all farther contest. In this piece he loads the confederated states with congratulations and praise for the virtue, wisdom, and patriotism which they had so signally displayed in their proceedings, thereby affording an opportunity to himself of gratifying his own wishes, by effectually

seconding their intentions of supporting the rights and privileges of the republic. Among the enumerated articles of congratulation and praise, particular notice is taken of their wisdom in rendering abortive the scheme of a new alliance; a project which he charges directly to their own king and his minister. Nor does he less applaud their conduct in securing the independence of their military force, and regulating its command and disposition in such a manner, as would prevent the possibility of its being rendered, by an abuse of power, the instrument of foreign influence and despotism, which it would otherwise have been susceptible of.

He points severely at Russia with respect to the peculiar guarantee she now wanted to introduce, as well as her conduct in breaking through that of 1775, immediately after she had signed it, and still more, for the interference which she wanted to draw from the latter, that the republic was bound by it from regulating her own government as the circumstances of the times and of things demanded.

The king bound himself in the strongest manner to fulfil his promises of alliance with, and general guarantee of the republic, particularly to secure its independence, without intermeddling in its interior affairs, or wishing to trouble the freedom of its deliberations and resolutions, which, on the contrary, he will use his utmost efforts to support. He concludes with a hope, that a conviction of the uprightness and purity of his intentions, as well as of the friendly sentiments which he entertains, will prevent their suffering any sinister insinuations to prevail upon them, thrown out by  
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those only who seek to propagate a spirit of party under the cloak of patriotism, and who, in reality, have no other design, than to break off the connection between the republic and its most ancient ally, the court of Prussia.

The states declared in answer, that if their past determination of establishing a separate commission for the war department had met the approbation of his Prussian majesty, they hoped their subsequent conduct on that and other subjects would insure it in future—That it was by such conduct the republic wished to assure the king how much they esteemed his wisdom and approbation, as well as thereby to secure the safety of the republic, which he has kindly declared he holds superior to other important considerations—That, having declared himself ready to fulfil his engagements of alliance and guaranty with the states, the nation accepted it with a reciprocal desire, and with gratitude—And, that his majesty, in offering such generous and friendly terms, establishes for ever that high opinion which the Polish nation entertains of his magnanimity and character.

The vigorous measures pursued, and the independent spirit shewn by the diet, had already begun to operate, in raising Poland to a degree of consideration with its neighbours, which it had long since forgotten. Sweden applied warmly to enter into an alliance of the closest nature with the republic, which was intended to include a mutual guarantee of their respective dominions, besides adopting certain measures for securing the future tranquillity and independence of the north. The court of Berlin was to be a principal member of this alli-

ance. If we do not mistake, Denmark likewise proposed an alliance, which, however friendly, was of a less intimate, and less political nature.

Nor did the grand signior omit this opportunity of endeavouring to renew his former, and to enter into still closer connections with Poland. As an introduction to this design, he issued a declaration to all the powers friendly to Poland, as well as to herself, dated on the 23d of November, 1788, strongly expressive of his friendship and of his good wishes for her independence and prosperity; regretting with sensibility the long course of injury and oppression which she had experienced from Russia, and reprobating particularly the guarantee of 1775, which she forced the Poles to accept, and by which she converted the whole nation into slaves and vassals. He reprobates, in still severer terms, the exorbitant assumption of Russia, to totally subvertive of the sovereignty of the republic, in preventing her from settling or reforming her own government as she liked, or as the necessity of public affairs required.

On all these accounts, as an injury and oppression unheard of among nations, the Sublime Porte will, for the honour of the empire, as the support of the weak, and the scourge of the unjust and powerful, punctually fulfil all her treaties and engagements with the republic, and will, at the first requisition, send a powerful army to her assistance; and gives this notice to the friendly powers, that they might be apprized of the motives for his troops entering into the service of Poland.

Nor did the republic seem less sensible to its growing importance than its neighbours; as an instance  
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of which, the diet nominated ambassadors to the following courts: Constantinople, Peterburgh, Vienna, Berlin, Versailles, and London. This nomination, however, required the king's confirmation, which was obtained without difficulty. Though these ministers were of the first rank and quality, they were still more eminent for their patriotism, and the opinion held of their ability.

In the course of the various eager debates which took place in the diet upon those subjects of discussion which we have stated, as well as others, a violent philippic was pronounced against the emperor by one of the members. He observed, that great and numerous as the injuries were which the republic had received from Russia, they were only such as in unfortunate circumstances they could not but expect from that power, with whom, for a course of ages, they had been in a state of frequent, if not general enmity. But that the rapacity displayed by the emperor, who, in the midst of a long-established and uninterrupted league of the closest friendship and amity, besides all those formal written stipulations which can bind states to mutual succour and kindness, a league cemented on the side of the republic by the most eminent services, and constantly observed with the most invariable good faith, stained the opening of his reign by taking advantage of their unhappy civil dissensions, seized a part of their country, not only without a colour of right, but even without the pretence of a claim, and thereby opened the way to other powers for that fatal partition, by which more than a third of Poland was severed from, and totally lost

to the rest. This he represented as an act of such duplicity, treachery, and of such extreme turpitude in all moral respects, as to be without example among civilized nations, whether christian or infidel.—He added to these, various other acts of injury, injustice, and oppression, which he charged on the emperor. His fraudulent seizure of the salt-mines, by a quibble on the name of a brook; his monopolizing that article, to the great injury and distress of the people at large; the arbitrary injunction, by which the nobility, who possessed lands in Galicia, were compelled to spend half the year in that province, at the peril of forfeiting their estates, although their seats, and the major part of their possessions, were situated in remote parts of the kingdom; and the late violation of the territorial rights of the republic at the siege of Choczim. Notwithstanding the extreme severities with which this speech was loaded, it was received with such unbounded applause by the diet, as had seldom been equalled upon any occasion; a circumstance which sufficiently pointed out the prevalent state of temper and opinion in that assembly.

The continuance of the Russian troops in the kingdom, at the same time that it caused great discontent and complaint in the nation, served no less to preserve the union, and to support the fervour of the diet. It was generally expected, and probably hoped and wished by the Poles, that the Prussian military exertions would be immediately directed to drive the former out of the country. For, exclusively of their aversion to the Russians, their eagerness to get in any manner entirely out of their hands, and the

satisfaction which the correction and chastisement of their old oppressors would afford, still enhanced by the hope that the punishment would be inflicted upon the very scenes of their arbitrary transgressions, they were prompted to wish for a war, both as a demonstration of the Prussian sincerity, and as likely to afford means for cementing the union so closely between the two nations, that nothing in the common course of things might be able to dissolve it. From such an union they augured the happiest effects. They knew that Sweden and the Porte were eager to become parties to the league; and they expected the accession of some of the Germanic states, and even of Denmark, when she saw that it might be done with security. Such a state of things seemed to open the most flattering prospects: they fancied they saw the tranquillity and liberty of the northern nations established upon the most permanent foundation, and a total stop put to the domineering interference of that overreaching power, which had for so many years spread confusion, discord, and misery through all the neighbouring countries.

The king of Prussia's conduct had afforded much countenance to the opinion of an immediate war. For, besides his strong remonstrances to the court of Petersburg on the continuance of the Russians in Poland, and his declarations at Warsaw, his troops had been long advancing in great bodies towards the frontiers bordering on Livonia, Courland, and the Polish provinces. Magazines had likewise been formed, artillery and ammunition brought forward, and appearances were so strong, that not only war, but an

immediate winter campaign, was generally expected. The king was, however, very cautious in appealing to that last resource, and endeavoured evidently to make the apprehension of his power, full in vigour and unimpaired as it was, with a full treasury, the first army in the universe, and the greatness of his military preparations, produce the good effects and the purposes of successful war, without its consequent inevitable evils.

It is likewise probable, that the long and alarming illness of the king of Great Britain, served greatly at this time to check the designs and to impede the activity of the Prussian sovereign. For that misfortune operated in a twofold capacity, throwing a cloud of uncertainty, not only over the reliance which might be placed on the future proceedings of that great country, but involving in it, likewise, all that related to the electorate of Hanover.

Thus far the king of Prussia had successfully displayed all the qualities of a great statesman, and of an able and accomplished politician. Poland was now entirely in his hands, so far as the certain friendship and alliance of a country which must be devoted to his service could render it so, under a nominal independence. This was, without bloodshed or war, a greater and more valuable acquisition than had been produced by all the laurels, victories, and long wars of his great predecessor. Poland, under a vigorous government, which it would have been his interest to establish and always preserve, would soon become an impenetrable barrier between him and Russia, and at the same time a most useful ally on the side of Silesia, in all future contests with  
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the house of Austria. Thus, while he communicated happiness and a necessary degree of power to his friend and neighbour, he would have derived from it a degree of security to the straggling appendages of his own dominions, which they cannot otherwise easily acquire.

Such an arrangement of things would have changed the face of affairs wonderfully for the better, both in the north and center of Europe. The unhappy country of Courland, whose distressed nobility have traversed all Europe, in the fruitless hope of finding so much of

the spirit of knight errantry somewhere left, as might induce some power heroically to deliver her from the deplorable bondage under which she has so long laboured, would then find shelter under the wings either of the king or the republic. Time and wisdom might have communicated similar benefits to other provinces and countries. Why a system of policy, so wisely and happily commenced, and for a time conducted, did not produce all the effects which were hoped and wished, will be a subject of future discussion.

## C H A P. III.

*Declining state of the king's health in the month of October, 1788, which terminates soon after in a continued delirium; grief of the people, and measures taken by public characters in consequence thereof. Parliament meets pursuant to the last prorogation. Notification to both houses of the state of his majesty's health; immediate adjournment for a fortnight, and summons for the attendance of members ordered; examination of the king's physicians before the privy council; minutes of the council board laid before both houses at their second meeting; doubts started in the house of commons, whether it would not be necessary to examine the physicians at the bar; taken into further consideration on the 8th of December, and a committee appointed in each house to examine the physicians; their report brought up on the 10th, and a committee appointed to search for precedents; Mr. Fox asserts the right of the prince of Wales to the regency; his opinion controverted by Mr. Pitt; Mr. Pitt's conduct sarcastically remarked upon by Mr. Burke; Mr. Fox's opinion condemned by the president of the council, and other lords in the upper house; defended by the lords Loughborough, Stormont, and Portchester. The report from the committee of precedents brought up on the 12th; Mr. Fox explains, and reasserts his opinion relative to the prince's right, and is warmly opposed by Mr. Pitt; farther explanation of Mr. Pitt's opinions upon the regency; discussion of the question of right deprecated in the house of lords; speeches of the duke of York and of the duke of Gloucester; three resolutions moved by Mr. Pitt, December 16; the second resolution, declaratory of the right of the two houses of parliament to appoint a regent, strongly opposed by lord North and Mr. Fox, and supported by the master of the rolls, the lord advocate of Scotland, the attorney and solicitor general, and Mr. Hardinge; reflections of Mr. Russell on the minister's conduct; the resolution carried by a majority of 268 to 204; opposed on the report of the committee by Sir Grey Cooper and Mr. Wyndham; amendment moved by Mr. Dempster, and withdrawn; amendment to the third resolution moved by Mr. Dempster; debate thereon adjourned to the 22d of December.*

**A**S the most important transactions of the session of parliament, whose proceedings we are now to relate, arose out of the peculiar circumstances under which it assembled, we must bring back the recollection of the reader, for a moment, to the impaired state of the king's health towards the latter end of October 1788. On the 24th of that month he had a levee at St. James's, for the purpose of quieting the alarm, which the report of

his indisposition had spread amongst the people; but upon his return to Windsor his disorder took a new and unfortunate turn; and before the end of the first week in November it was generally known that it had settled into a constant delirium. The grief and consternation which this intelligence excited amongst all ranks of his loyal and affectionate subjects could only be equalled by that exultation and joy which were so conspicuously manifested at the period

period of his auspicious and happy recovery. The prince of Wales repaired immediately to Windsor, where he was met by the lord chancellor, and they, in concert with the queen, took such measures relative to the domestic affairs of the king as the necessity of the case required. In the mean time all those, who by their rank and situation in the state were required to take a part in so new and unexpected an exigence, assembled in the capital; and an express was dispatched to Mr. Fox, at this time in Italy, to hasten his return.

Nov. 20. The parliament had been prorogued to the 20th of November; and as the intended commission for a further prorogation had not been issued by the king, its meeting took place upon that day, as a matter of course. The peers and the commons remained in their separate chambers; and the chancellor in the upper, and Mr. Pitt in the lower house, having notified the cause of their assembling without the usual notice and summons, and stated the impropriety of their proceeding under such circumstances to the discussion of any public business whatsoever, both houses resolved unanimously to adjourn for fifteen days. At the same time Mr. Pitt took occasion to observe, that as it would be indispensably necessary, in case his majesty's illness should unhappily continue longer than the period of their adjournment, that the house should take into immediate consideration the means of supplying, so far as they were competent, the want of the royal presence; it was incumbent upon them to insure a full attendance, in order to give every possible weight and solemnity to their proceedings. For this purpose

it was ordered, that the house be called over on Thursday the 4th of December next, and that the speaker do send letters requiring the attendance of every member. Orders to the same effect were made by the lords.

In order to lay some ground for the proceedings of the two houses of parliament, a council was held at Whitehall on the day preceding their meeting, to which all the privy councillors were summoned. Of fifty-four who attended, twenty-four were of the party of opposition. The physicians who had attended his majesty during his illness were called before them and sworn; after which three questions, which had been previously debated and carried in the council, were put to them severally. The first was, "Whether his majesty's indisposition rendered him incapable of meeting his parliament, and of attending to any sort of public business?" To this they answered, "That certainly he was incapable."—The second was, "What is your opinion of the duration of his majesty's malady, and of the probability of a cure?" To this they answered, "That there was a great probability of his recovery, but that it was impossible to limit the time."—The third question was, "Do you give this opinion from the particular symptoms of his majesty's disorder, or from your experience in complaints of a similar nature?" To this their general answer was, "That it was from experience, and having observed that the majority of those who were afflicted with the same disease had recovered."

On the 4th the two houses being assembled, the pre- Dec. 4.  
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dent of the council informed the peers, that the king, by the continuance of his indisposition, was rendered incapable of meeting his parliament, and that all the other functions of government were thereby suspended. He then declared it to be his opinion, that in this dismembered state of the legislature, the right devolved on the two houses of parliament to make such provision for supplying the defect as should be adequate to the necessity of the case; but that it was necessary, before any step could be taken in so delicate a business, that the deficiency should be fully ascertained: with this view he moved, that the minutes of the privy council should be read; which being done, the following Monday was appointed for taking it into consideration.

A motion to the same effect being made by Mr. Pitt in the house of commons, Mr. Viner expressed his doubt, whether, in a matter of such moment, and which would be attended with such important consequences, the house could proceed upon a report from the privy council without a farther examination of the physicians, either at their bar, or by a committee of their own. Mr. Pitt urged, in reply, the delicacy of the subject to be discussed; and remarked further, that the examination before the council was taken upon oath, which the house had it not in their power to administer. Mr. Fox concurred in opinion with Mr. Viner; he felt the propriety of acting with all possible delicacy; but if delicacy and their duty should happen to clash, the latter ought not to be sacrificed to the former. A doubt was also stated by the speaker, whether, in the present defective state of parliament, he was

competent to issue writs for new elections. This was determined in the affirmative, and the house immediately rose.

On Monday the 8th, Mr. Dec. 8th. Pitt, either convinced, upon further consideration, of the propriety of Mr. Viner's suggestion, or expecting that the probability of his majesty's recovery would become more apparent upon a fuller enquiry into the case, came forward to propose, that a committee of twenty-one members should be appointed to examine all the physicians who had attended the king during his illness. A like committee was appointed the same day in the house of lords; and the members in both were chosen nearly in equal numbers from each side of the house.

The report of the committee [see State Papers, p. 287.] being brought up on the 10th, and ordered to be printed, Mr. Pitt moved, "that a committee be appointed to examine the journals of the house, and report precedents of such proceedings as may have been had in cases of the personal exercise of the royal authority being prevented or interrupted by infancy, sickness, infirmity, or otherwise, with a view to provide for the same." The motion being made, Mr. Fox rose, and objected to it as nugatory, and productive of unnecessary and improper delay. He said, the right honourable gentleman knew, that no precedent was to be found of the suspension of the executive government, in which, at the same time, there existed an heir apparent to the crown, of full age and capacity. For his own part, he was convinced, upon the maturest consideration of the principles and practice of the constitution,



tion, and of the analogy of the common law of the land, that whenever the sovereign, from sickness, infirmity, or other incapacity, was unable to exercise the functions of his high office, the heir apparent, being of full age and capacity, had as indisputable a claim to the exercise of the executive power, in the name and on behalf of the sovereign, during the continuance of such incapacity, as in case of his natural demise. At the same time he acknowledged, that the two houses of parliament were alone competent to pronounce when the prince ought to take possession of and exercise his right.

He thought it candid, he said, entertaining this opinion, to come forward fairly, and avow it at that instant; that the prince had not made this claim himself, he imputed to his known moderation, and to the peculiar delicacy of his situation; but he thought this a strong reason, amongst others, why they should not waste a moment unnecessarily, but proceed, with all becoming speed and diligence, to restore to the constitution the sovereign power, and the functions of the royal authority.

The chancellor of the exchequer rose, with some heat, to controvert the doctrine advanced by Mr. Fox; he declared it to be little less than treason against the constitution; and pledged himself to maintain, on the contrary, that the heir apparent had no more right, in the case alleged, to the exercise of the executive power, than any other subject in the kingdom; and that it belonged to the two remaining branches of the legislature, in behalf of the people, to make such provision for supplying the tempo-

rary deficiency as they might think most proper, to preserve unimpaired the interests of the sovereign, and the safety and welfare of the nation. He added, that from the mode in which the right honourable gentleman had treated the subject, a new question presented itself, and that of much greater magnitude than the question originally before them; it was a question of their own rights: it was become a doubt, whether the house had on this important occasion any deliberative power at all. The motion he had made could therefore no longer be called nugatory, but was become absolutely necessary, in order to learn and ascertain their own rights.

Mr. Fox remarked, in reply, that the sovereignty of these kingdoms being hereditary, and no parliament existing which could legally alter the succession, nothing but a case of necessity, which at present, he averred, did not exist, could justify the two houses in assuming to themselves the right of setting aside the heir apparent from the regency, or putting the executive power into his hands with any limitations or restrictions imposed by their own authority.

Mr. Burke added some sarcastical remarks upon the doctrine of the chancellor of the exchequer. Were he to become an elector for the regency, as undoubtedly, he said, every member of the house would be, if the doctrine they had heard was received, he hoped he should be excused if he gave his vote for a prince whose amiable disposition was one of his many recommendations, in preference to a competitor who had threatened the interests of the prince of Wales's right with the penalties of constructive

tive treason. Being called to order for these expressions, he insisted that he was not disorderly: the right honourable gentleman had asserted that the prince had no more right to the regency than any other subject whatever; and if the house were of the same opinion, who would answer for the event of the election?

Mr. Pitt concluded the conversation with complaining of the indecency of the expression that had been used; and asked, whether, when Mr. Somers asserted, in the convention of 1688, that no person had a right to the crown, it would have been thought decent for any member to have risen and pronounced him a competitor with William III.

A committee of twenty-one, of whom nine were members of opposition, was then appointed to sit with the usual powers.

Dec. 11. The day following the same motion was made in the house of lords by the president of the council, and carried without a division. His lordship condemned the doctrine advanced by Mr. Fox in the house of commons, which he stated to be, that on the event of his majesty's incapacity, the prince of Wales had an immediate right to assume the exercise of the sovereign power. This he declared was treasonable to the constitution; and he asserted, on the contrary, that the right and duty of supplying the present deficiency of the sovereign power belonged solely and entirely to the two remaining branches of the legislature.

Lord Loughborough defended Mr. Fox's position, both as being more analogous to the law of the land and the spirit of the constitution, and as steering clear of the

many embarrassments and dangers which might arise from the opposite doctrine. He insisted upon the political absurdity of having an hereditary succession to the monarchy, and an elective regency. He asked, whether the two houses would not thereby in effect assume the whole government to themselves, as such a regent might be so elected, as would necessarily become the mere slave of the electors? He put the case of the two houses in Ireland assuming the same right, and electing a different person to be their regent. He reminded the house, that by the common law the prince of Wales had many rights and privileges peculiar to himself, and which belonged to no common subject. He was therein described to be one and the same with the king, and it was as much high treason to compass or imagine his death as that of the king. It would scarcely, he said, be denied, that if the present unfortunate emergency had happened during an intermission of parliament, that the prince of Wales would have been warranted in issuing writs, and summoning the parliament to meet. At the same time he held, with Mr. Fox, that the exercise of this right, under the present circumstances, ought to wait the declaration of his majesty's incapacity by the two houses of parliament.

The lords Stormont and Portchester argued on the same side with lord Loughborough; and were opposed by the chancellor and earl Stanhope, the former of whom contented himself with declaring, that the doctrine advanced was to him at least entirely new.

Dec. 12. On the 12th the report was brought up from the committee, and ordered to be printed;

ed; and Mr. Pitt then moved, that the house should on Thursday next resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to take into consideration the state of the nation.

Upon this occasion Mr. Fox rose to defend himself against the misrepresentations which, he alledged, had been given of his sentiments relative to the regency. He had been made to assert that the prince of Wales had a right to assume the royal authority, upon the interruption of its exercise in consequence of the king's illness and incapacity. He believed, he said, that he had never used the word *assume*; what he undoubtedly meant, and what he was still ready to maintain, was, that the claim, as of right, was in the prince, but that the adjudication of the possession was in the two houses of parliament. Their right of election he positively denied, and he conceived there was a clear distinction between that, and the right of adjudication. Thus in contested returns of members of that house, the right of adjudication belonged to their committee above stairs, but the right of the person declared duly returned to his seat in parliament was derived from another authority, the right of election in his constituents. He was glad, however, to find that even they who denied the strict *right*, admitted that the prince had an irresistible *claim* to the regency; and as they agreed in substance, he thought they ought in prudence to waive the discussion of new and equivocal distinctions. Mr. Fox concluded with expressing his hopes that the chancellor of the exchequer would give the house some information respecting the nature

of the propositions he meant to lay before the committee upon the state of the nation. For his own part, he said, he should not hesitate then to declare what in his opinion they ought to be, namely, a declaration or address to the prince, stating the fact of his majesty's present incapacity, and investing his royal highness, during such incapacity, with the full exercise of all the royal powers, in the same manner and to the same extent as they might be exercised by his majesty had his health enabled him to discharge the functions of the sovereign authority.

Mr. Pitt followed Mr. Fox, and after admitting the explanation given by the latter, declared that he was ready to meet him on the ground, upon which, after mature deliberation, he had thought fit to place the question in dispute between them. The right honourable gentleman now asserted, that the prince of Wales had a right to exercise the royal authority, under the present circumstances of the country, but that it was a right not in possession, until the prince could exercise it on, what he called, the adjudication of parliament. He, on his part, denied that the prince of Wales had *any right whatever*, and upon that point the right honourable gentleman and he were still at issue; an issue that, in his opinion, must be decided, before they could proceed one step farther in the great and important considerations to be discussed and determined. An expression, he remarked, had also been used, tending to insinuate that this right of adjudication, under the present or similar circumstances, could only take place upon

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a supposition of the actual sitting of parliament; the plain inference from which was, that if parliament were not sitting, the prince of Wales could assume the exercise of the regal authority. Mr. Pitt declared, that he thought the prince of Wales could, in no case, assume of right the sovereign power. If there were no parliament in existence, he granted that the heir apparent, acting in concert with other persons in great situations, might, under such circumstances as the present, have issued writs, and convened the two houses, for the purpose of providing for the public safety.

But, supposing the right of assumption given up altogether, and that the prince must have the right adjudged by parliament, he denied that they were acting as judges, as the sentiments of the right honourable gentleman so manifestly intimated. It was subversive of the principles of the constitution to admit, that the prince of Wales might, under any circumstances, seat himself on the throne, during the life-time of his father; and the intimation of the existence of such a right, as he had remarked on a former occasion, presented a question of greater magnitude and importance, even than the present exigency, and the provision that it necessarily required; a question that involved in it the principles of the constitution, the protection and security of our liberties, and the safety of the state.

When the rights and powers of the two houses were ascertained, it would then become a question, to whom and what portion of the sovereign power should be delegated during his majesty's illness: upon this

point, however decided he might be in his opinion against the whole or any part of the regal power being veiled in the prince of Wales, as a matter of right, in any way, in which that right had been explained, he was equally ready to say, that, as a matter of discretion, and on the ground of expediency, it was, in his opinion, highly desirable, that whatever part of the regal power it was necessary should be exercised at all during this unhappy interval, should be vested in a single person, and that this person should be the prince of Wales: that he also thought it most consistent with true constitutional principles, and most for the public convenience, that his royal highness should exercise that portion of authority, whatever it might be, unfettered by any permanent council, and with the free choice of his political servants. With regard to the portion of royal authority which ought to be given, or withheld, it would be premature, in the present stage of the business, to enter into the particular discussion of it; but he had no objection, even now, to declare in general, that whatever authority was necessary for carrying on the public business with vigour and dispatch, and for providing, during this interval, for the safety and interests of the country, ought to be given; but, on the other hand, any authority not necessary for those purposes, and capable of being, by possibility, employed in any way which might tend to embarrass the exercise of the king's lawful authority, when he should be enabled to resume it into his own hands, ought to be withheld; because, from its being given, more inconvenience might arise to the future interests, both

both of the people and of the crown, than any which could arise, in the mean time, from its temporary suspension.

Dec. 15. As it was evident from the complexion of both houses of parliament that the majority was adverse to the claim of the prince of Wales, as of right, to the regency, it was thought most advisable, by those who held the affirmative, to avoid, if possible, its being brought to a formal decision. With this view, on the 15th Dec. the earl Fitzwilliam, after stating the inexpediency of bringing, under the present circumstances, any abstract political questions into discussion, when all parties were agreed in substance, desired to know from the ministers, whether they meant to introduce any proposition of that nature. He was answered by earl Camden, who said, that as the most essential rights of the two houses of parliament had been questioned by persons of great and respectable authority, he thought it was become absolutely necessary that they should not be left doubtful and unsettled. Upon this declaration his royal highness the duke of York rose, and addressed the house to the following effect.

Perfectly unused, he said, as he was to speak in a public assembly, he could not refrain from offering his sentiments to their lordships on a subject in which the dearest interests of the country were involved. He entirely agreed with the noble earl (Fitzwilliam) and other lords, who had expressed their wishes to avoid any question which tended to induce a discussion on the rights of the prince. The fact was plain, that no such claim of right had been made on the part of the prince; and he was confident that his royal highness

understood too well the sacred principles which seated the house of Brantwick on the throne of Great Britain, ever to assume or exercise any power, be his claim what it might, not derived from the will of the people, expressed by their representatives and their lordships in parliament assembled. It was upon this ground that he must be permitted to hope, that the wisdom and moderation of all considerate men, at a moment, when temper and unanimity were so peculiarly necessary, on account of the dreadful calamity which every description of persons must, in common, lament, but which he more particularly felt, would make them wish to avoid pressing a decision, which certainly was not necessary to the great object expected from parliament, and which must be most painful in the discussion to a family already sufficiently agitated and afflicted. Such, his royal highness observed, in conclusion, were the sentiments of an honest heart, equally influenced by duty and affection to his royal father, and by attachment to the constitutional rights of his subjects; and he was confident that if his royal brother were to address them in his place, as a peer of the realm, these were the sentiments which he would distinctly avow.

He was followed by his royal highness the duke of Gloucester, who, after stating the peculiar unpleasantness of his own situation, and declaring that it was only four hours since he had heard that any thing was to be agitated upon the subject that day, deprecated the discussion of a question, which could only tend to produce the most mischievous consequences. He declared himself a mere individual, not influenced

influenced by party, but actuated by a sincere love of his country, and a strong sense of what he knew would be his majesty's feelings, were he happily to recover from his present lamented indisposition. His royal highness trusted, that the good sense and loyalty of a majority in each house would yet prevent the threatened decision on this point. Perseverance in it was mischievous to the last degree, and could not be meant for the public good. For his part, he felt so strongly on the subject, that, if the attempt was persisted in, and the question brought before that house, he could only say, that he believed he should not dare to trust himself to come forward and speak his sentiments on the extraordinary conduct of those, who were unnecessarily inclined to compel a decision on so delicate a question.

Notwithstanding the entreaties of the princes of the royal family, the ministers persevered in their intention; and the lord chancellor closed the conversation by declaring, that though he much lamented the starting of such a question, yet he did not see how they could now avoid coming to some determination upon it.

Dec. 16. Accordingly, on the sixteenth of December, the house of commons having resolved itself into a committee, Mr. Pitt moved the three following resolutions, the first of which was voted unanimously.

I. "That it is the opinion of this committee, That his majesty is prevented, by his present indisposition, from coming to his parliament, and from attending to public business; and that the personal exercise of the royal autho-

“ rity is thereby, for the present, interrupted.”

II. "That it is the opinion of this committee, That it is the right and duty of the lords spiritual and temporal and commons of Great Britain, now assembled, and lawfully, fully, and freely representing all the estates of the people of this realm, to provide the means of supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority, arising from his majesty's said indisposition, in such manner as the exigency of the case may appear to require."

Resolved, "That for this purpose, and for maintaining entire the constitutional authority of the king, it is necessary, that the said lords spiritual and temporal and commons of Great Britain, should determine on the means whereby the royal assent may be given in parliament to such bill as may be passed by the two houses of parliament, respecting the exercise of the powers and authorities of the crown, in the name, and on the behalf of the king, during the continuance of his majesty's present indisposition."

The arguments urged by Mr. Pitt in support of the second resolution, were principally drawn from two sources, the precedents contained in the report of the committee, and the acknowledged maxims and spirit of the constitution.

With respect to the first, he admitted that no precedent occurred that was directly in point; viz. in which an interruption had taken place of the personal exercise of the royal authority with any legal provision, at a time when there existed an heir apparent of full age. But

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he remarked that there were many cases from which strong analogies might be drawn, and which tended greatly to elucidate the subject. And first, he challenged his opponents to point out a single case, either of the infancy, infirmity, or illness of a sovereign, in which the full powers of sovereignty were exercised by any person whatever. If the right attached to his royal highness, under the present circumstances, in the same manner as on the demise of his father, an heir presumptive would have the same claim as an heir apparent; but the precedents clearly proved that no such right existed. In the reign of Edward the third, no heir claimed the exercise of sovereignty: the parliament provided a council about the King's person to exercise the sovereign functions. In the reign of Richard the second, counsellors were also appointed to administer the sovereign authority. In the infancy of Henry the sixth, the parliament was called together by the young king's second uncle, the first being still living abroad, and the act was ratified by the parliament that followed. These three instances were sufficient to shew that the exercise of the sovereign power during the infancy of the king was never claimed as of right, but always delegated by parliament. With respect to cases of absence, he observed that, if a right existed to represent the king, it must be a perfect and an entire right, a right admitting of no modification whatever, because, if any thing short of the whole power were given, it would be less than by right could be claimed, and consequently an acknowledgment that no such right existed. But, by a reference to the ancient records,

it would be found that the *custos regni*, or lieutenant for the king, had never been invested with the whole sovereign authority. The powers given to the *custodes regni* had been different under different circumstances. The power, for instance, of bestowing benefices, and doing other acts of sovereignty, was occasionally granted to them by express acts—a manifest proof that their powers had been always subject to limitation, and that they held their offices not as of right, but by appointment. With respect to cases of infirmity, one instance had occurred where the exercise of royalty had been interrupted, and which appeared to him to be more a case in point than any other. The precedent to which he alluded was that of Henry the sixth, which differed indeed from the present case, in that the heir apparent was not of full age. But the parliament of that day not only provided for the moment, but looked forward to the time when the heir apparent should attain full age, granting him a reversionary patent, the same precisely with the regent's, to take place when he should come of age: and though they provided for allowing him at that period more considerable powers than they suffered the regent to possess, they had still not granted him the full powers of sovereignty, but had made such limitations, as proved their denial of any right existing independent of their authority. This instance he thought sufficient to shew the sense of parliament in those days, as much as if the heir apparent had been of full age. If then no precedent contrary to those which he had stated could be found, he should presume, that the committee would of course admit, that no right exist-

ed either in an heir apparent or an heir presumptive, to assume the functions of royalty, on the temporary incapacity of the sovereign.

The only question, then, was, where did the right of providing for such a deficiency exist? If no precedent, in history or in law, was to be found, for the exercise of such authority, during the disability of the sovereign, where was it lodged? It was to be found in the voice of the people: with them it rested; and, though the third estate of the legislature might be deficient, yet the organs of speech remained entire in their representatives, the lords and commons, through whom the sense of the people might be taken. With them therefore it rested, as a right, to provide for the deficiency of the third branch of the legislature, whenever a deficiency arose. These were not merely his opinions, but the opinions of those who had framed the revolution. They had not, indeed, like the committee, to provide for the interruptions of the regal power, while the throne was full, but to supply the deficiency of the third branch of the legislature, which was wholly vacant. As the power of filling the throne rested with the people at the revolution, so, at the present moment, on the same principles of liberty, on the same rights of parliament, did the providing for the deficiency rest with the people.

He again adverted to the proceedings of parliament in the reign of Henry the sixth, which he contended were all founded on the presumption of their right to declare both in what manner, and by whom, the royal authority was to be exercised, for and in the name of the king. In

that reign, the duke of Gloucester claimed the regency, and applied to parliament for the same as his right; but the answer of parliament to this claim was, that he neither had by birth, nor by the will of his brother, any right whatever to the exercise of royal authority. They, however, appointed him regent, and entrusted him with the care of the young king. Here then was an instance of the claim of right having been actually made, and fully decided upon by parliament, which declared that no such right existed. Mr. Pitt concluded his speech by defending himself against the imputation of agitating, without necessity, questions of a dangerous tendency. He denied that he had first stirred them; but unconstitutional claims having been asserted, it was their duty to declare their right, so that it might remain ascertained beyond the possibility of any question hereafter, and become secured to posterity. On the contrary, if the right were not declared, it would appear that the two houses had made a compromise unbecoming their dignity, and had acted upon personal motives, rather than a due regard to the true interests of their country.

Lord North rose in opposition to Mr. Pitt. He did not understand, he said, how it would appear that the committee, by agreeing with the right honourable gentleman, and voting the resolution, had acted with greater impartiality, or that the public would be convinced that they had been actuated by motives less personal, than if they did not vote it. The fact of the incapacity of the sovereign to exercise his royal authority being properly established, they ought immediately to proceed



ceed to restore the third branch of the legislature; and the sooner they did that necessary act of duty, the less would their proceedings be liable to the imputation of having been conducted upon personal motives. In consequence of that melancholy misfortune, which they all deplored, they were sitting, not indeed in the form of a convention (because it happened that the two houses of parliament had been regularly called together) but with no more authority than a convention possessed, to do that duty which the calamity of the moment called upon them to perform. Under such circumstances, they ought to confine themselves strictly to the necessity of the case, since every step they proceeded beyond the necessity of the case, was a step in error, and consequently a step which they ought not to take. The motion, he observed, called upon them to declare the right and duty of the lords spiritual and temporal. What right had that house to interfere with the rights and duties of the other house? In the second part of the question he saw a project for passing a bill; a project directly violating the fundamental principles of the constitution, and to which, for that reason, he could not agree. What right had that house, or the two houses, to make laws? To pass a bill, was to do an act of legislation, and to assume powers that did not belong to them: powers, that the constitution had placed in the hands of the king, lords, and commons, in parliament assembled, and in their hands only. Their road was easy and short: proceed directly to nominate a regent, and then, when the third branch was restored, and the legislature was complete, they

would become a parliament, perfect in all its constitutional form, and they might legally pass any laws either of limitation, restriction, or of any other kind. But, to attempt to proceed otherwise, was to trench on the prerogatives of the crown, while they lay at their mercy. They had a precedent, he said, directly in point, a precedent on which the stability of our present happy constitution rested. How had those great men thought it their duty to act, who settled the revolution?—To declare the vacancy of the throne, and immediately to restore the regal power, and render the legislature complete.

The original proposition was supported by the master of the rolls, the lord advocate of Scotland, the attorney and solicitor general, and the solicitor general to the queen. They insisted much upon the silence both of the common and statute law, with respect to a right existing in any person to the regency.—They said it was *casus non forevisus*, and that the lords and commons, being the only two branches of the legislature in a capacity to act, were bound to provide such means for supplying the defect as were most consonant and analogous to the law of the land. They argued upon a distinction between the *political* and *natural* capacity of the king, and maintained, that in the contemplation of the law, the monarchy was still perfect and complete, and the king's political capacity entire, notwithstanding his present illness.—The lord advocate for Scotland added, that from a number of precedents to be found in the history of that kingdom, it appeared, that the appointment of a regent, whatever his powers might be, had always

always been made in Scotland as in England, under the sanction and authority of the states of the kingdom, either previously given, or afterwards interposed, and sometimes the next heir of the crown had been appointed, sometimes not, sometimes one regent, and at other times more than one.

Mr. Hardinge laid great stress upon the precedents of Henry the sixth, and upon the regency bills which passed in the reign of George the second, and of the present king. In the former, in case of a minority, the prince of Wales was made regent, and the duke of Cumberland, the next presumptive heir, passed by; in the latter, the king was enabled to nominate a regent by his will, though the duke of York was the next major in succession.—These indeed were acts of complete legislatures; but in the debates which they occasioned, no complaint was made, no idea started that they were doing an injury to the right of the presumptive heir, or that of any other.—He likewise contended, that the convention at the revolution did, in their declaration respecting the appointment of William and Mary to be king and queen, and the definition of the separate powers of each, decide upon an abstract question of right, and did legislate, to all intents and purposes, as far as was now proposed to be done.

Mr. Fox combated these arguments with great force and acuteness. He began by declaring, that in his opinion the labours of the committee appointed to search for precedents had been entirely fruitless, all of those reported being either irrelevant and inapplicable, inconsistent with each other, or drawn from pe-

riods of civil violence, anarchy, and confusion.—Of this latter sort he shewed the precedents so much insisted upon, of the reign of Henry the sixth eminently to be; and at the same time proved, that so far as their inconsistency with each other afforded any ground of argument, they were, on the whole, more favourable to his opinions than those of his opponents.

He next endeavoured to prove, from the spirit and practice of the constitution, and the absurdities and dangers to which a contrary doctrine would lead, his main position, viz. that the prince had, subject to the adjudication of the two houses of parliament, an exclusive right, under the existing circumstances, to the full exercise of the royal authority.

The assumption of a power to nominate a regent, he considered, so far as it went, as a conversion of the succession of the monarchy from hereditary to elective, insisting, that the possession of the crown, and of the executive authority, must, in the nature of things, be governed by the same principles. In order to illustrate this, he put the case of a foreigner asking an Englishman, whether the monarchy of Great Britain was hereditary or elective? Any man familiar with the theory of the constitution would naturally answer that it was hereditary; but, if the doctrine of that day prevailed, if the house set aside the hereditary right to the exercise of the king's authority, during its personal suspension, the answer must be, "I cannot tell, ask his majesty's physicians: when the king of England is in good health the monarchy is hereditary; but when he is ill, and incapable of exer-  
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“ cising the sovereign authority, it is elective.”

Let the committee consider the danger of making any other person regent besides the prince of Wales. If the two houses could chuse a regent, they might chuse whom they pleased: they might chuse a foreigner, a Catholic (for the law defines not the regent) who, while he held the power of the third estate, might prevail on the other two branches of the legislature to concur with him in altering or setting aside the succession of the house of Brunswick. He saw this supposition was deemed extravagant; but he meant to put an extravagant case. He had not, however, put an impossible one; let them turn to the favourite period of our history (favourite at least with the other side of the house that day) the reign of Henry the sixth, and they would find, that Richard, duke of York, took advantage of his power as protector of the kingdom, and actually disinherited the prince of Wales, and the whole line of Lancaster, though they were more nearly allied, and had much better pretensions to the crown than the house of York. The same dismal scene which had disgraced our annals at that period, might be acted over again.

He contended, that the appointment of a regent, in the manner now proposed, implied a right in the two houses to legislate and enact laws, in the teeth of the statute of the 13th of Charles the second, which not only declared, that the two houses of parliament could not make laws without the consent and concurrence of the king, but also declared, that whoever should presume to affirm the contrary, should be guilty of high treason. The

right to make laws rested only in the legislature complete, and not in the concurrence of any two branches of it. Upon that very principle was our constitution built, and on the preservation of it did its existence depend. Were the case otherwise, the constitution might be easily destroyed; because, if the two branches could assume the power to make law, they might, in that law, modify or entirely change the nature of the third estate.

The present situation of affairs had been compared to the revolution; but their proceedings were diametrically opposite. At the period of the revolution the convention which was then assembled, conscious that they could not make any change in the genius of the monarchy, until they had a head, first restored the third estate, and then defined its power; whereas the committee were called on to proceed in a different way; first, to new-cast the office, and then to declare the officer. And what must be the situation of a regent elected by that house? He must be a pageant and puppet, a mere creature of their own. They might appoint him for a year, a month, a day, and so change the monarchy into a republic. The safety of the whole depended on the jealousy which each retained against the others; not on the patriotism of any one branch of the legislature, but rather on the separate interests of the three concurring, through different views, to one general good. All these principles would be destroyed by the present project, which would radically alter the government, and of consequence overturn the constitution.

Another mischief, and that of the most serious nature, might arise from an elective regency. What, if the two houses should disagree in the person to be appointed? What, if one regent should be appointed in England and another in Ireland? With respect to Ireland, if the two houses of the British parliament simply declared the prince of Wales regent, most probably the parliament in Ireland would do the same; if they speculated, the Irish parliament would speculate. Were the question of right but once set afloat, it would become impossible to say to what extent it might be carried.

Having fully argued the right of the prince of Wales upon these and other grounds, Mr. Fox adverted to the alledged necessity for the present mode of proceeding, and urged the fallacy of pretending that the opinion which he, as a private member of that house, had delivered, and the opinion which his noble and learned friend (lord Loughborough) had delivered elsewhere, made it necessary. The resolutions moved appeared in his opinion as insidiously calculated to convey a censure on the sentiments which he delivered, while they served as an instrument of evasion of an assertion, highly revolting to the public mind, made by the right honourable gentleman himself. Upon the present occasion there had been two assertions of positive rights on two sides of the house. On his side, the assertion of the right of the heir apparent, being of full age and capacity to exercise the sovereign authority, during his majesty's infirmity. On that of the right honourable gentleman, the assertion that the prince had no more right to exercise the sovereign authority

under such circumstances, than any other individual subject. He did not understand the invidious dignity he had been exalted to on this occasion; but since the right honourable gentleman was determined to make a personal question between them, why would they not put it on his own opinion, and let the question be, "That it is the opinion of this committee, that his royal highness the prince of Wales, being of full age and capacity, has no more right to exercise the royal authority, during his majesty's incapacity, than any other individual subject?" The right honourable gentleman well knew, that he dared not venture to subject such a question to debate. Conscious of his error, and conscious that so monstrous a doctrine as he had suffered himself, in an evil hour, to deliver, had revolted the public mind, he now sought to divert the public attention by a paltry triumph over him, though that triumph could not be obtained without a marked insult upon the prince of Wales. For, whatever opinion of the prince's right he (Mr. Fox) might entertain, why should that right be discussed which had been neither claimed, nor was intended to be claimed? That this was the precise state of the fact, was not to be doubted, after the declaration which had been so graciously communicated, from the highest authority, in another place. The claim being thus disavowed, how must the preamble of a bill run, truly to describe the case as it stood at present: "Whereas his royal highness the prince of Wales has never claimed a right to the regency, it becomes necessary

“cessary for the lords spiritual and temporal, and for the commons of England, to declare, that his royal highness has no right, and therefore we do hereby declare his royal highness sole regent of these kingdoms?” What could be more ridiculous than a bill opening with this language? and so it must be worded, unless they falsified the fact.

Toward the conclusion of his speech, Mr. Fox adverted to an argument advanced against him, including a charge, that he had deserted the cause which he had heretofore been supposed to claim the peculiar merit of standing forth on all occasions to defend, and had thus manifested an inattention to the privileges of the house of commons, as opposed to the encroachments of the prerogatives of the crown. Upon this occasion, Mr. Fox remarked, that his resistance of the latter, when it had been thought increasing unconstitutionally, was well known. The influence of the crown had been more than once checked in that house, and (he really believed) to the advantage of the people. Whenever the executive authority was urged beyond its reasonable extent, it ought to be resisted; but he desired to ask if this was an occasion for exercising the constitutional power of resisting the prerogative or the influence of the crown in that house? He had ever made it his pride to combat with the crown in the plenitude of its power and the fullness of its authority: he wished not to trample on its rights while it lay extended at their feet, deprived of its functions, and incapable of resistance. Let the right honourable gentleman pride himself on a victory obtained

against a defenceless foe; let him boast of a triumph where no battle had been fought, and, consequently, where no glory could be obtained! Let him take advantage of the calamities of human nature; let him, like an unfeeling lord of the manor, riot in the riches to be acquired by plundering shipwrecks, by rigorously seizing on waifs, and strays, and deadlands, and all the accumulated produce of the various accidents which misfortune could throw into his power. Let it not be my boast, he said, to have gained such victories, obtained such triumphs, or availed myself of wealth so acquired. The right honourable gentleman, he added, appeared to have been so long in the possession of power, that he could not endure to part with it, and was at least resolved to destroy what he might no longer be permitted to enjoy. He had experienced the full favour of the crown, and enjoyed the advantage of exerting all its prerogatives; and, finding the operation of the whole not too much for the successful carrying on of the government, he had determined to cripple his successors, and deprive them of the same advantages which he had possessed; and thus circumscribe their power to serve their country, as if he dreaded that they would shade his fame.

Mr. Pitt made a short reply, in which he said, that the personal attack just made upon him was neither provoked nor justified by the manner in which he had opened the debate, and was unfounded, arrogant, and presumptuous. The right honourable gentleman had thought proper to announce himself and his friends to be the successors of the present administration. He did not

know on what authority the right honourable gentleman made this declaration; but he thought, that with a view to those questions of expediency which the right honourable gentleman had introduced, both the house and the country were obliged to him for this seasonable warning of what they were to expect. The nation had already had experience of that right, honourable gentleman, and his principles. It was the professed object of the party with which he acted to endeavour, by the weight and extent of their political influence, to nominate the ministers of the crown. It could not be denied, that they maintained it as a fundamental principle, that a minister ought at all times so to be nominated. He would therefore speak plainly. If persons who possessed these principles were in reality likely to be the advisers of the prince in the exercise of those powers which were necessary to be given during the present unfortunate interval, it was the strongest additional reason, if any were wanting, for being careful to consider, what the extent of those powers ought to be. It was impossible not to suppose, that by such advisers those powers would be perverted to a purpose which it was indeed impossible to imagine that the prince of Wales could, if he was aware of it, ever endure for a moment: but to which, by artifice and misrepresentation, he might unintentionally be made accessory;—for the purpose of creating a permanent weight and influence in the hands of a party, which would be dangerous to the just rights of the crown when the moment should arrive (so much wished, and, perhaps, so soon to be expected) of

his majesty being able to resume the exercise of his own authority.

With respect to the subject of the debate, he observed, that it had been argued upon grounds of expediency, as if the contest was between two rival rights, and the only question, in favour of which the arguments preponderated. He should be perfectly ready to meet the question upon this issue; but, in fact, this was not a fair state of the case. The right of the prince of Wales was not to be considered as a rival right, to be argued on the same grounds as the other. It was a right which could not exist unless it was capable of being expressly and positively proved; whereas the right of parliament was that which existed of course, unless some other right could be proved to exclude it. It was that which, on the principles of this free constitution, must always exist in every case where no positive provision had been made by law, and where the necessity of the case, and the safety of the country, called for their interposition. The absence of any other right was in itself enough to constitute the right of the two houses; and the bare admission that the right of the prince of Wales was not clearly and expressly proved, virtually operated as an admission of every point under discussion.

In the course of the debate, Mr. Rushworth (member for Newport, Hants) standing upon the floor, the whole of which was crowded up to the table, desired that gentlemen of more experience and age than himself would refer to the glorious reign of George II. Let them recall, he said, to their memory the year 1745: suppose that great and good king had lain under a similar affliction

affliction at that period; where was the man, much less the minister, that would have dared to come down to that house, and boldly, in the face of the world, say, that the prince of Wales had no more right to the regency than any other subject? [*A continued call of hear! hear! prevailing in all parts of the house;*] the man or minister, he added, who would have dared to have uttered such language, must have found shelter in some other place than the house of commons, or in the whole kingdom of England.

The question was then put upon the motion made by lord North; when there appeared Ayes 204, Noes 268. The second and third resolutions were then severally put, and carried without further debate.

Dec. 18. On the 18th the house adjourned, on account of the illness of Mr. Fox, to the day following; when Mr. Pitt being called upon to inform the house more distinctly of the mode of proceeding he intended to adopt, stated, that as, in contemplation of law, his majesty's political capacity was entire, he should propose, that their proceedings should be under the royal authority, delegated by a commission under the great seal. That commissioners so appointed should open the parliament in the name of his majesty, in the usual form, and afterwards give the royal assent to such bill as might be passed by the two houses for appointing a regent to exercise so much of the royal authority as was necessary to be exercised during his majesty's indisposition. This he conceived to be the only mode of proceeding that could be adopted consistently with the principles of the constitution.

The report from the committee being then brought up, and the first resolution read and agreed to, the second was objected to by sir Grey Cooper.

He began by expressing his doubt, whether the house could, with propriety, and consistently with the order and regularity of their proceedings, agree to the resolution reported from the committee on the state of the nation. He contended, that in their present imperfect state necessity alone could justify or authorize their proceedings. They had, in all the steps which they have hitherto taken, acted under the authority, and moved by the mere impulse, of that necessity; and if any part of their proceedings transgressed the clear limits of that necessity, and the direct course which it points out to us, it was, in his opinion, an act of *self-constituted power, and of very dangerous tendency and consequence.*

The point in question, therefore, was, whether the second resolution now reported was or was not an act of necessity, for the purpose of supplying the defect in the legislature, by the king's incapacity. He contended, that the resolution, declaring the right and duty of the house, was not necessary, because there appeared to him no real impediment or obstacle to their progress, which it was requisite to remove and clear away before they could act in their deliberative capacity. That there was no claim of right, no denial of their authority, no matter of which the house could, consistently with the gravity and order of its proceedings, take parliamentary notice or cognizance.

At the revolution, the convention parliament did not, in the famous  
[ F ] 3 committee

committee on the state of the nation, declare what it was their right or their duty to do. It appears that Finch and sir Edward Seymour, and some other leading men at that time, delivered and maintained opinions directly contrary to the principles on which the first resolution of the 28th of January 1689 was grounded. But the grand committee proposed no resolution to vindicate or establish their right against such assertions. They exercised their right, and did the noble work they were about; and they thought that the doing the deed comprehended in it, and uncontestedly proved, both their right and their duty to do it.

Having submitted to the house these observations on the order of their proceedings, he requested the indulgence of their attention to some remarks upon the precedents on which the right honourable gentleman had laid the foundation of his resolutions, and particularly on the precedent of the 32d and 33d of Henry the sixth, which runs from page 42 to page 77 in the report from the committee; and which, being the only one touching the supply of the defect in the royal authority from sickness, bore with the most force on the present state of things and persons. The precedent had been much relied on; it had been proposed as a pattern for their proceeding in the great and arduous affair which a most deplorable necessity imposed upon them. He would venture to undertake to prove, by the irrefragable evidence of records, and the authentic history of the times, that, during the course of all the proceedings which collectively form that precedent, both houses of parliament were in the most abject and humiliated state of

dependence on the power and will of Richard duke of York, and the potent and formidable faction of the noble families who adhered to him, and followed the projects of his ambition; and that every step they took, every declaration they made, and every act they did or passed, were taken and done under the impression of immediate force and irresistible influence. After the assassination of the virtuous duke of Gloucester, the king's uncle, Richard, duke of York, became first prince of the blood, and presumptive heir to the crown. The prince of Wales was born in October 1453, and about this time the king fell into a disorder in his mind, which rendered him unfit even to maintain the appearance of royalty. The queen and her favourite, the duke of Somerset, found themselves obliged by this exigency to yield, for a time, to the high power and connections of the duke of York. Somerset was actually sent to the tower on the 13th of February 1454. Richard was appointed, or, more properly speaking, appointed himself, lieutenant to the king, for holding the parliament. About this time the famous earl of Warwick, the earls of Salisbury and Westmoreland, and many others of the duke's followers, were admitted into the council, in the place of the former administration, and had the whole government in their hands. By their command and influence, the committee of lords was sent on the 23d of March to the king, who lay sick at Windsor, to take his pleasure upon certain questions stated in their commission. On the 25th of March, the bishop of Carlisle, one of the deputed lords, reported to the house, that they found the king in a state



of perfect lethargy and insensibility. Then followed, on the 27th of March, the famous transaction of the nomination and election of the duke of York to his first protectorate, by the peers spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled, without any participation or even consent of the commons. Sir Grey Cooper observed, that he did not consider their appointment of the duke of York to the first protectorate, as in any respect proceeding even from the free deliberation or choice of the house of lords; but, that it was dictated and compelled by the controuling and overbearing power of the duke and his adherents. This conclusion was not founded on conjecture, or the mere authority of any historian or annalist; but, on the evidence of the records of parliament. He then cited, from the fifth volume of the Rolls of Parliament, the case of the purgation of the duke of York in the house of peers, upon occasion of the trial of the earl of Devonshire for treason, in the year 1452.

This record, he said, proved to demonstration in what a wretched state of submission and prostration the whole house of peers lay at the feet of the protector. For, the man whom they, with one voice, declared to be, and to have been, a faithful and loyal subject to the king, had, not two years before they made this dishonourable declaration, levied open war against the king, and marched with an army to the gates of his capital, and was, at the very moment, known to be contesting the king's title to the crown. Sir Grey said, he would next shew, by a record of unquestionable authority, that the house of commons was, at the very same time, in an

humble, helpless, and disgraceful state of dependence on the same power. He then cited the famous case of the imprisonment of Thorpe, the speaker, which happened just at the time of the duke of York's being appointed lieutenant of the king to hold the parliament, and soon afterwards protector of the kingdom. It was of this precedent, cited in a debate on the 8th of March, 1620, that Sir N. Rich observed, "*It is a case begotten by the iniquity of the times, when the duke of York might have an over-grown power in it, and therefore wish it may not be meddled with.*"

He added, that what our excellent historian Rapin remarks on this parliament, and the other parliaments about this time, was perfectly just, and well founded. He says, that the contrary resolutions of those assemblies, clearly shew that they acted not with freedom, but were swayed by the events which happened before their deliberations.

In the beginning of the year 1455, the king was somewhat recovered from his indisposition, and the queen moved him to resume his authority, and to release Somerset from the Tower. The duke of York was forced to retire. He raised another army, and the battle of St. Alban's was fought in the month of May 1455. After this great event, the unfortunate king was restored to the appearance and forms of royalty; the duke of York and all his adherents were declared innocent of any treason against the king; he was reinstated in the protectorate, at the instance of the very commons whose speaker he had imprisoned; and upon a reverse of fortune, he was, as it was called, exonerated of the of-

rice, and of all his power. It was not necessary to state, that from the period of the battle at St. Alban's, the whole kingdom was deluged with blood, and involved in confusion, by a most cruel and ferocious civil war, for the course of thirty years. From the very threshold of this disastrous period, the precedent was taken, for the purpose of doing what the house of peers, who elected the duke of York, declared they would not do, prejudice my lord the prince.

Upon the reading of these records might he not venture to ask the house, whether some feelings of resentment and indignation did not rise in their breasts against those who have proposed this precedent as a pattern for their conduct, in one of the most important and momentous emergencies, that ever presented itself to parliament, and in which all the great energies of government, all the rights of the highest and most illustrious persons, and the first principles of the constitution, are concerned?

Mr. Wyndham spoke with great ability on the same side, and contended that the analogies which had been drawn from the known and established maxims and practice of the constitution, were too clear to be mistaken, and too forcible to be resisted. He maintained that nothing short of absolute necessity should induce the house to violate the principles of an hereditary devolution

of the executive power; a necessity which, in the present case, could not be pretended. He ridiculed all attempts to decide a question of the nature then before them upon mere legal distinctions; and urged the propriety of attending to the consequences that might follow from the application of particular precedents and maxims to the matter in question, rather than to the precedents and maxims themselves.

After some farther debate it was moved, by way of amendment, first, that the word "right" should be left out of the resolution; and afterwards that instead of the words "in such manner as the exigence of the case may require" the following should be inserted, "by presenting an address to the prince of Wales, heir apparent and of full age, beseeching him to take upon himself the administration of the civil and military government of the country, during the indisposition of his majesty, and no longer." These amendments were moved by Mr. Dempster and Mr. Powys, and negatived without a division. The third resolution being then read, Mr. Dempster again moved that all the latter part, from the word "de- termine," should be left out, and that the amendment he had before moved should be inserted. The debate upon this question was adjourned to the following day.

## C H A P. IV.

*The minister's explanation of the measures he intended to propose relative to the regency. Resumed debate on Mr. Dempster's motion. The plan of the minister warmly opposed by lord North, Mr. Burke, and Mr. Fox, as tending to an unnecessary and unconstitutional assumption of power. Substance of Mr. Fox's speech on that occasion. The plan and resolutions defended by Mr. Pitt; substance of his speech. Opinion of the solicitor general. Mr. Fox in explanation. Pointed observations from Mr. Sheridan. The resolutions carried by a majority of 251 to 178, and delivered at a conference to the lords; referred to a committee on the state of the nation. Amendment proposed in the committee by lord Razdon; supported by lords Stormont, Portchester, and Loughborough. Original resolutions defended by lord Camden, the duke of Richmond, and the chancellor; substance of their speeches. The marquis of Lansdowne's approbation of the measures of the ministers, and his argument in opposition to the claims of the prince of Wales. Amendment negatived by 99 to 66. The resolutions finally agreed to, and the commons acquainted therewith. Protest by forty-eight lords. Addresses and petitions sent up from several counties and corporations.*

Dec. 22. **B**EFORE we proceed to the debate upon the amendment moved by Mr. Dempster, it may be necessary to observe, that the chancellor of the exchequer had informed the house, that it was his intention, in case the resolutions he had moved should be agreed to, and meet with the concurrence of the house of lords, to propose, that the lord high chancellor should be empowered to put the great seal to a commission for opening the parliament in the usual form, and that as soon as a bill should be passed by both houses for providing for the exercise of the royal authority, under certain limitations, during his majesty's indisposition, another commission should be sealed for giving to such act the royal assent.

This project was opposed upon a great variety of grounds by lord North, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Burke. In the first place it was argued, that it was an unnecessary, unwarrantable, and unconstitutional assumption

of power — unnecessary, because all parties concurring unanimously in opinion that the prince of Wales should be invested with the regency, the proceeding by address or declaration was the most simple, and the most consonant to the practice and constitutional functions of the two houses. If it should be objected that the prince-regent might refuse his assent to such limitations as might be thought fit to be put upon the exercise of the royal authority in his hands, it was answered, that the argument proceeds upon a supposition that would warrant future permanent restrictions upon the executive power. If the heir apparent was not fit to be entrusted as a temporary representative of his father, the same restrictions would be necessary when he came to have the executive power as a principal and in his own person. But what grounds were there for apprehending either that he would abuse his power, or refuse to consent to any necessary limitation of it, when such necessity should

be made manifest? Had not the whole line of his ancestors since the revolution, had not even William the third, consented to such limitations? But he might dissolve the parliament—a supposition, it was answered, in the highest degree improbable. The dissolution of parliaments was a part of the royal prerogative, which had always been exercised with much delicacy and caution even by the sovereign himself; and it was not to be imagined that any person would be so weak and short-sighted as to advise such a measure in circumstances like the present, especially as there was not a single shilling voted for carrying on the public service. Besides, the moderation which the prince had manifested throughout the whole of this trying occasion, was a sufficient pledge for the rectitude of his future conduct, and entitled him in a peculiar manner to the confidence and affection of the house.

Nor were the measures proposed more unnecessary than unwarrantable and unconstitutional. The resolution began with declaring, “That for maintaining entire the constitutional authority of the king, it was necessary they should determine”—What? why, that the representative of the king should have no other power than the house of commons should think fit to allow him. They were to devise means (as if they had to establish a new constitution, instead of preserving inviolate an old constitution already established) for altering and new modelling an essential part of the state; and in order to fix the form of a legal sanction on their proceedings, they were to give a fictitious royal assent, but in reality their own assent, to their own acts. The glar-

ing falshood and absurdity of such a proceeding was treated with much ridicule and indignation.

It having been urged on the other side that the king, in the contemplation of the law, being still in full possession of his political capacity, the method proposed for supplying the defect of his present inability to exercise his functions, was the most agreeable that could be devised to the legal forms of the constitution, Mr. Fox replied, that no man could be more disposed than he was to regard the forms of the constitution, but he held them sacred only so far as they were the outguards and protectors of the constitution itself. The moment that they ceased to be the guardians, and became the betrayers, he could no longer venerate the forms, but must instantly refer to the substance and essence of the constitution. He therefore in the present discussion felt it to be his first duty to enquire whether the measures now proposed were not in direct hostility to the principles of the constitution, while by a miserable juggle and fraud they pretended to be consistent with the forms. He did not mean to combat the doctrine, that the two houses of parliament were competent, by resolution or address, to supply the present deficiency: but he should beg leave to contend, that if they proceeded farther, if they assumed to themselves powers which belonged to the legislature, and proceeded to legislate, they would act in direct violation of the spirit of the constitution. What was there but their own discretion as a security from the most unconstitutional outrages?

He should freely admit, that by addressing the prince of Wales to take upon him the exercise of royal authority,

authority, they did an informal act, but it was an act which the necessity of the case was sufficient to justify. To make the chancellor put the great seal to the proposed commission was also informal. Let the two acts be examined and compared. Do the first, and the prince instantly holds the parliament, the legislature is complete, and the informal act may be ratified. If the chancellor puts the great seal to whatever bill the two houses shall pass for ratifying their proceedings, not a step is gained, for the remedy itself is also unconstitutional and inefficient. Our proposition instantly reproduces legislature; your's, a monster unknown to the constitution. We do all that necessity requires; you do infinitely more. It was said, "that the power which necessity creates, necessity also limits:" we do but one informal act, you two or more. You proceed to chuse an inconvenient regent for the purpose of getting a convenient regent, whom we reach at once. We proceed to limit his power, if it must be limited, legally, when the legislature is complete: you proceed to do this, when there exists in the country no power that is competent to the measure. You do that by a fraud and a fiction, which we do constitutionally and legally.

All this, it had been said, was very plausible; but during the life of the king there was no person that could have a right to act for him. Then why did they presume to confer this right on the lord chancellor? "Oh," says a learned gentleman, "we have a right to make the chancellor do what we please, and to act according to our will, but we have no power to admit the prince of Wales to act according

"to his will." By this doctrine they had the power to appoint themselves regents, but no power to appoint the heir apparent. Monstrous and indecent incongruity!

But, he said, the measure proposed was not only contrary to the spirit of the constitution, but to a direct act of parliament. The 13th of Charles the second expressly declared, that the two houses could not make laws without the king. But, it had been said, this statute could not apply; for the king, though at present incapable of exercising, had still in the eye of the law his political capacity entire. The throne was to all intents and purposes full, and nothing was wanting but an organ to convey the royal assent. What then was proposed to be done? To appoint a person who should give the royal assent to bills to be passed? Indeed! How was this person to know the royal pleasure? Was he to go to Kew to apply to the royal person, whom Providence had deprived of the power of assent or dissent? Human reason revolted from the absurdity. Was there a permanent authoritative counsel to which he could apply? None. Could he exercise his own will? No: he was deprived of all discretion. To whom then could he apply? To the two houses of parliament that gave him being; and thus we had a monster unknown, unheard of in our history. We had indeed formerly two houses of parliament, that proceeded first to legislate, and then to *act*. Had the learned gentleman been then solicitor general instead of sir Oliver St. John, he would not have felt himself at any loss how to legalize all the proceedings of the long parliament; he would have issued a commission in the name of the king, affixed

affixed the great seal to each of the ordinances, and having so done, he would have exclaimed, Here are perfect statutes according to the law! But the king's name could not be used against the king's authority; and setting up a man of straw for the purpose of limiting the prerogative, was in fact and truth an infringement and outrage of the royal authority.

Mr. Fox then proceeded to consider the precedents of the first of Henry VI. and of the revolution.

On the death of Henry V. the bishop of Durham, lord chancellor, delivered the great seal into the hands of the infant king, then nine months old; and the duke of Gloucester of his own authority delivered it into the hands of the master of the rolls, by whom it was used. This was rather a strong measure; and yet in the parliament which succeeded, although acts of indemnity were passed for every other irregular measure, yet no act of indemnity was passed for this; so little doubt had our ancestors of that day of the right of the next person in the line of succession. A commission was then issued under the great seal, appointing the duke of Gloucester to the regency, with full powers to exercise the royal authority, and to use his discretion fully and freely in trust for the minor king. By this first step the third estate was restored before the two houses took upon them to do any one act of legislation; and the regent being thus vested with the full exercise of the prerogative, the parliament was able to confirm by an act the first measure of the issuing of the commission.

From this precedent he therefore deduced these two important facts:

1. That the power was given, in the first instance, to the next in succession to the crown; and in this nomination the full absolute authority of the sovereign was entrusted to him. 2. That though afterwards limitations were put to the duke's exercise of the prerogative, the limitations were made in full parliament, when the duke constituted the third estate, and when from each of the bills that restrained his authority he might have witholden his assent.

Mr. Fox then observed, that though nothing could be more distinct than the powers of the two houses taken individually, and the power of the three estates in conjunction, yet in all this investigation they had been industriously confounded. Most of the precedents on which they are called upon to proceed, were acts of the legislature. He insisted, that as they were not a legislature, the only precedents applicable to the present question were such as related to the proceedings of the two houses of parliament when deprived of the third estate: of this kind were the proceedings of the convention at the revolution; and on this subject he said he wished to be clearly understood. He declared, then, that the revolution was evidently a case of necessity, arising from real and imminent danger; the vacancy of the throne was occasioned by the flight of the king, who having endeavoured to subvert the constitution, and violated the fundamental laws of the kingdom, had provoked the just resistance of the people, and withdrawn himself in the tumult out of the kingdom. Thus outraged and injured, threatened with a foreign enemy in support of a tyrant, there existed a necessity in which

which all forms were to give way to the substance and essence of the constitution. They had not in that necessity the choice of conduct. Their first bounden constitutional duty was to protect themselves against the danger which threatened, and therefore he assumed it as an uncontrollable position, that what they did under the immediate pressure of this necessity, did not and could not apply to the present necessity: but he was ready to acknowledge, that every proceeding of theirs which could be referred to free agency, and in which they were not shackled by the dangers that surrounded them, did apply to the present case. Arguing on these two positions, if it should be said that the convention overlooked the line of hereditary succession, his answer would be, that in doing so they acted under the pressure of the necessity, well knowing that they could only preserve to the kingdom its liberties and constitution, by putting the crown into the hand of a person able to protect them. Their election of king William, therefore, he thought an act of positive necessity, which did not apply to the present case. The mode of their electing him he considered as an act of discretion, and that therefore did apply. King William, with all his great and glorious qualities, certainly did not possess such a knowledge of our constitution, as to have had in his mind any preference as to the manner in which the crown should be conferred on him. His education, chiefly military, did not lead him much to the discussion of the forms of our parliamentary proceedings; and whether it came to him by declaration of the two houses, by address, or by an act pass-

ed with the affectation of legal forms, was a matter which he believed would have been indifferent to him, and therefore he took it for granted that the convention acted from their own volition. And how did the two houses act? They might have ordered a new great seal to be made, they might have created a pageant, and given to themselves the empty form, without the reality or the essence of a perfect parliament; they might have committed an insulting fraud, and in the mere mockery of legislation have passed an impotent act, conveying to king William the crown. But, knowing and feeling the distinct powers possessed by the two houses, and possessed by the legislature; knowing that the two houses could act only by resolutions and addresses, and that the legislature could again act only by bill and statute, the convention proceeded by that course which was consistent with their functions, by address.—Here was a precedent in the revolution applicable to the present case.

He concluded with some observations on the words of the resolution. He had, he said, in the course of this discussion, thrown out an opinion, that a right attached to the heir apparent to exercise the functions of royalty, during the incapacity of the king, and that the two houses should recognize this right, and put him in possession of it. In opposition to this opinion, the two houses came to a resolution, that they alone possessed the right of nominating to the regency; but at the same time declaring they thought the prince the most proper person to be appointed. Bowing to their decision, he now wished them to go on, and to appoint the prince

prince regent. Instead of this, what was the language and spirit of the next resolution? That they have no right, that they cannot appoint him. They must first do what never was done before in the history of this country, they must first form themselves into a legislature. Thus they first make a declaration of a right purely abstract; and having made it, they shrink from the exercise of the right they have arrogated. He then warned the house against the adoption of specious pretexts, by which, under the colour of original principles, they were to assume powers inconsistent with the spirit of the constitution. There was no way so certain of bringing the popular branch of the legislature into popular odium, as by deviating from the precise path marked out for it in the constitution, and straying within the limits of the other two, whom it was their duty to watch, but never to invade.

Mr. Pitt replied to these arguments, and maintained that the grounds on which he had proposed and supported the resolution, were such as would bear it out, whether reference was had to precedents and practice, or to the principles of the constitution. The former, he said, had been produced, in the first place, to shew, that, in all cases of interruption, or suspension of the executive government, the right of providing a remedy was in the two remaining branches of the legislature; and, in the second place, that, in infancy or infirmity of the sovereign, the will of the king had always, in form of law, been made the instrument of sanctioning the acts of the executive power, by whomsoever advised or directed. In this manner, by a commission under

the great seal, had parliaments in such cases been called together in former times, as appeared by the precedents, and their acts were sanctioned by the royal authority, although the king was incapable of exercising any judgment, discretion, or will of his own. The present parliament was more regular in point of form, in as much as it wanted no such power to call it together, being legally summoned and assembled without it. It had been argued, that this power of putting the great seal to a commission for calling a parliament, when there was none, was so much considered as the right of the first prince of the blood, in cases of the minority of the king, that it had not even been thought necessary to grant an indemnity for having done it, and consequently it must have been considered as a legal act. The precedents of the first part of the reign of Henry VI. shewed that this was a mistake; for, a commission for calling a parliament at that time had been afterwards ratified by parliament; and, there were other instances of such subsequent ratification, where the seal had been put to commissions by the first prince of the blood.

With respect to the revolution, he admitted that the circumstances of that period had been fairly stated; but he differed from Mr. Fox in the application which he had made of them, and contended, that the principle resulting from the proceedings of parliament then was such as ought to govern the proceedings at present. He agreed, that what had been done from motives of policy to protect the nation from invasion by a formidable rival, and to prevent the return of the abdicated monarch, ought



ought to be laid aside from their consideration at present; but, the two remaining branches of the legislature, on that occasion, had not restricted themselves to a simple address to the prince of Orange to accept the crown; they felt not only that they must have a king, but that they must have a king on certain terms and conditions. They did what amounted to a legislative act: they came to a resolution to settle the crown, not on the prince of Orange and the heirs of his body, nor on the princess Mary and the heirs of her body; but on the prince and princess jointly, the authority to be exercised only by him. Here it was evident that whatever the necessity of the case required at that time, the lords and commons possess a the power to provide for it, and consequently whatever the necessity of the case demanded at present, the power belonged to the lords and commons to supply it.

But, although the application of the principle was denied, the form of the proceedings was recommended as a pattern. On the other hand, Mr. Pitt contended that the circumstances of the case were widely different. The throne was vacant *then*; but it was full now, and, therefore, the address was not a precedent in point of form.

With respect to the statute of the 13th of Car. II. Mr. Pitt observed, that it said no more, and could never be understood to mean any more, than that when there was a king, the lords and commons could do no legislative act of themselves; but it could not possibly mean that they should not act at all, when there was no king to act with them. The same principle which justified the proceedings at the revolution must

justify the proceeding at the present period; and the 13th of Charles II. might as well have been alledged against the revolution, as opposed to the proceedings under their deliberation.

The right honourable gentleman had argued, that as the first step in their proceeding, whatever mode might be adopted, must necessarily be informal, that mode must, of course, prove the best which can soonest do away the informality, and, at the same time, conform to the necessity of the case.—This, Mr. Pitt remarked, brought him to the true grounds on which the question was to be argued, and on which they might fairly come to a decision. By the right honourable gentleman it was said, that the prince of Wales might be desired by an address to represent the king: he had proposed that the royal assent should be given by a commission under the great seal. The latter had been objected to on this ground, that any act done in the king's name, without his knowledge, was a coarse fiction, a mere legal forgery, not to be endured. If it were really so, what was the regent to do? Was he to act in his own name, or in the king's? In his own name he could not act without first dethroning the king, and in the king's name he could not act without recourse to this reprobated fiction. If gentlemen who argued thus knew their own principles, they proved the impossibility of appointing any regent. But the fiction which had been treated with so much disrespect, and twisted and distorted into so many shapes of absurdity, was, in fact, sanctioned by the practice of the constitution, and the forms of law. A learned gentleman had truly told them,

them, it was that fiction which governed the proceedings of the courts of justice, which protected their dearest rights and properties. It resulted from the nature of hereditary monarchy—from that principle which supposes the same power to pass instantly in succession from one person to another, and that the political capacity of the king is always entire—that principle which preserves sacred and inviolable the person on the throne, and has protected it in the imbecility of infancy, and the decrepitude of age. Certain forms of law were evidence of the will of the king; and wherever they appeared could not be averred against. Of this nature was affixing the great seal; and if the chancellor were now to put the great seal to any act, it could not be contradicted, its legality could not be disputed; it must be received by the courts of justice, and proceeded on as law. But, the personal imbecility of the king being known, and that he is incapable of giving any command, the chancellor would incur such personal danger by an action of that sort, as would undoubtedly deter any man in his senses from committing it. The highest authority in the nation was requisite for such an act: and such was the great council of the nation.

The comparison of the two methods of proceeding was sufficient to enable them to decide which was preferable. They had already voted it to be their right and their duty to provide for the temporary exercise of the executive power in such manner as the exigency of the case might require. Having recognized their own authority, would they give authority to another person to curb them in the use of it?

Having declared what their right and their duty were, could they renounce any part of that right and that duty?

It had been observed that the person of the king could not be represented in parliament, unless he possessed full parliamentary powers, the power of assembling, of proroguing, and of dissolving it; and to reconcile the house to the granting of those powers, it was said that the regent would not use the power of dissolving the parliament. But when powers were once given, it was impossible to say how they might be exercised. The regent might fill the other house with new peers, while they were deliberating whether that power should or should not be limited. The powers to be given him ought to be discussed, while the house had the power of deliberating with effect. With many it was a doubt, whether very extensive powers ought to be given, during a short regency, as they all hoped, and wished it might prove; and, if they acted honestly, as their duty to the sovereign, and regard to the public, dictated, they would decide that first. If they acted otherwise, and should afterwards on deliberation be of opinion that all the powers of the prerogative were not necessary in such circumstances, where was the remedy, when they had given them all? To give any part of them arose from necessity; and they went beyond necessity, if they gave more than was sufficient.

It had been argued, also, as if the limitations had been perpetual, and they had been warned against invading the prerogative, in its defenceless state. When the necessity of exercising the prerogative by a

regent should cease, the limitations would cease likewise. But if the full powers were given to a regent, that circumstance might have a permanent influence, during the life of the king, to weaken the prerogative. It would be highly improper in him to say who were likely to be the advisers of his royal highness as regent; but he would not pay so ill or so dishonest a compliment to his royal highness, as to agree to give him power as regent, which his advisers, whoever they should be, might induce him to misuse. Should the house give the whole power, it might be affirmed that they went beyond the necessity of the case, and sacrificed their own rights, and their duty to the king, to the prospect of resuming what they might not afterwards be able to resume.

Mr. Pitt was supported by the solicitor general, who argued against sacrificing ancient forms, that had the sanction of time and the authority of law to give them validity, to theories on the spirit of the constitution. We were not now to forget that we had a king on the throne, and that that king was not incapacitated by law, however he might be incapacitated in fact. The day was not yet come when such a melancholy matter was to undergo the investigation of parliament, which the two houses, without the third branch, could not deem themselves to be. It would therefore be highly illegal in the two houses to address the prince of Wales, and give him the powers of regent, before they were capacitated so to do; nor would he, he said, wish to implicate himself in the guilt of any resolution which might so affect the sovereignty; for the king was yet a capable

man in his political character, as the opinion of the twelve judges testified, by their carrying on the business of the courts every day, as if the king was in his most perfect state.

Much had been urged concerning the impropriety of affixing the great seal to a commission, without the direction of the sovereign. He would say, that if the great seal were affixed to a commission calling together the two houses of parliament, the meeting under that commission would be legal, notwithstanding it was not the immediate order of the king, because on the face of the proceedings every thing must be taken for granted to be regular. The same observation would hold good with respect to any commission for giving the royal assent to a bill, without the personal consent of the sovereign, or the regent who acted in his stead; such assent, when once given, either by commission or by the royal person, being always considered as binding and conclusive.

Before the question was put, Mr. Fox rose in explanation of that part of his speech which had been represented as implying the impossibility of the royal assent being ever given to an act under the present circumstances. He said, that he had never asserted that the name of the king could not be used without the will. For a person possessing the exercise of discretion, and consequently the power of assenting or dissenting, to use it might be an allowable fiction; but for a person set up by parliament to do a particular act or acts, without the liberty of exercising discretion, or dissenting if he thought proper, to use it was an extravagant fiction. In the one

case, there were three branches of the legislature, in the other there were only two.

Mr. Sheridan concluded the debate by putting a few pointed questions to the minister. He asked, whether the apprehensions he entertained of the abuse of the prerogative did not arise from the recollection of his own conduct? In imposing restrictions, he said, some delicacy was requisite, for every restriction that was not necessary, was not a limitation, but an insult. Was the right honourable gentleman in such haste to impose restrictions, because he feared that he could not carry the limitations which he meant to propose, unless he were minister? Or was he apprehensive that parliament or the prince would forget to do their duty? From some such fear, or unworthy suspicion, his haste must proceed. What provision was made, if the prince should refuse to be regent, on the right honourable gentleman's terms? Supposing him not to refuse, what reason had they to believe he would withhold his consent from those restrictions when regent, under which he would consent to accept the trust? Would anyone advise him to say, I accept the regency under the limitations you propose, which I think are improper, and which I hope parliament will annul?

The question being called for, the house divided; when there appeared, for the amendment, 178; against it, 251.

The original resolution was then put and agreed to; and the three resolutions were ordered to be delivered to the lords at a conference, and their concurrence to be desired.

The next day, upon the return of the lords from <sup>23d Dec.</sup> the conference, the resolutions were read; and it was moved, that they should be referred to a committee of the whole house, appointed to take into consideration the state of the nation, on the Friday following. Upon this occasion lord Loughborough objected to the receiving from the other house a prescribed mode for their conduct, as totally unprecedented. The commons, he remarked, had not, as hitherto had been the constant and invariable practice, left a blank for their lordships to fill up if they pleased, but had undertaken to decide both what was their own and also what was their lordships duty. He also objected to the report of the committee of precedents, as full of mistatements and inaccuracies, several of which he pointed out, and expressed a wish that it might be re-committed. These objections were over-ruled, and the resolutions, together with the report, ordered to be referred.

On the 26th, the first <sup>26th Dec.</sup> resolution being read, lord Rawdon moved an amendment, similar to that proposed by Mr. Dempster. He was supported by the lords Stormont, Portchester, Carlisle, and Loughborough. They insisted principally upon the dangerous tendency of the measures proposed, which they contended went in their principle to the total destruction of the constitution: whereas the plain and simple method of proceeding to appoint a regent in the first instance, either by address or declaration, would produce all the effect, without any of the mischiefs of the other mode. If the two houses could assume the functions, and exercise the prerogatives

prerogatives of the crown in one instance, they might in others, and therefore it was impossible to foresee where such a practice might end.

Lord Stormont remarked, that the only advantage gained by the proposed mode was, that of giving a legal form to their proceedings; but when it was considered by how gross and palpable a fiction the royal assent was to be pretended, and that even the royal signature was to be forged, it was hoped such an argument would not, except by mere lawyers, be much insisted upon. He desired their lordships to turn to the debates in the year 1688, and they would see the miserable jargon introduced by the lawyers of that period. At the time of the revolution, every distinction that sophistry could suggest, and ingenuity invent, was devised, and insisted on, to mislead the house of commons, and confound their judgment; but the first men of those days, who, though not great lawyers, were great statesmen, swept away the cobweb distinctions of professional reasoners at once, and by dint of sound sense prevailed on the house to speak by their actions, and come directly to the point, and declare the prince of Orange king.

He said, the words of the amendment were precisely the same with those adopted by the convention parliament, when it was resolved to address the prince of Orange, with the exception only of the reference to the incapacity of his majesty; and surely, no one of their lordships would contend, that the address voted to the prince of Orange implied that he possessed any other right to the throne, than that which he derived from the votes of the two houses.

He called upon noble lords to point

out the difficulties to which voting the address would subject them. It would neither invalidate the rights of the two houses, recognize the claim of the prince of Wales, though much might be urged in support of it, nor prevent their proceeding to pass a bill of limitations, if it should be thought wise to lay the regent under any restrictions. With regard to the latter, the address moved by the noble lord by no means precluded such a bill; but, to attempt to pass it at present, would be indecent and unfair. Let them fill the third estate, declare a regent, and establish the royal authority, and then if it should be thought necessary to restrain its powers, combat them in a manly way, when the royal authority was capable of defence, and could act for itself.

Lord Portchester charged the three resolutions with gross inconsistency. The first declared his majesty incapable of exercising the royal authority, and the third supposed him capable of giving the royal assent to a bill. He reprobated the expedient authorized by the third resolution; and said, that so far from being calculated, as had been asserted, by means of a forgery of the great seal, to preserve the form of the constitution, and keep the royal authority whole and entire, it tended immediately to dissolve the very fabric of the constitution, and to put an end to the third estate, by dividing the royal authority into four parts; one of which was to be given to the house of commons, another to the house of lords, and a third to a commissioner or commissioners, in order to enable them altogether to deliver the remaining part to a regent.

Lord Loughborough maintained

with great force of argument, and knowledge of the laws and constitution, the right of the prince of Wales to the regency, in preference to any other person whatever. He grounded his doctrine respecting the right of hereditary succession to the throne, and, by analogy, the right of hereditary succession to the exercise of executive power, on Mr. Justice Foster's treatise on the principles of the constitution. He was ready to admit, that the right of hereditary succession in either case was not an original vested right, which belonged, in the first instance, to one of a family, and was descendible to the heirs, in like manner as descendible property of an ordinary description; but that it was made hereditary for the general benefit of the community, and to guard against the danger and mischief resulting from the pretensions of a variety of claimants on the one hand, and the known and ascertained fatal consequences of an elective crown on the other.

The first resolution, he contended, was designedly formed to cover a concealed purpose different from that which the words of it professed to import. It was neither more or less than a declaration, that the office of regent was an elective office, and that the two houses of parliament were the electors.

He concluded with remarking upon the slight difference of opinion that subsisted amongst them. Some had asserted, that the prince of Wales had an inherent right to the regency; others, that he possessed an irresistible claim; and all agreed that he was the only fit person to be appointed regent. Being therefore unanimous in the main point, he insisted that they ought to carry that into effect, and not to waste

more time in the mode of doing what all agreed ought to be done forthwith.

The original resolutions were defended, upon the grounds before taken, by lord Camden, the duke of Richmond, and the lord chancellor; the former insisted much upon the wisdom of our ancestors, in shackling every regent with council of regency, or such other restrictions as should prevent them from grasping at the whole of the royal authority. He begged, however, that his observations might be considered as applicable solely to the wisdom of our ancestors, and that he concurred with them in thinking that to be the true line of policy. He meant not to glance at the present heir apparent, who he was sure would be the last man desirous of assuming powers, which the two houses of parliament should not think consistent with the safety of the crown. Such, however, was the natural proneness of human nature to ambition, that it behoved the two houses always to regard with jealousy every opportunity that afforded the means of gratifying that passion, and to provide restrictions to check its progress. With regard to the prince of Wales, so amiable had been his conduct, that it set suspicion at rest, and rendered the task of limitation less difficult. There was no intention, in reality, to withhold from his royal highness above one or two instances of exercising royal authority, and those, such only as a due regard for the preservation of the crown on his majesty's head, and the securing to him the power of resuming the exercise of all his royal prerogatives, when he should be restored to health, indispensably demanded.

The duke of Richmond pursued the

the same line of argument. He said, he had the highest respect for his royal highness the prince of Wales, and had not the most distant idea, were his royal highness declared regent instantly and by the means recommended in the amendment, that his royal highness would do any thing improper; but, his duty to his majesty, and the duty they all owed to the crown, and to themselves, made it incumbent on them to guard against any possible danger, and to deliver such a precedent to posterity as should at once mark the extreme caution with which they had proceeded in a case of such infinite difficulty, and secure the safety of the constitution to future ages. If, without any such limitation or restriction, the prince were instantly declared regent, he conceived that the whole personal property of his majesty would come into the hands of the prince of Wales, and all his majesty's servants, from the noble lords with white staves down to the lowest page, might be removed. Nay, the very physicians that had the care of his majesty's health might be changed. All his majesty's wealth, likewise, might be seized, and perverted from the uses to which his majesty might have graciously intended to apply it. The duke said, that when his majesty should happily be on his recovery, the knowledge of the alteration in the state of his household, and of his personal property, might have the worst possible effect upon him. He was, indeed, sure, from the strong marks of filial affection and tenderness which his royal highness had manifested, during his majesty's melancholy illness, that every care would be exerted by the prince; but, he was reasoning

on the possibility of the case, and it was the duty of their lordships to guard against that abuse of power, to which, from the infirmity of human nature, every man was liable.

The lord chancellor contended, that the words of the amendment were so loose and undefined as to convey no distinct import. The words purported to be a resolution of that house, that an humble address be presented to his royal highness the prince of Wales, praying his royal highness to take upon himself, as sole regent, the administration of executive government. He begged to know, what the term regent meant? Where was he to find it defined? In what law book, or what statute? He had heard of *custodes regni*, of *lieutenants of the king*, of *guardians and protectors*, and of *lords justices*; but he knew not where to look for an explanation of the office and functions of a regent. To what end then would it be to address the prince of Wales to take upon himself an office, the boundaries of which were by no means ascertained? But the amendment attempted something which probably was intended as a sort of definition of the term regent, and of the nature of a regent's office, by adding the administration of executive government. There again, however, the expression was dark and equivocal. What was meant by the executive government? Did it mean the whole royal authority, all the sovereign's functions, without restriction or limitation of any kind whatsoever? If it did, it ought to have said so in express words; and if it had, would any noble lord have contended, that such a broad degree of authority as amounted to the actual dethroning of His

majesty, and wresting the sceptre out of his hand, ought to be voted by that house? He begged their wisdoms constantly to recollect, that in the contemplation of law, the political character of a king of Great Britain was always whole and entire; and he desired them at the same time to keep in mind, that the king's natural character was inseparable from his political character. It was, as Sir Matthew Hale, who had been mentioned in the course of the debate, well observed, owing to this having been somewhat lost sight of, that so many mischiefs had ensued to this country.

He justified the taking the advice of the two houses of parliament on the present occasion, as the best mode of proceeding. Of old, when the number of privy counsellors was not so great as at present, and when it was not customary for his majesty to have those persons members of his privy council whom he never chose to meet, in a dilemma like the present the measures to be adopted for the public safety might originate there; and others there were, who thought his majesty's cabinet council the proper place: he differed in respect to both. He had heard, indeed, of some antiquaries, who were of opinion, that, upon some emergencies, a middle council between the two, composed of the judges and the king's ministers, ought to be formed; but, the best council of all, in his judgment, was the grand council of the nation, the two houses of parliament. It was now said, after the rights of the two houses to supply the defect in the exercise of the royal authority had been discussed and de-

cidcd, and when they were called upon to concur with the house of commons in resolving upon the means, which were to be resorted to for that purpose, that the two houses were about to exercise the powers of executive government, and to do an act of legislation. Had ministers, of themselves, put the great seal to a commission for calling the two houses together, and opened parliament in that way, he was persuaded that the charge of their being about to take upon themselves the executive government would have been thundered in their ears ten times more loudly.

The lord chancellor spoke of the noble qualities of the prince of Wales in terms of great praise; but, he said, there might be heirs apparent, whose lives might have afforded the two houses sufficient reason for setting them aside from the regency; he maintained, therefore, that it was expedient that the two houses should not abandon such a power, nor, under the circumstances of the case, avoid avowing it to be their right.

The marquis of Lansdowne, in a speech of great length, expressed his general approbation of the measures proposed by the ministers. In contradiction to the doctrines which had been asserted, concerning the two houses of parliament, that they were then in a convention, he had no hesitation in declaring, that the present was to all intents and purposes a parliament, a parliament regularly assembled. The king had assembled them; the king had the undoubted authority thus to assemble them, because the king was living. He pretended not to any great knowledge of law, but he knew enough

of



of it to be perfectly assured that, according to the law and the constitution, the throne was never vacant; and that the king, in no age, in no condition, either as a minor or otherwise, was ever considered as incompetent to the exercise of the royal functions. The same principle prevails in regard to minors, who present to livings at a year old, and other matters. It is not to be presumed, that these old principles of law are without a meaning. Whenever called for, they are found to have been suggested by the deepest wisdom, and calculated to meet future exigencies, whatever superficial people may think, who never foresee or comprehend difficulties, till they happen. It was of the utmost consequence to every country, that it should not, on any event, be left without a government, practically as well as legally competent to every exigence. Parliament was the natural government of this country, and nothing was wanting to make the present legally as well as practically competent, but a commission from the crown.

He wished, therefore, that his majesty's ministers had come down at once with such a commission as the third proposition pointed out, and that, instead of having to discuss the propriety of putting the great seal to such a commission, they would, in the first instance, have acted upon such a commission. It had been observed, that some risque would have been run, if the officer holding the great seal had, of his own authority, affixed it to a commission to hold the parliament in the king's name. Some risque undoubtedly would have been run, but great officers were created for

the execution of great and important acts, and if they would run no risque and no hazard, they had no business in great situations. He could not, however, see that any risque would have been run by any man holding the great seal, who, in the present critical situation of affairs, should have assembled the parliament, and brought together the collective wisdom of the nation; and, sure he was, that the two houses were fully equal to the acquitting of any minister, who had, in such an emergency, put the great seal to a commission, constituting them a parliament.

Upon the question of the claims of the prince of Wales, his lordship was not less firmly decided; and upon principles, as we find them stated, more general than those on which it had been before argued. By the principles established at the revolution, he said, the crown itself was declared not to be descendable property, like a pig-sty or a layfall, but a descendable trust; and therefore he contended, that hereditary succession was not to be considered as a right, but a mere political expedient; and that this reasoning obviously applied with double force to any claim to the regency. He was therefore anxious it should be not only discussed but decided, that the eyes of all mankind might be opened to the important fact which must result from the discussion and decision, that the people had essential rights of their own, but that kings and princes had no rights whatever. He wished it might be decided, for the benefit of foreign countries, that those who suffered oppression under governments the most despotic, might be

taught their rights as men, and learn, that although their rights were not, like the rights of Englishmen, secured by precedents and charters, yet that their rights must be acknowledged, as soon as ever they chose to assert them.

At half after twelve o'clock the house divided on the question; when there appeared for the amendment 66; Noes 99. The three resolutions were then severally put and voted.

Dec. 29. After a short debate upon the report, which was made on the 29th of December, they were finally agreed to, and a committee appointed to acquaint the commons therewith at a conference.

A strong protest was entered against agreeing to these resolutions, and signed by the dukes of

York and Cumberland, and forty-six other peers.

These proceedings of the two houses of parliament were not beheld with indifference by the body of the people at large. The friends of the ministers were active and successful in procuring addresses from a considerable majority of the counties and corporations of the kingdom, in approbation of the measures proposed by them: and, on the other hand, petitions were also presented to both houses, particularly from the counties of Northumberland and Southampton, and from the inhabitants of the city of Westminster, expressing the strongest disapprobation of the proposed plan of the regency, and of the principles upon which it was founded.

## C H A P. V.

*Death of the speaker, Mr. Cornwall. Election of his successor. Mr. William Wyndham Grenville proposed by lord Euston and Mr. Pulteney; sir Gilbert Elliot, by Mr. Welbore Ellis and Mr. Frederick Montagu—the former chosen by a majority of 71. Mr. Pitt communicates to the prince of Wales the plan of the regency. Motion proposed by Mr. Lowden for the re-examination of the king's physicians, previous to the consideration of the restrictions upon the regency. Personal invectives thrown out on that occasion. Committee appointed to re-examine the physicians. Their report taken into consideration Jan. 16th. Mr. Pitt's speech on that occasion; proposes three objects for their deliberations. 1st. Nature of the king's illness; Anecdote relative to the queen. 2d. Principles on which they were to proceed. 3d. The limitations which those principles pointed out; viz. in the power of creating peers, of granting places or pensions for life, of alienating the personal property of the king, respecting the care of the king's person, and the disposal of the offices of the household. Mr. Pitt moves five resolutions founded on these principles. They are strongly opposed by Mr. Powys, lord North, Mr. Sheridan, and colonel Fullarton. Celebrated speech of Mr. Grenville in support of the resolutions; amendment moved by Mr. Powys, and negatived by 227 to 154. Second resolution, relative to the creation of peers, voted by a majority of 216 to 159. Third and fourth resolutions carried without a division. Debate on the fifth resolution, relative to the officers of the household, opposed by lord Maitland, Mr. Grey, and Mr. Fox; amendment moved by Mr. Bouverie, and rejected by a majority of 54. Debate on the Resolutions in the house of lords. Able speech of the bishop of Llandaff. Cornwalls deprived of the benefit of applying to the royal mercy. Lord Camden's opinion relative to the creation of peers by act of parliament. Resolutions carried by a majority of 26. Protests signed by 57 lords. Resolutions ordered to be presented to the prince and the queen. Their answers. Debate on the motion for putting the great seal to a commission for opening parliament. Sessions opened. Motion by Mr. Pitt for leave to bring in the regency bill. Bill read a first and second time. Debates in the committee. Debate on the third reading. Regency bill sent to the lords. Notification of the king's recovery. Account of transactions relative to the regency in the Irish parliament.*

Dec. 29. **O**N the 29th of December, the speaker of the house of commons (Mr. Cornwall) was seized with a dangerous illness, which terminated fatally on the 2d of January. The house immediately adjourned itself to the 5th, and being assembled on that day, the earl of Euston rose, and after a short speech in praise of the gentle-

man he designed to propose as a proper successor to the late speaker, he concluded by moving, "That the "right honourable William Wyndham Grenville do take the chair." The motion was seconded by Mr. Pulteney, who said that the right honourable gentleman possessed an hereditary claim to the favour of the house, as the guardian of its privi-

leges, which he had fortified and established by his judicious alteration of his father's bill, a bill that, in his opinion, had gone farther towards securing the first and the most invaluable privileges of that house, than any measure that had ever taken place in parliament. Mr. Pulteney mentioned the customary usage of a previous direction from the crown, when the chair became vacant; but as, under the melancholy circumstances of the times, no such form could take place, and as it was absolutely necessary that the chair should be filled, in order to enable the house to proceed with the very delicate and peculiar business before them, which demanded dispatch, the choice of a speaker immediately was so indispensably requisite, that he supposed no doubt could remain on that question.

Mr. Welbore Ellis rose next, and after adverting to the unnecessary and, as he thought, unwarrantable delay which had taken place in supplying the deficiency of the third estate, and to which it was owing that they were under the necessity of taking the informal step they were now engaged in, he moved that the name of sir Gilbert Elliot should be inserted instead of Mr. Grenville's. This motion was seconded by Mr. Frederick Montagu, who joined with Mr. Ellis in the highest commendations of the gentleman proposed by them, for his candour and conciliating manners, his powerful eloquence, his knowledge of the laws of his country, and his zeal for the constitution.

After a short address from the two candidates, of mutual preference to each other, the house divided; when there appeared for Mr. Grenville 215, for sir Gilbert Elliot 144.

During the interval of the speaker's illness, Mr. Pitt communicated to the prince of Wales the plan he had formed for the constitution of the regency. This letter, together with the observations of his royal highness thereupon, will be found in the State Papers [p. 238 & seq.] and will render any further remarks from us on that subject unnecessary.

Mr. Pitt having given notice that he should this day propose to the house the restrictions, within which the exercise of the regal power should be granted to the regent, Mr. Loveden, the member for Abingdon, rose as soon as the order of the day was moved, and observed that before the house proceeded to settle the terms of the regency, he conceived that they ought to know exactly where they were, and what the exigency of the case really was, the providing for which had become the object of their deliberations. No limitations of any kind could be suitably adopted, without having a reference to the cause which created the necessity for their introduction; and therefore, before they went a step farther, in his humble judgment they ought to know precisely what was the present state of his majesty's health, what the degree of alteration which it had undergone since his majesty's physicians were last examined, and whether the probability of his recovery was increased, or less than it had been, at that period. This was the more necessary, as reports had gone abroad, of a very contradictory kind, and the authority of the different physicians who attended his majesty had been made use of to give sanction to those reports. He should therefore, he said, beg

beg leave to move, "That the physicians who have attended his majesty should be again examined, to inform the house whether any alteration or amendment had taken place in the state of the king's health, and if the present symptoms were such as to give reason to hope for his majesty's speedy recovery."

This motion gave rise to a warm debate, which was managed not with the most perfect temper and moderation on either side of the house. Our readers will already have remarked, that an entire change in the ministerial offices of government was considered as one of the immediate consequences of the appointment of the prince of Wales to the regency. As the restrictions which Mr. Pitt had declared his intention of moving, could not fail to weaken and embarrass in a considerable degree the new administration, and as the propriety of these restrictions was contended for upon a presumption of the speedy recovery of the king, the contending parties caught with great eagerness at some little difference of opinion relative to that point, which prevailed amongst the medical gentlemen who attended him. In the course of the debate on Mr. Loveden's motion, Mr. Pitt treated the opinion of Dr. Warren, who was less sanguine in his expectations of an immediate recovery than others, as if it had been dictated by a partiality to the rising administration; and he insinuated, that from the warmth with which that opinion was taken up and defended on the other side, it looked as if those gentlemen spoke from their wishes. These insinuations were repelled, as being both scandalously unjust and basely illiberal; and in return, Dr. Willis,

who was extremely confident in his expectations, and consequently the favourite on the other side, was represented as a tool employed to serve the designs of Mr. Pitt's faction. After much altercation on this subject, it was agreed that a new committee should be appointed, and that the physicians should be re-examined.

The committee sat till the 13th, when the report was brought up, and a motion was made by Mr. Burke, and seconded by Mr. Wyndham, that it should be re-committed, on account of their not having examined into the grounds of the different opinions held by the physicians respecting the probability of the king's recovery. This motion was negatived without a division: the report was ordered to be printed, and to be taken into consideration in a committee of the whole house on the state of the nation upon the Friday following.

On that day Mr. Pitt rose, and after expressing his satisfaction at having consented to the motion for re-examining the physicians, the event of which had justified his former opinion respecting the probability of his majesty's recovery, he proceeded to open the business which was to be the subject of their present deliberations. This, he observed, divided itself into three distinct heads.—1st. The nature of the king's illness.—2dly. The principles upon which the two houses were authorized to act on this occasion.—And 3dly. The application of those principles to the measures which he should propose for remedying the present defect in the personal exercise of the royal authority.

After

After a very minute and laborious enquiry, the committee appointed to examine the king's physicians had collected a body of evidence, which contained the opinions of all those gentlemen, and from which the committee might collect the following information:—That his majesty was by his illness rendered incapable of attending to the business of his station; but that it was probable he might recover, and be once more able to resume the reins of government. In these two points, all the physicians were agreed; and though no one of them could venture to fix a time when that happy event might be expected, yet they were unanimous in declaring, that it was more probable that a recovery would take place, than that it would not: they were no less unanimous in saying, that though the interval between their first and their second examination had not produced any considerable change in his majesty's health, no inference could be drawn from so short a space of time against the probability of a cure.

Though the physicians were agreed in these points, they were not all equally sanguine in their hopes of his majesty's recovery; but it was remarkable, that such of them as were least conversant in the disorder with which his majesty was afflicted, and had the least opportunity of being acquainted with the particular case of the royal patient, were the least sanguine in their hopes of recovery — that those who, without any great degree of experience in the particular disorder, yet from their constant attendance upon his majesty, had a better opportunity of being acquainted with his case, and the state of his health, were more sanguine than the former — and,

finally, that those who were most conversant in complaints like those of his majesty, and were besides constantly attending upon his person, were the most sanguine of all in their hopes, that his majesty would recover, and possibly in a short time.

In consequence of these differences of opinion, a disposition had appeared in some members of the committee to discredit what had been said by the physicians, as if undue influence had been used to make them publish opinions, which they did not entertain. The fact, to which he alluded, he should not hesitate to state on account of the respectable personage involved in it, as he was convinced that the more her conduct was investigated the more it would redound to her honour. It was surely natural, he said, for her majesty to wish that the people, to whom she knew the king was so dear, should be made acquainted with any, even the least, alteration for the better in his health: accordingly, thinking that such an alteration had taken place one day, as would justify a more favourable account than the physicians had signed, she expressed a desire that it might be so changed as to contain what she conceived to be the exact state of the case.

Having explained this transaction, Mr. Pitt proceeded to consider the principles on which they were authorized to act in providing for the deficiency in the executive government. It had been determined, that the right to provide for such deficiency devolved on the two houses of parliament; but there was abundant reason to hope that the occasion would be temporary and short. What they had to provide for, therefore, was no more than an interval, and

and he flattered himself that it would prove but a short interval. If, however, unfortunately, his majesty's illness should be protracted, they might leave it to parliament to do what at present was clearly unnecessary; to consider of a more permanent plan of government. They were to provide only for the present necessity, and not to exceed it; they were also to provide against any embarrassment in the resumption of the royal authority, whenever God, in his providence, shall enable the rightful holder again to exercise it. They were therefore to grant such powers, and none others, as were requisite to carry on the government of the country with energy and effect.

Upon these principles he should propose to invest the prince of Wales with the whole royal authority, to be exercised in the name and on the behalf of the king, subject to such limitations and restrictions only as should be provided. He observed, that in the *succession act* of queen Ann, and in the *regency acts* of George the second and George the third, the exercise of all the royal prerogatives were granted in a fuller manner than he intended to propose: but on the other hand the regent, in all those cases was fettered with a council, the consent of a majority of which was necessary to authorize his acts.—Under the present circumstances he thought it more advisable to leave the regent entirely free in the choice of his political servants; but at the same time this required some limitation of the authority with which he was to be invested.

The first restriction he meant to propose was, that the authority of the regent should not extend to the

creating any peer, except such of the royal issue as should attain the age of twenty-one. There were three grounds, he conceived, upon which this branch of the prerogative was intrusted by the constitution to the crown, none of which were applicable to the present case. First, it was designed to enable the king to counteract the designs of any factious cabal in the house of lords, which might have acquired a predominant influence in their deliberations. But was it at all probable that the government of his royal highness should be obstructed by any such cabal? He, for one, was ready to declare that he should give no opposition to any administration the regent should chuse to form, so long as their measures were compatible with the prosperity of the kingdom. On the other hand, he said, such a number of peers might be created, as would considerably embarrass his majesty's government on the event of his being restored to health. Secondly, This power was vested in the crown, to enable the sovereign to reward eminent merit, and thereby to invite others to the same laudable exertions in the public service. But was it, he said, to be supposed that for want of such an incentive for a few months, the country was likely to be deprived of the service of men of merit. If his majesty recovered, as they all hoped, and had reason to expect he would, the power of creating peers might be exercised by the rightful holder of the prerogative; but if, unfortunately, his majesty should grow worse, and be pronounced not likely to recover for a long time, parliament would have it in its power to take off the restriction, and vest the regent with a power, which though

not at present, he was ready to admit, might in time become necessary to the carrying on of a powerful government. Thirdly, This power was designed to provide for the fluctuation of wealth and property in the country, that by raising men of great landed interest to the peerage, that branch of the legislature should be always placed upon its true and proper basis. But surely it would not be contended, that it was necessary to provide in a temporary plan for exigencies, which could only arise from the lapse of considerable periods of time. For all these reasons taken together he should therefore propose that the regent should be restrained from the exercise of this part of the prerogative of the crown.

The next restriction he should propose was, that the regent should not grant any pension or place for life, or in reversion, other than such place as is, from its nature, to be held for life, or during good behaviour. This restriction, he said, flowed from the same principle which supported the former; it would prevent his majesty from being put on a worse footing, should he recover, than he was before his illness; and it could not be said, that the power restrained by this limitation was necessary to a regent.

The next was, to restrain the regent from exercising any power over the personal property of the king. Mr. Pitt on this occasion observed, that he scarcely thought it necessary to pass this resolution, as it was not probable that his royal highness should interfere with his majesty's personal property in his life-time; but as they were acting upon parliamentary principles, he thought it his duty to submit it to the committee.

The last resolution would be for entrusting the care of the royal person, during his majesty's illness, where of course all men would be unanimous in agreeing that the royal person ought to be placed, in the guardianship of the queen; and with this trust his intention was, to propose to put the whole of his majesty's household under her authority, investing her with full powers to dismiss and appoint, as she should think proper. Without being invested with this control, he imagined that the queen could not discharge the important trust committed to her care. These officers were, for the most part, in actual attendance upon his majesty's person, and he did not see how they could be put under the control of the regent, while the care of his majesty, upon whom they were to attend, was trusted to another person.

The lords of the bed-chamber, indeed, might not be thought necessary now, when their attendance could not be required; but, on the other hand, a generous and liberal nation would not have it said, that in the moment of the king's illness they had grown so very economical, that they would not bear the expence of supporting, till his recovery, those officers who formed part of his majesty's royal state: it would be no pleasant thing to his majesty to be told, should he, on his recovery, call for some one of those lords who used to be about his person, that they had been dismissed, that the nation might save the expence attending their offices.

Lastly, he should propose, that a council should be named to assist the queen with their advice, whenever she should require it: but who should not have any power of control, but



barely that of giving advice, and of satisfying themselves daily of the state of the king's health: and that they, or some others, should be appointed to manage the real and personal estate of the king, with this restriction, not to alienate, or to dispose of any part of it, except by lease.

Mr. Pitt concluded by moving the first of the five resolutions, which the reader will find among the State Papers [p. 302]. These resolutions were strongly opposed both in the committee and on the report. Mr. Powys began by observing, that he should oppose the resolutions opened by the right honourable gentleman, and the monstrous system to be built upon them, as tending to mutilate and dismember the constitutional authority of the crown. They had voted a resolution, that it was their duty to preserve the royal authority entire. What were they now called upon to perform? to dissolve, separate, and parcel out what they had solemnly resolved to preserve whole and entire. To strip the executive government of any of its legal prerogatives, would be to overturn the constitution, for the preservation of which, and the benefit of the people, these prerogatives were originally annexed to the crown. He considered the prerogative in particular, of bestowing peerages, as an integral part of the royal authority; it was a shield which the constitution had from its earliest days provided for its own defence and preservation; and which could not be wrested from the crown without bringing destruction upon the constitution. It was reserved for the present minister to innovate upon the constitution, and to exhibit a sight, which, from the foundation of the monarchy, had

never been seen in the country before, the exercise of the royal power, without the prerogatives, which the constitution had rendered inseparable from the royal authority.

In the regency acts of former reigns, the royal authority had been preserved entire, and a council had been appointed for the regent—no such council was to be appointed in the present instance, and this was given as a reason for the restrictions proposed—but on what grounds was this distrust of the Prince of Wales founded? was it because he had quietly waited for parliament to settle the government without an attempt to embarrass their deliberations, by pressing upon them any claim whatever on his part to a share in that government? Was it because princes were naturally fond of power, and did not like to relinquish it, after having once obtained it? But was that backwardness to resign power, confined to princes? Or was it not to be found in those, who to secure their return to it, would strip the crown of its inalienable prerogatives, and trample upon the constitution? With respect to patent places, he considered them as part of the public fund, set apart for the reward of virtue, and of merit; and therefore he was of opinion that they could not be withheld from the regent, without a manifest injury to the public, and without the destruction of one great incentive to meritorious deeds.

The idea of withholding from the regent the nomination of the different offices in the household, and granting it to the queen, was to refuse to a responsible, and grant it to an irresponsible person. Mr. Powys said, he had successfully withstood, under the auspices of the right honourable

honourable gentleman, the formation of what he conceived to be a fourth estate in the country. It was remarkable, indeed, that the right honourable gentleman should now be himself the proposer of a fourth estate: the queen, without being responsible to parliament, or the laws, would be in a situation, under the right honourable gentleman's regulation, in which she could influence the votes of a very great number of members of both houses of parliament, who usually have places in the household. If the nomination of lords and grooms of the bed-chamber was to be withheld from the regent, because it was dangerous to trust him with it, the remedy was inadequate to the disease: for the army and navy could not be very harmless engines in the hands of a man, to whom it would not be safe to trust the nomination of lords and grooms of the bed-chamber.

The right honorable gentleman seemed to wish to preserve concord and harmony in the country; but it looked as if his real wish was to destroy the domestic happiness of the royal family, to arm the mother against the son, and the son against the mother, and by making a palsied and impotent government, render his own return to power a matter of necessity. But such a government would be a curse to any country, and therefore the formation of it ought to be resisted by all who wished well to this. In opposing it, he would take for his guide the act of the 5th of the present reign, for settling a regency, in case the crown should descend to any of the issue of his present majesty, before they had attained the age of 18. The preamble to that act stated, "that for the purpose of preserving the lustre

and splendor of the crown entire, be it enacted, &c." and then it went on to appoint a regent, and a council to assist him. He intended to move an amendment to the resolution then before the committee, and he would borrow from the above statute those very words, which he thought so very expressive, that he could find none that were better calculated to convey his meaning.

He concluded by moving, that the original resolution, from the first word, be left out, and the following words inserted in its stead—"that for the purpose of preserving the lustre and splendor of the crown entire, his royal highness the prince of Wales be empowered to take upon him the style and title of regent of the realm, and to exercise all the prerogatives and powers of the crown, which, by the act of the 5th of his majesty, the council and regent were empowered to exercise, in case the crown had descended to any of his majesty's issue, under the age of 18, &c."

The amendment was seconded by lord North, who concurred with Mr. Powys in considering the system proposed as a dangerous innovation upon the constitution, and militating against one of its fundamental maxims—that the king never dies. It directly introduced that interregnum, that cessation of imperial power, against which the constitution had so wisely and cautiously guarded. The prerogatives of the crown, he argued, were trusts for the public, and consequently not one of them could cease without public injury. They were also supposed to be necessary for the support of the established government; and therefore the more necessary to a regency, which was naturally and unavoidably

avoidably weaker than the government of a king.

Having argued these general topics with great ingenuity, he proceeded to consider the limitations themselves. With respect to the power of creating peers, he observed, that the house ought to be very cautious how they suffered a bill suspending for an unlimited time this branch of the royal authority to pass their hands. It had been said that a time might come when it would be proper to re-consider the whole business, and then, if his majesty's recovery should appear less probable, they might lessen or entirely remove the restrictions now imposed on the regent. But were they sure that they should be able to take off the restriction then under consideration? It could not be done without the concurrence of the lords. Limitations of the peerage had been always and with reason considered as tending to aggrandize individually the members of that body; and therefore it was not likely that they would be very ready to consent to the removal of it. A circumstance happened at the close of the reign of George I. which would throw some light upon this. The king at that time, it was thought, could not live long, and his ministers were known not to stand very high in the opinion of the prince of Wales; they were known to have a strong and predominant party in the house of lords; for the purpose, therefore, of securing themselves from the mortification of being removed from their places, they caused a bill to be introduced into the house of lords for limiting the number of peerages to that which at the time existed: the lords saw that such a limitation would necessarily raise their indi-

vidual consequence, and therefore both sides of their house joined in carrying it through: it was sent down to the commons, and there it was received with the indignation it deserved, and was rejected by a majority of 265. This circumstance should make gentlemen see the necessity, if a restriction upon this branch of the prerogative should be thought proper, that the term of its duration should be ascertained; and that, unless renewed, the restriction should, at the expiration of that term, be of itself dissolved, otherwise they might possibly not find the lords as ready to give it up, as they might be to consent to it.

The restriction respecting the nomination of the lords of the bed-chamber, and other officers of the household, he viewed in a very serious light. A person with the command of so great a fund as the civil list, must certainly have an influence, which exercised by one who was not responsible, might be of very great prejudice to the government; the patronage of the household was immense, and could not, with safety to the state, be separated from the executive officers of the crown, who were responsible for all their acts.

The pages and grooms of the chamber, might be left under the control of the queen; but the lords of the bed-chamber, who were part of the king's public state, and who were never in waiting but on public occasions, who were in reality political servants of his majesty, and who had proved to be so on a recent occasion, ought undoubtedly to be under the control of the executive government.

The right honourable gentleman had assured them, that the patronage to be withheld from the regent

under this resolution would not be abused, and had desired that his profession, that he would not take part in any factious opposition to the government of the regency, might be considered as a sufficient security. That the exalted personage, in whose hands this enormous patronage was to be nominally lodged, would not abuse it, lord North declared, that he was willing to believe; but, when he considered, that there was to be a council to advise her majesty, he was not quite sure that the advice given would always be pure, and free from the influence of a spirit of factious opposition. At all events, it was not parliamentary to rely on the professions of an individual. When a great public measure was under consideration, they were to govern themselves by public principles, and not by personal confidence.

He concluded with declaring, that he should tremble for his country, if the resolutions were adopted; that if the house thought that any advantage could repay the violation of the constitution, and acted upon that principle, that principle would prove its ruin. He wished it not to be said, that for fear the regent should change the ministry, they were willing to change the constitution. He, probably, should not live to see the fatal effects which might follow; but there were gentlemen sitting there, who might one day repent, that by their vote that night they had brought on the ruin of the constitution.

Mr. Sheridan followed on the same side with lord North; and after repelling some insinuations which had been thrown out against

the party supposed to possess the good opinion of the prince, he attacked, with successful ridicule, that part of Mr. Pitt's plan which put the patronage of the king's household into the hands of the queen, or in other words, he said, into his own. He asked, if gentlemen were aware, that by so doing they were about to give nearly the third part of the patronage of the crown into the hands of the opposition; for, notwithstanding the declaration of the right honourable gentleman, he was inclined to expect one from the recollection of his having made precisely the same professions of moderation, when he stood in the same predicament a few years back. It would be, he observed, a novel sight to see a popular leader of opposition, with a guard of court scullions, and the surly patriot, attended by the laced liveries of the royal pages. He represented the ex-minister as coming down to the house in state, with the cap of liberty on the end of a white wand, a retinue of black and white sticks attending him, and a guard of beef-eaters marshalled by the lord steward, the lord chamberlain, and the master of horse, clearing his way through the lobby.

They had been told, that the removal of the king's household would hurt his majesty's feelings; but would they not give him credit for those feelings which dignify even his station? The regent and his ministers were allowed to exercise the most important privileges of royalty; and was it to be supposed that the king would be more shocked to find his household servants changed, than that, perhaps, the constitution of his country was altered, or part of his dominions ceded to foreign potentates, or any other

other essential calamity and disgrace entailed upon his empire? When therefore it should please God to restore our sovereign to the use of his faculties, and he should enquire as a parent, how those ministers in whom he trusted had treated his son; was he to be satisfied, with hearing that his master of the horse was safe? Should he, as a sovereign, ask who headed our armies or conducted our fleets; was he to be informed that his scullions were marshalled by the same chiefs as formerly? or, if he was anxious of the state of his civil list revenue; was he to be made easy with being assured, that the state of his court calendar had been preserved entire? He concluded with declaring, that he had no doubt, but when it should be known by the public, that the motive for imposing such restrictions was no other than because the prince was going to take into his service a different set of men from those now in office, they would despise and detest the cunning and the craft from whence so wretched a proceeding had originated.

Colonel Fullarton concluded the debate with an able and animated speech.—He first adverted to a position on which much stress had been laid, namely, that in contemplation of law, the political capacity of the king continued perfect, and could neither suffer diminution nor defect. If by this technical phraseology was meant, that all the powers and authorities of executive government remained entire in the person of the king during his incapacity, in such a way, that he should of right exercise the same as soon and as long as he was capable of exercising them personally; and that, while he should not be capable of exercis-

ing them personally, they should be exercised in trust for him: if that was the meaning of the right honourable gentleman's expressions, no person could be more ready to admit that doctrine than he was. But, if it was meant, that the powers and authorities of executive government might remain dormant, unemployed, unproductive to the public service, as long as the king was incapacitated from the personal exercise of them, it was a monstrous and absurd doctrine. Would any man who pretended to the slightest respect for the constitution venture to declare, that the powers and authorities of government were to be considered as the mere property of the sovereign? That they were to be considered like the store, or the wardrobe, or the privy-purse, as things meant for the personal use, pleasure, and convenience of the sovereign, and that when he is incapable of using them personally, they need not be used at all? Did gentlemen recollect that the powers of the crown were vested in the king, not for the personal benefit of the king, but for the benefit of the state? That there were duties and obligations mutually to be performed between the sovereign and the subject, duties of an awful magnitude, involving the welfare and happiness of the people? How then could the right honourable gentleman maintain, that these duties and obligations, in contemplation of law, could possibly remain entire, in the person of the king, during his incapacity, any otherwise than this, that when the king was incapacitated from the personal exercise of them, they must be performed in trust for him; that some person or persons, either by devo-

lution or appointment, must perform the duties of the royal station, and exercise the functions of authority in trust for the king, during his incapacity; unless the committee were prepared to declare the kingly power either totally or in part useless?

Having argued for some time on these and other topics, Mr. Fullarton concluded with reciting a part of the history of France, which bore so strong a similitude, in some of its circumstances, to the situation they were in, that some of the members were in doubt whether it was a real story or invented for the purpose.

In the reign of Charles the sixth the government of that country being interrupted by the incapacity of the monarch, the then prime minister, countenanced by the queen, Isabeau de Baviere, and supported by a strong faction, laid a plot for the purpose of affronting the heir apparent (afterwards Charles the Victorious) and continuing themselves in power. This minister's name was Mervilliers; he had commenced his career in the profession of the law, but quickly found a nearer road to advancement in the intrigues of politics. The project above stated they absolutely accomplished by means of a corrupt majority of the parliament of Paris—nay, they had even the cunning to procure an address of thanks from the mayor, aldermen, and corporation of that city.

What was the consequence of this measure? The nation was involved in all the miseries of a weak and disunited government, despised and dismembered by its enemies, till the spirit and virtue of Charles the Victorious, by first conquering his do-

metic foes, enabled him to defeat his less dangerous enemies, and restore the crown of France to its wonted splendour and dignity. “And, now,” said Mr. Fullarton, “I will defy the right honourable gentleman to produce a single instance, in the history of England, in the history of France, in the history of Spain, or in the history of any other country, with whose history we are acquainted at all, where the established legal powers of executive government were maimed, mutilated, and restrained, without producing inefficiency, counteraction, calamity, and disgrace.”

On the other side of the house, the resolutions were supported by the speaker, Mr. Grenville, in a speech which arrested the attention of the committee for near three hours. He began with taking a view of the steps that had already been taken for the purpose of ascertaining the nature of their situation, and the rights and duties appertaining to it. This led to consider the validity of a position maintained by persons in both houses, “that although the two houses of parliament constitute the only power competent to act on this occasion, yet that they can lawfully proceed no farther than to call some person to the exercise of the royal authority; and that whatever other provisions the existing circumstances may require, must be made hereafter with the consent of such person then representing the sovereign, and exercising, at his own discretion, the legislative functions of the crown.”

In support of this proposition, the statute of the 13th of Charles the second, cap. 1. had been quoted:

but

but that this statute was not applicable to the present circumstances was evident, he said, from hence, that it would apply equally to every step that could be taken; and the only inference that could be drawn from it would be, that we were now in a situation for which no legal remedy could by any possibility be provided. The necessity of the case was, therefore, to supersede all law.

After discussing this question upon various grounds, he proceeded to consider the cases of the restoration and the revolution; and endeavoured, with great ingenuity and acuteness, by distinguishing the points in which they agreed from those in which they disagreed from the present circumstances, to justify the mode of proceeding adopted by his right honourable friend.

Having gone over this preliminary matter, and further premised, that the more strongly we recognize the right of inheritance to the crown in the event of a demise, the more essential it becomes to guard, with the utmost jealousy, against the admission of any principle which leads to the assertion of such a right when there is no demise, and against the adoption of any measure which might afford the means of superseding the king's authority during his life, under the name and influence of that person on whom his crown would, in the course of nature, legally devolve. He next laid down the principle upon which he conceived the propriety of limiting the powers of the regent was grounded; this was, that at the same time that a form of government should be established, capable of conducting the public business with energy and effect, complete and ample security should be provided for enabling his majesty to resume the exercise of his authority fully, freely, and without

embarrassment. On this ground our ancestors acted in the case of every regency which has hitherto existed in this country, as far as we can trace them with any degree of accuracy, either in the records of parliament, or in the annals of our history. For, if we except the two instances of Richard the third, and of the protector Somerset (which are both such evident usurpations that no stress can be laid upon them) it will be found, that during the course of many centuries, no subject in these realms, however nearly allied to the person of the king, has been permitted, in any case of infancy or disability, to exercise the whole prerogative and authority of the crown. The mode of restriction has, indeed, for the most part, been different from that which is now proposed, but the principle has been the same. The whole powers of the crown have, for the most part, been called into action, but they have not been given to any one subject: they have been divided among a variety of persons, differing in rank, situation, and description, and whose jarring interests have been thought to afford the best security, that they would not concur in measures prejudicial to the authority of the sovereign. Conformable to this principle, are the regency acts of George the second and George the third, in which a permanent council is established. That in the present case, the establishment of such a form as is there provided, would have been productive of infinite mischief, without being compensated by any one real advantage, appears to be the general opinion of men both within and without those doors. All are agreed, that the government of these kingdoms should, during this unhappy interval, be committed to the administration of one person,

person, and that it is extremely desirable that this person should be his royal highness the prince of Wales. But if by general consent we depart in this respect from the practice of our ancestors, it surely cannot be reasonable to argue, that we are, therefore, bound to adhere to it in another point so intimately connected with the former. It cannot be a just conclusion to say, that because they committed the whole authority of a king into the hands of a regent, controlled and fettered by a fixed and permanent council, it is proper for us to delegate the same power to a single person, unrestrained by any similar check. It seems, on the contrary, that the more widely we depart from one line of limitation and restraint, the more we are bound to look to some other mode of carrying the same purpose into effect.

He next observed, that it is by no means a just conclusion, either from the theory or practice of the British constitution, or from any general principles of government, that the same powers which may be entrusted with propriety to the permanent authority of a king, are equally fit to be committed to those hands which are to exercise the temporary and delegated functions of a regent. The provisions which respect the prerogatives of the crown in this country, are adapted to the ordinary course of an established government, and are calculated for a long continuance. Because if parliament were in the constant habit of regulating and directing the exercise of the prerogatives of the crown, those prerogatives would in fact become the prerogatives, not of the crown, but of parliament itself. It is therefore just and prudent that in ap-

portioning these, a due consideration should be had, not of the necessities which exist at any one precise moment, but of those which may be likely to arise within a considerable compass of time. But in the establishment of a regency the case is directly the reverse. We are to look not to the general exigencies of government, but to those occasions which may probably exist during the period for which the system so provided is intended to continue. And as, for this reason, there may frequently be much less ground to justify the grant of particular powers; so, on the other hand, there will almost always in such a case be infinitely more temptation to abuse them. The permanent interest of a sovereign will frequently operate as a restraint on him, in those very points where the possessor of a temporary authority, however near to the crown in prospect or expectation, will feel himself most desirous, and will most strongly be urged by others, to exceed the limits of a just and sound discretion.

The propriety of the particular restraining resolutions came next under his consideration. With respect to the resolution which restrains the power of creating peers, it met with his entire approbation, and that on two separate grounds. First, because he was clear, that during the short period for which they were providing, no inconvenience whatever could result from it: that there was, for this reason, no necessity for delegating this power to any other hands; and that, therefore, according to the principle on which he had before enlarged, they had no right to confer it on the regent. But, he added, there is, in the second place, a more important con-

consideration



sideration which applies to this subject. Of all the powers of the crown this is the most liable to be abused under a delegated and temporary government; and it is also that from the abuse of which the most injurious consequences would arise to the permanent interest of the sovereign. The power to create, at discretion, a lasting influence on the deliberations of one of the branches of the legislature, is a prerogative of so high a nature, that nothing but a strong necessity would justify that principle of the constitution, which has placed it in the hands of the sovereign himself. As exercised by him, it is, however, subject to this restraint, that the mischiefs attendant on its abuse operate against the peace and security of that government, of which the king is not only in actual possession, but which he is to retain for the whole period of his life, and which he can have no interest to weaken or embarrass. The case of a regent is widely different. If we suppose him unhappily to be misled by the councils of men desirous of availing themselves of a short interval of authority, in order to establish for themselves an influence in the state, paramount to that of their sovereign, what other mode could be so naturally resorted to for this purpose, as the abuse of this particular branch of the prerogative? It should be further considered, that, in the present case, exactly in proportion as the probability of the king's recovery increased, the force of this restraint would gradually be weakened, and the temptation to the abuse would grow more powerful. The persons who advised the regent would then feel it less likely that the consequences of any misconduct of theirs

in this respect would be injurious to the government in their own hands, and they might perhaps imagine that they had an interest in the mischiefs which it would entail on the subsequent administration of the sovereign. The consideration, therefore, of the shortness of the interval for which we now provide, serves at once to shew, that no necessity can exist for giving this power; and to afford a great additional weight to the apprehension of danger resulting from it. In the present moment, I can entertain no doubt that the granting it would exceed the limits of our authority; and that even if that were not the case, it would be the duty of parliament to withhold it on grounds of expediency.

The other four resolutions were shortly touched upon by Mr. Grenville, and defended upon the grounds already occupied by Mr. Pitt.

At length the committee divided; when there appeared, for the amendment, 154; against it 227.

The resolution relative to the creation of peers was then put to the question, and carried by 216 to 159; as were the two following, without a division; and the fifth was postponed to the Monday following.

On the 19th Mr. Pitt moved his fifth resolution, Jan. 19. committing the care of his majesty's person to the queen, and granting to her the power of removing from, and appointing, all the offices of the household. Two objections, he observed, had been made to this part of his plan. First, that a considerable part of the household establishment was become unnecessary: to this he had replied on a former occasion. The second was, that the political influence which would necessarily accrue from so considerable

a portion of patronage, might be perverted to factious purposes. That all power was subject to abuse was a proposition that could not be controverted. But was it in any degree probable, was it even decent to suppose that the respectable personage in question would become the instrument of any factious opposition, even if an opposition should be formed, to the government of her son? He asked, whether this objection had been urged against the establishments provided for other branches of the royal family, the influence of which were certainly as likely to be exercised against the executive authority? Mr. Pitt was supported on the same ground by Mr. Dundas, and the solicitor general.

On the other side, Lord Maitland and Mr. Grey objected to the limitations in general, not only as tending to distract and embarrass the new government, but as nugatory and ineffectual for the purpose which they were meant to secure. This purpose was avowed to be the full, free, and unimpaired resumption of the government by his majesty upon his recovery. But how far were they calculated to secure that object? Were his royal highness to forget the duties of a son and of a subject, his love of justice, and his reverence for the constitution, or to sacrifice them all to gratify his ambition;—invested with the patronage of the army, the navy, and all the great offices of the kingdom, what could oppose him? Surely, not the lords with white slaves, or the feeble bands of the household. Considered in this point of view, the limitations were totally inadequate to their purpose. They would obstruct the regent in the just and useful exercise of his power; they would limit him

in the choice of his political servants; but, in the abuse of it, should he or his ministers be disposed to abuse it, they would oppose no sufficient obstacle to his designs.

With regard to granting the patronage of the household to the queen, they observed, that it would be destructive of that political disinterest, which made her the fittest person to have the care of his majesty. Arguing upon general principles, the possession of the power given her by the resolution, and the later arising therefrom in the continuance of the king's illness, tended strongly to disqualify her for such trust. Among all the virtues which adorned that character, was there any which exceeded her moderation? Was there any part of her public or her private conduct which recommended her so much to the esteem, the affection, and the reverence of a loyal people, as that prudent caution with which she had, through the whole course of her life, abstained from all interference in the affairs of government; and was it wise, was it proper, was it consistent with a true regard for her interest in the public affection, to place her in a situation new to herself, unknown to the constitution, and which might eventually draw her aside from that line of discreet and amiable moderation, which she had hitherto followed with so much circumspection and so much praise? The amount of the patronage intended to be given her, was one-fourth of the whole civil list. She might have had advisers as well as the prince; and, by the mention of a council of advice, it appeared that she was to have advisers, and it was tolerably evident who those advisers were to be.

Nay,

Nay, the present resolution did not even secure its professed object, the continuance of his usual attendants about the king's person, as it gave her majesty the power not only to continue but to remove.

Mr. Fox followed on the same side. He exposed, with great ability, the futility of the doctrine advanced by the law-officers, "That the king's political character was, in the eye of the law, inseparable from his personal—that it remained entire and perfect—and would continue so to do until his natural demise." This doctrine, which had been frequently urged, he had wished in vain to hear explained; for, how that person, whose political faculties were confessedly suspended by a severe visitation of Providence, could still exist in the full enjoyment of his political character, was beyond his understanding to comprehend. The doctrine partook of, and seemed indeed to be founded on, those blind and superstitious notions, by which, as they all knew from history, human institutions had been as it were deified, and which were inculcated for the purpose of impressing a strong and implicit reverence of authority in the minds of the multitude. If such was the view in which the honourable and learned gentleman wished to consider this mysterious character of complete political existence, without political capacity, he could only observe on his doctrine, that he took up the superstitions of antiquity, and rejected the morality; for, while he thus enveloped the sacred person of majesty with a political veil, which, by ancient superstition, was calculated to inspire awe, and secure obedience; he was labouring to enfeeble the

arm of government, to cripple it in all its great and essential parts; to expose it to hostile attack and to contumely; to take from it the dignity which appertained to itself, and the use for which it was designed towards the people. A learned gentleman had said, that his allegiance would continue during the life of the king, whatever might be the condition of his mind. This, in some respects, was true: but if it was admitted as an argument for the limitations contended for, and this allegiance was made to depend not on the political capacity, but on the bare personal existence of the king, then all which they had heard, that these limitations were but temporary, and that the time would come when they must be revoked, and the full power be given to the regent, was false and absurd. For, whether the king's malady endured one year, or thirty years, it was precisely the same in the contemplation of this doctrine; and the legislature could not vest the full powers of the crown in any other hands, while the person of the king remained.

With respect to the creation of peers, he observed, that the right honourable gentleman had conferred that rank upon no less than forty-two persons during the five years that he had been in office; and he had not the pretext of saying that any cabal was formed to thwart his measures in the house of lords, which made such a promotion necessary: and if such were the means which he had been obliged to resort to, surrounded with all the power and influence of the crown, what must be the condition of those who should have to contend, in the crippled state to which they would be reduced, with

with an opposition armed with so large a portion of the usual patronage of government?

He expressed, in the strongest terms, his indignation and abhorrence of the project of putting into a state of competition persons so nearly connected by blood, by duty, and by affection, and thereby exciting that mutual jealousy which, in some degree, is inseparable from the human mind. How much, he said, had they to answer for, who, with a perfect knowledge of this weakness of human nature, wickedly and wantonly pursued a measure which might involve the empire in endless distractions!

Before he sat down, he begged to ask the right honourable gentleman opposite to him, — what period of time he proposed to confine those limitations to? — what revenue he meant to assign to his royal highness during his regency? — and, who were the persons the council of advice would consist of? — Upon the second point, he begged leave to explain what he had good reason to believe were the sentiments of his royal highness, whose feeling for the distresses of his country, and whose decided objection to encrease its already too grievous burdens, would make him revolt at the idea of imposing any new taxes for the purpose of raising a revenue to supply the charges of his government.

To these questions Mr. Pitt answered, that whenever the physicians should pronounce that his majesty's recovery was less probable than it had been, he should think it necessary to remove most of the restrictions, and to new-model the household. The council for the queen would consist of the great officers of the household, with the addition of some prelates. As to the revenue

to be provided for the support of the regent's dignity, he should not be deterred by the unpopularity of such a measure from proposing, as his last act, whatever additional burthens it might require to be laid upon the people.

During the course of the debate Mr. Bouverie had remarked, that the resolution consisted of three distinct propositions; the care of his majesty's person; the power to remove or continue the household officers; and the appointment of a council: it was therefore proposed that they should be put separately. But Mr. Pitt not consenting to this proposal, Mr. Bouverie moved, that the second clause of the resolution should be left out. The committee divided on this motion; when there appeared, Ayes 165; Noes 229.

Lord North then moved, that the words "for a limited time," be added; upon which the committee again divided: Ayes 164; Noes 220.

The house was then resumed; the several resolutions reported, and agreed to; and ordered to be delivered, at a conference, to the lords.

On the 22d of January Jan. 22. the lords, having resolved themselves into a committee on the state of the nation, proceeded to take the resolutions into their consideration. As the debate turned, for the most part, upon the same topics that had been so fully discussed in the lower house, we shall forbear entering in the detail, and content ourselves with a recital of such parts of it as possessed any degree of novelty.

The bishop of Llandaff (Dr. Watson) gave it as his opinion, that as soon as ever the two houses of parliament

liament had ascertained the single fact of the king's incapacity, they ought to have impowered the prince of Wales, by a commission under the great seal, or otherwise, to take upon him, not the whole *regal* power, but the whole *legislative* authority of the king. The legislature being, by this one act of necessity, completed, the next step should have been for the parliament to have appointed a regent whom they thought fit, and with or without limitations as they thought fit. A regency being settled, not by the two houses of parliament, but by the whole legislature, the next step should have been, to make the best possible provision for the guardianship of the king's person, for the security of his private property, and for his re-assumption of all his public rights of sovereignty, as soon as ever it should please God to put him in a capacity to enjoy them.

He next proceeded to state the reasons which led him to disapprove both of the mode in which the proposed limitations were to be established, and the limitations themselves.

It had been argued, he observed, that the monarchical power of a king of Great Britain was a *fiduciary* power, and that it followed as a legitimate consequence, that whenever the individual to whom the community has committed this trust shall become incapable of executing it, the trust itself ought to revert to the community at large, to be by them delegated, *pro tempore*, to some other person, to be exercised by that other person, for the same common end, the promotion of the common welfare: that therefore, during the present incapacity of the king, the trust does in fact revert to the community, and the community may

delegate, till the king's recovery, the whole or any part of that trust to whomsoever they think fit. Upon this general ground of reasoning, he presumed, the proposition had been founded, which maintains, that the prince of Wales has no more right to the regency, previous to the designation of the two houses of parliament, than any other person. But I conceive, he said, this reasoning is not true; it would have been true, had the law been absolutely silent as to what was to become of the trust, when he to whom it was given became incapable of exercising it; but the law is not silent. In one case, in which the king becomes incapable of executing the trust committed to him, the law has clearly and positively said—"The trust shall not revert to the community at large, the community perfectly know the mischief of such a reversion, they will have nothing to do with it; it shall go, according to the established order of succession, entire to the heir." This is the express declaration of law, when the king becomes by death incapable of exercising the trust committed to him: and the analogy of law speaks the same language in the present case; it says, "No, the trust shall not revert to the community, it shall go *pro tempore*, and it shall go whole and entire to the next in succession to the crown; it shall go to the prince of Wales, who is of an age to receive, and of a capacity to execute, the trust for the public good." I say not that the prince of Wales has a legal right to the trust, but I do most firmly contend that he has such a title to it as cannot be set aside, without violating the strongest and most irrefragable analogy of law.

We have heard much, he said, on this occasion of the word *right*; but no one has condescended to define it. Now if, with Grotius, we define *right*, as applied to things, to be a moral power of possessing a thing in conformity to law, it is certain the prince of Wales can have no right to the regency; for the case has never occurred in our history, of a king being incapable of governing, when an heir apparent was of full age to govern, therefore there is no unwritten law; and every body knows that there is no statute law respecting the point; therefore there can be no conformity to law. But if we define *right* to be a moral power of possessing a thing, consistently with law; and if we admit that what is not forbidden by law, is consistent with law, where is the law, written or unwritten, which forbids the prince of Wales from exercising the executive government of the country, during the incapacity of his father? It might, I think, be shewn, that the law forbids every other person in the kingdom from doing this, but I doubt whether it could be shewn that it forbids the prince of Wales.

His next argument was founded upon the legal distinction between the natural and politic body of the king, the union of which two bodies, an old exponent of the common law considers as constituting a king; and he defines a *demise* of the crown to be, a disunion or separation of the body politic of the king from his body natural. Admitting, said he, this definition of a *demise* to be a just one, I would argue thus—when ever there is a separation of the body politic of the king from the body natural of the king, there is a *demise* of the crown. But, during

the present indisposition of the king there is a separation of the body politic of the king from the body natural of the king; therefore, during the present indisposition of the king, there is a *demise* of the crown. Thus also, if a king should become incapable of exercising the functions of a king, by being driven, for a time, from his throne, as happened to Edward the fourth; or if he should become incapable, by voluntarily abandoning the throne, as happened in the case of James the second; or if he should become incapable, by the hand of God; in all these cases, and in cases such as these, there would be a civil *demise* of the crown. I am not here to be told, that the throne is not vacant; I know that it is full, and that the powers of him who fills it are not extinguished, but suspended; therefore it is, that the *demise* I am contending for is not natural but civil, not absolute but conditional, not perpetual but temporary. It is a maxim, I am told, in law, that the king never can become incompetent to the exercise of the kingly office; it is not my intention to question law maxims, which are generally founded in great wisdom; but I must be allowed to say, that we are at this moment denying in fact that integrity of kingship which we are establishing in words; for, what is this politic capacity of the king, which always remains entire, but the power of executing the office of a king? it is that body politic of the king which is immortal. But, in appointing a regent, we certainly disunite the body politic of the king from his body natural, and we annex it for the time to the body natural of the prince of Wales. This civil *demise* of the crown differs not, I think,

think, from a natural demerit, in the *quantum* of power which ought to be transferred to the successor; but it differs from it in the mode by which that power is acquired, and in the tenure by which it is holden.

After examining the several arguments that had been urged in favour of the restrictions proposed, he concluded with adding, that, were the public grounds for these limitations more obvious and more extensive than any person will assert them to be, still he could not vote either for the limitations themselves, or for the mode of establishing them. I cannot, he said, concur in violating the constitution, by allowing to the two houses of parliament, either the right of legislating, or of suspending, though but for an hour, any portion of the royal prerogative. The established prerogative of the crown is a part of the common law of the land, and I think the two houses of parliament have no more right, to suspend the law than the king has; the constitution is violated, let the suspension be made by any power short of that which made the law, the complete legislature of the country. If the two houses can suspend indefinitely, they may abolish perpetually: why may they not come to a resolution, that all the prerogatives of the crown, and that the king himself, are as useless to the public good, as this house was formerly declared to be by the other?

The lords Stormont, Carlisle, Derby, and Portchester, opposed the resolutions; the last, amongst other objections, urged this fact—that in consequence of the delay occasioned by the present mode of proceeding, and the suspension it produced of the royal prerogatives, two convicts had been executed, without having

had an opportunity of applying to the crown for pardon—a right so highly valued, that Judge Blackstone observes, that if any man on conviction becomes insane, his execution is delayed, lest he should have it in his power to state circumstances which might induce the king to extend his mercy to him.

Lord Camden having remarked that parliament had, in more instances than one, conferred by an act of its own the dignity of peerage, and that the validity of such creation was not to be controverted; this doctrine was warmly animadverted upon by earl Fitzwilliam, who declared his intention of making an express motion upon the subject; but after an explanation from the president of the council, the matter dropped.

An amendment was moved, that the words “for a time to be limited,” should be added to the second resolution; upon which the committee divided: Content, 67; Non-contents 93.—The debate was resumed on the day following, when a division took place upon the same amendment moved upon the third resolution; Contents 68; Non-contents 91.—The rest of the resolutions were then voted, and agreed to on the report; and protests were entered, signed by 57 lords.

On the 27th, Mr. Pitt, Jan. 27th. after recapitulating the steps that had been already taken, observed, that before they proceeded any farther, he thought it would be both most respectful to the prince of Wales, and most expedient in the order of their proceedings, to endeavour to know, whether his royal highness was willing to accept the regency upon the terms of the resolution which they had

come to — With this view he moved, That a committee be appointed to attend his royal highness the prince of Wales with the resolutions which have been agreed to by the lords and commons for the purpose of supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority during his majesty's illness, by empowering his royal highness to exercise such authority, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, subject to the limitations and restrictions which the circumstances of the case appear at present to require; and that the committee do express the hope which the commons entertain, that his royal highness, from his regard to the interests of his majesty and the nation, will be ready to undertake the weighty and important trust proposed to be invested in his royal highness, as soon as an act of parliament shall have been passed for carrying the said resolutions into effect.

This motion gave rise to a considerable degree of altercation, in which the ministers were accused, and defended themselves against the accusation, of having treated the prince of Wales, throughout the whole course of their proceeding, with the most shameful want of attention and respect. The motion was voted without a division, and ordered to be carried to the lords for their concurrence, together with a similar resolution for a committee to lay before the queen the resolution of the two houses, relative to the care of his majesty's person.

The resolutions being read in the house of lords on the 28th, and a motion made for their lordships concurrence, the duke of Northumber-

land briefly observed, that these resolutions, as proposed to be presented to the prince for his assent, appearing in the face of them most materially to curtail the exercise of that royal authority which they were about to put into his hands, would, as they stood, seem to convey a want of confidence in his royal highness; he conceived it, therefore, would be but decent in their lordships to specify the reasons which had guided their lordships in adopting those resolutions.

It having been most generally taken as the ground for those restrictions, that his majesty's illness was but temporary, and would probably be but of short duration, he conceived their lordships could have no objection to connect that with the address. His grace concluded with moving an amendment to that effect, which was negatived without further debate; and the usual blanks were ordered to be filled up with the words, " lords spiritual and " temporal."

On the 30th of January the two committees presented to the prince of Wales and the queen the resolutions of the two houses, and received the answers which the reader will find amongst the State Papers, p. [305 and p. [306. He entreated gentlemen would pause; and by giving the bill before them a deliberate perusal and cool reflection, proceed in future with the caution due to so momentous a transaction.

The answers received from the prince of Wales and the queen being read, and ordered to be printed, the house of lords again resolved itself into a committee on the state of the nation.



The lord president began with remarking, that being still merely a convention, they could do no one legislative act till they were enabled so to do by the presence or assent of the sovereign. Deprived of the assistance of his majesty in his *natural capacity*, they were compelled to resort to his *political capacity*. There was but one organ by which this assistance could be obtained, and that organ was the great seal. This mode of proceeding, he knew, had already been ridiculed as a *phantom*. But would those who were thus free of their ridicule impart any other mode by which they can be extricated from their present difficulties? They were compelled, therefore, by necessity to resort to a resolution of the two houses, empowering the proper person to make use of the great seal; an instrument which, his lordship said, was of such great and particular authority, that even if the lord chancellor committed a high misdemeanor by affixing it to letters patent, those instruments must be considered valid; they would have the whole force of law, and could not be disputed by the judges. His lordship, in support of this doctrine, quoted the conduct of lord chancellor Hardwicke, who had suffered the great seal to be affixed to an instrument in the manner he now proposed. Two resolutions, he said, would be therefore found necessary to be adopted under their present circumstances to compleat the legislature. The first was; to establish a commission to open and hold the parliament in due form; the second would follow up the first at a convenient time, for the purpose of empowering the royal assent to be given in his majesty's name to the bill of regency, by the same, or by

another commission. His lordship concluded by moving, "That it is expedient and necessary that letters patent, under the great seal of Great Britain, be empowered to be issued by the authority of the two houses of parliament, in the tenor and form following:"—Then followed an exact transcript of the writ usually issued under the sign manual, empowering certain commissioners to open and hold the king's parliaments at Westminster. The commissioners nominated by the present letters patent were, the prince of Wales, the duke of York, the dukes of Cumberland and Gloucester, together with the other persons usually inserted therein.

The motion being seconded, Lord Portchester rose, and observed, they were now in that precise situation where they stood two months since; with this difference only, that they were now going to do, by a pretended act of parliament, what should have been done by a *declaration* of the two houses. But besides this fiction of the great seal, there were other stumbling-blocks in their way. By two acts of parliament, the sign manual was made essentially necessary to the validity of any act. These were the acts of 33d of Henry the eighth, and the 1st of Philip and Mary; the former declaring that no act could be valid unless signed by the sovereign, or, in his absence, by the *custos regni*; and the latter, in deciding on the attainder of the duke of Norfolk, speaking the same language, but in stronger terms.

Lord Camden replied, that a different meaning was to be attached to those acts. They were, he contended, acts merely *affirmative*;—that is, they asserted that acts to

signed were legal, but they no where contained the assertion, that those acts could not be legalized in any other form!—His lordship added a precedent in point, that of 28 Eliz. which had actually passed under the great seal only, and without the sign manual.

His royal highness the duke of York rose unexpectedly at this moment, and said, he had not been informed that it was intended to insert his name in the commission, and therefore it had not been in his power to take any steps to prevent it. He could not sanction the proceedings with his name, not wishing to stand upon record, and be handed to posterity, as approving such a measure. His opinion of the whole system adopted was already known: he deemed the measure proposed, as well as every other that had been taken respecting the same subject, to be unconstitutional and illegal. He desired, therefore, to have nothing to do with any part of the business; and requested that his name, and that of his brother the prince of Wales, might be left out of the commission.

Lord Camden said, upon a requisition thus communicated, there could be no hesitation. He should not for a moment resist the royal duke's desire, but would readily agree to omit his royal highness's name, and that of his royal highness the prince of Wales.

The duke of Cumberland next rose, and desired that his name, and that of the duke of Gloucester, might also be omitted.

Some difficulty here arose, as to the mode of complying with their royal highness's requests. Lord Walsingham suggested the regular parliamentary form of proceeding,

that of reading the passage of the commission desired to be omitted, and putting the question, "That these words stand part of the motion." This being admitted to be proper, his lordship put the question in form, and declared "the *non-contents* had it." But lord Radnor and lord Fitzwilliam remarked, that if the means of leaving out his royal highness's name, that had been resorted to, were suffered to go upon the journals, it would convey a marked disrespect to his royal highness.

At length it was settled, that the motion should stand as it did: and that, when reported to the house, Lord Radnor should then move an amendment, that it might appear on the journals, that it was at the desire of their royal highnesses the dukes of York and Cumberland, being present, that their names, and those of the prince of Wales and duke of Gloucester, were omitted in the commission.

The resolution, as amended and passed by the lords, Feb. 2. having been communicated to the house of commons, Mr. Pitt moved for their concurrence therein. This motion, which was at length carried without a division, gave rise to a long and warm debate.—The resolution was defended, as affording the only legal security to their proceedings which the case admitted of.—On the other side, it was urged, that however they might thus be made *formally* legal, yet being substantially and historically otherwise, it would have been much more safe, that the whole case should stand upon its own ground, distinguished as an irregular proceeding, justified only by necessity, than to call in counterfeit props to support it. The precedents

precedents of the reign of Henry the sixth, upon which so much stress had been laid whilst ministers were contending for the right of the two houses to nominate a regent, were now totally abandoned. In conformity to those precedents the prince of Wales ought to be empowered by the proposed commission to open the parliament in the king's name, and to exercise the legislative authority of the king, in the passing of such acts as might be tendered for the royal assent. Nor could there be now any ground of apprehension that he should reject a bill of limitations, as he had already declared his willingness to accept the regency with the restrictions proposed.

Mr. Burke in a long and able speech supported the exclusive right of the prince of Wales to the regency, and endeavoured to impress the committee with a sense of the fatal consequences that might follow, from admitting any idea of competition in it, to the unity of the empire, the integrity of the constitution, and the hereditary succession to the throne itself.

Before the house adjourned the speaker begged leave to call the attention of the house to the situation in which he stood.—In consequence of the honour they had done him of placing him in that chair, he ought regularly to be presented to the king, for his approbation. As that could not be done, he wished to know whether they had any directions to give him with respect to the commissioners who were to open the sessions. After a short conversation, it was agreed that he should not be presented for their confirmation.

The day following, the Feb. 3d. speaker with the commons being at the bar of the house of lords, earl Bathurst, who sat as speaker for the lord chancellor, acquainted them that the illness of his majesty had made it necessary that a commission in his name should pass the great seal, which they would hear read. The clerk having read the commission, lord Bathurst, in a short speech (see State Papers, p. 306) opened the causes of their present meeting, and the objects for which they were to provide.

As soon as the commons were returned to their house, and had gone through the usual forms, Mr. Pitt rose, and after a short preface moved that leave be given to bring in a bill to provide for the care of his majesty's royal person, and for the administration of the regal authority during his majesty's illness. Leave was accordingly given; and the bill was brought in and read for the first time without debate on the day following.

On a motion made 6th Feb. this day, for the second reading of the regency bill, Mr. Burke begged leave to make some observations on the principles and provisions of the bill, in order to point out to gentlemen in what point of view they were to examine it when it came before them in the committee.

In order to form a competent idea of the bill, they were to recollect that it had been declared that the king was incapable of exercising the royal functions: it was now proposed to supply this defect by the unexampled remedy of a mutilated, divided, and disjointed government, a government which went to heap all the burthen and odium of power on his royal highness, without any of

its graces or splendor; and which, while it took away from him even the power of doing good, of encouraging merit, or even exercising charity, was calculated to secure the influence and future success of a party in avowed enmity with him. Being called to order on account of some warm expressions he used, he added, that if the measures proposed were in their own nature unjustifiable, and tending to introduce disorder and debility into government—if they were contemptible in the jealousy they evinced of the prince, and alarming from their hostility to the whole house of Brunswick—if they tended to create distrust and disunion not only among the different branches of the royal family, but between all orders and ranks in the state, then was he justifiable in the warmth he had evinced.

The bill was then read a second time, and ordered to be committed on the morrow.

7th. The regency bill consisted of thirty-two clauses\*.—The clause, which was first objected to in the committee, was that which contained the oath to be taken by the regent. Two parts of this oath were objected to by Mr. Burke.—First, that by which he was bound “to take care of the personal safety of the king to the utmost of his power and ability”—a provision, which could only be considered as a mockery and insult upon the prince of Wales, when it was well known that he was not in the smallest degree entrusted with the care of the royal person.—Secondly, that part by which he was bound “to govern according to the stipulations and restrictions contained in the bill.” It was asked, for what purpose

this idea of a covenant was introduced, and why the words did not run in general terms, as in the coronation, “according to the laws of the land,” of which that bill, when it passed, would of course make a part?

In answer to both these objections it was said, that the oath was taken from that inserted in the regency act of the present reign; and with regard to the first objection, it was said, that the regent, possessing almost the whole executive power, would be possessed of means peculiar to himself of providing for the king’s safety; such as protecting him against treason, seditions, and riots, in case of civil war or of invasion.

The seventh clause, providing against the non-residence of the prince, and against his marrying a papist, being read; Mr. Rolle rose, and again brought on the subject of the rumour which had formerly prevailed, of the prince’s marriage. He concluded with moving that the words, “or who is or shall be married, in law or in fact, to a papist,” should be added. This produced much altercation, in which the mover was treated with great asperity by lord North, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Grey, and Mr. Courtenay.—Mr. Welbore Ellis desired the royal act to be read, by which it is enacted, that the marriage of any of the descendants of Geo. II. shall not be valid without the royal assent. This, he observed, was a full answer to all cavils, as that could not be valid in fact, which was not good in law.

The amendment was negatived without a division.

The next clause in the bill was

\* See State Papers, p. 345.

that which restrained the regent from creating peers.

Mr. Jolliffe moved an amendment, for limiting the duration of this restriction to the first of February 1790. He said he thought that all the restrictions were founded on a supposition that his majesty's recovery was probable; now it was to be presumed, that symptoms of recovery might be looked for, if they were to be expected at all, within fifteen months from the first discovery of the disorder; and the committee ought to limit the duration of restrictions, which if not limited, it would not be in the power of the commons alone to remove, whenever they should feel an inclination so to do. The consent of the lords would then be necessary; and their lordships might not be readily disposed to consent to what would be a diminution of their own consequence.

Mr. Hawkins Browne was ready to admit that the restrictions ought to be limited in point of duration; but thought fifteen months too short a period, and proposed two or three years.

Mr. Burke declared, there was no foundation whatever for the restriction. If it was directed against the prince, it was insulting and injurious, as his conduct had hitherto given no ground for suspecting him of a disposition to abuse power. If it was against those who were supposed to be his advisers, they were equally malignant, because those persons, when in office, had made the most temperate use of that power. The duke of Portland had been in his majesty's service in England, as well as in Ireland, and had not made a prodigal use of that pre-

rogative. The late marquis of Rockingham, in whose footsteps the present Whigs professed to tread, was extremely sparing of grants of peerages. Why then should it be supposed that they would deviate from an example which they took for their model, when they wished to recommend themselves to the good opinion of the public?—The amendment was negatived without a division.

The next clause on which any debate took place was that respecting the granting of places, or pensions in reversion. Lord North observed, that it was one of the professed principles of the resolutions, that the prince should have the power of appointing his own servants. How then, he asked, if the prince had not the power of granting pensions or reversions, was it possible for him to fill the highest situation in the law department, if a vacancy should happen therein? Not a *puisne judge*, nor even a barrister of tolerable business, would accept of the office of lord high chancellor, an office extremely precarious in its tenure, if the prince had not a power to reward him for his services in case of a dismissal. He therefore proposed that an exception should be inserted to provide for such a case.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, it was very fit the regent should have the choice of a lord chancellor, if the country should be so unfortunate as to lose the learned lord who now filled that office. But still he was of opinion that it was not in the present bill that the power of providing for him should be given. When the occasion should occur, the regent might apply to parliament, and he himself for one would

very readily agree to the sum mentioned by the noble lord. But a regent should not be put on a better footing than the king himself. Now the king could not grant such a pension without the consent of parliament. It was for this reason only that he opposed the noble lord's motion.

Lord North replied, that he supposed that, by the mode proposed, they meant to take to themselves the disposal of the great seal, as they kept the power of providing for the officer who might be called to that situation on his retirement. By retaining that power, every compact made with his royal highness in the resolutions was broken. The house, instead of relieving him from the already too heavy restrictions, were forging for him new fetters. The parliament, not the regent, would have the power of choosing his servants.—The amendment was negatived.

Feb 9th. The house being again in a committee on the regency bill, the twelfth clause was read, upon which Mr. Anstruther observed, that though this clause stated that the care or management of the king's property should not be in the prince of Wales, yet it was totally silent in what hands it should vest. There have been various accounts concerning the vast amount of that property; whatever it might be, it was but right that it should be properly taken care of, and not be so placed that it might be embezzled by anonymous purloiners, whom nobody could call to account, because nobody knew. He was therefore of opinion, that a commission be appointed, to consist of the wiser, the princes of the blood,

the great officers of state, the lord chancellor, and the two chief justices, for executing the said trust.

Mr. Pitt said, that as to the amount of that property, he believed there could be nothing but guess-work; at least he had no clue by which to enable him to form any thing like a judgment; whatever it might be, it had already been deposited in such hands as would always be obliged to account for their trust.

Mr. Burke supported the proposition offered by Mr. Anstruther, and considered this as a further proof of the unjust and illiberal treatment of the princes of the blood royal, who were thus excluded from, and deemed unworthy of any share of that trust, in which they had undoubtedly the first interest and the deepest concern.

The clause passed without amendment.

The fourteenth clause, providing for the payment of his majesty's household, under the direction of her majesty, being read; Sir James Erskine opposed it, as granting larger powers than were necessary; and insisted that the expence of the household might be much diminished.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that some circumstances, arising from his majesty's situation, rather tended to increase than diminish the expence of some parts of the household.

Mr. Burke objected to the clause, as tending to the subversion of the civil list act, irreconcilable with the true principles of œconomy, and calculated only for the purpose of providing for a favourite and unnecessary corps. He also objected to it

as proceeding to secure the payment of the household, before the question of separating it from the executive government had been decided upon.

Mr. Powys moved, that the clause be postponed; in which motion he was supported by Lord North, upon the ground taken by Mr. Burke: the committee divided; ayes 87, noes 132.

The sixteenth clause, relative to the privy purse of his majesty, was opposed on the impropriety of refusing to his royal highness, who was to support the dignity of the crown, the power over the privy purse, amounting to 60,000*l.* a year; out of which, by the clause, was to be taken 16,000*l.* and given to her majesty, for purposes unknown to parliament; and the remainder locked up and left, in case of his majesty's indisposition continuing, to the disposition of parliament. It was supported upon the propriety of continuing his majesty's benefactions, and on the impropriety of seizing the moment of his majesty's indisposition to strip him of his property. The 16,000*l.* which, it was objected, were given to her majesty for purposes unknown to parliament, was explained in the following manner: 12,000*l.* was given to pay an established list of charities settled by his majesty; and the remaining 4000*l.* was to enable her majesty to continue his majesty's benefactions to those persons who were not on the list; but who, she knew, received charity to that amount.

Sir William Moleworth was willing to agree to the sum proposed to be taken from the money of his majesty's privy purse, that was appropriated to the charities mention-

ed; but not thinking it proper that the remainder should be kept from the prince, he moved, as an amendment, to add the words, "and that the remainder shall be paid over to the treasurer of the privy purse of the regent." Upon this amendment the committee divided: ayes 101, noes 156.

The seventeenth clause was next read, vesting in her majesty the care of the king's person, and the government of the household.

Mr. Powys objected to that part of the clause which gave her majesty power over the household. He condemned it as a division of power with the executive authority. It was unjustifiable and inadmissible. The power given her majesty over the household, and the clause restraining the regent from creating peers, not only gave a dangerous control over the two houses, but put it into irresponsible hands. After arguing upon the mischiefs that might result from such a measure, he concluded by moving an amendment to the preamble of the clause, leaving it open for future revision.

The chancellor of the exchequer agreed to the amendment, and said, that in the course of the whole business, one of the principles he had ever invariably maintained was, that the whole of the bill ought ever to be kept open to the future revision and alteration of parliament.

The amendment being put and agreed to, the same was inserted in the clause.

Sir Peter Burrell objected to the latter part of the clause. The patronage given, he said, was so loosely expressed, that it was impossible to ascertain the amount of it; which, he conceived, the house

ought to be acquainted with, previously to its adopting the clause.

The chancellor of the exchequer acquainted the honourable baronet, that the whole amount was about 200,000*l.* a year: of this one half went to the payment of tradesmen's bills: the salaries of the household, from the greatest officers to the lowest turnspit, did not amount to more than 100,000*l.* a year; out of that sum there was not more than about 30,000*l.* received for salaries by members of the two houses of parliament. There were seven in the house of commons, whose salaries amounted to about 4,000*l.* and eighteen lords in the other house, whose salaries amounted to about 26,000*l.* Such influence, he said, was not likely to produce any considerable alteration in the system of œconomy adopted on the present exigency.

Mr. Burke and lord North condemned the clause, on the old ground of her majesty's having any share in the executive government. They reprobated the measure of dividing that power as unconstitutional and dangerous, and expressed their fears of its operating as a pernicious precedent.

Mr. Sheridan proposed, as an amendment, which was supported by lord George Cavendish, and general Norton, to separate the great officers from the household; upon which the committee divided: ayes 118, noes 173. Majority against the amendment 55.—The question was then put upon the clause, which was carried.

Feb. 10<sup>th</sup> The clause relative to the queen's council being read, Mr. Pitt proposed, that it should consist of the four principal officers of the household, the lord

chamberlain, the lord steward, the master of the horse, and the groom of the stole, for the time being, and in addition to these, of four other persons; in selecting of whom, he was naturally led to make choice of those whom his majesty himself had placed at the head of the church and the law; and therefore he should propose the names of John lord archbishop of Canterbury, Edward lord Thurlow, William lord archbishop of York, and Lloyd lord Kenyon.

He meant that these four should be appointed counsellors by name, and not as officers filling, for the time being, the stations which they now hold: but the four officers of the household he proposed not by their own names, but the names of their offices.

This constitution of the council was objected to on these grounds; first, on account of the omission of the princes of the royal blood: secondly, on account of the nomination being in some instances personal, and in others official; and lastly, because of the omission of other eminent personages, whose situations made them fit objects for such a choice.

In answer to the first objection, lord Graham observed, that there was no necessity for inserting the names of the princes of the blood in the list of counsellors to the queen, as her majesty could, at all times procure their advice; and he was of opinion, that respect to the princes should prevent the committee from putting them into situations, which would render them responsible to parliament; and might cause them to be brought to the bar of the house to answer for the discharge of the trust reposed in them.

Colonel Phipps said, that a very good



good reason for omitting the names of the princes was, that the two houses having agreed that the regent should not have the custody of the royal person, those persons ought not to be appointed counsellors to the queen who might be supposed to be much at the devotion of the regent. For this very reason also, he urged, in answer to the second objection, it was not proper that the committee should name the two archbishops, and the chancellor, and chief justice for the time being; for then, in case of any change, the regent would have the nomination of counsellors, who were to advise the queen about the care of the king's person, with which the regent was not to meddle. For the very same reason the officers of the household, who were to be named counsellors, might be described as for the time being, because the bill had put them entirely under the control of the queen, who could alone remove them.

In addition to these reasons, Mr. Pitt argued, that it was held as a principle in law, that in all cases, those who by their proximity could be supposed to have any possible interest in the succession, were, for that reason, excluded from the care of the person to be taken care of: this, therefore, was, in his mind, a strong reason why the princes of the blood should be excluded from a participation in the council to be allotted the queen, which, in its nature, necessarily involved in it the care of his majesty's person.

The last objection was founded on the omission of the speaker, the lord mayor of London, and chief justice of the common pleas. The omission of the last-mentioned great officer was strongly animadverted

upon; and the ministers were accused of looking to the politics of persons as the criterion of their qualification for the trust to be vested in them.—Mr. Burke concluded the debate with reminding the committee, that the exclusion of the royal family was full in the teeth of the very last regency bill, namely the fifth of the present king, by which his majesty was obliged to nominate a guardian for the prince of Wales, in case he should succeed to the crown before he was of age, from among the princes of the blood.

A division took place, on a motion made by lord North, that the duke of York should be one of the council; when the question was negatived: Ayes 130; Noes 177.

The several names of their royal highnesses prince William Henry, prince Edward, duke of Gloucester, and duke of Cumberland, were then severally proposed, and negatived.

Mr. Dempster then proposed, that the speaker of the house of commons, and the lord mayor of London, be added; both which questions were negatived.

The 26th clause, providing for the resumption of the government by his majesty, being read, Feb. 11. Mr. Pitt having premised that though the right of resumption did not depend on the votes of either house of parliament, yet as a king of this country was not capable of doing any act of state by himself, but was obliged to make use of the medium of persons who should be responsible to the laws for such an act; so in the present case, the bare consciousness of his majesty, that his incapacity was removed, ought not to be admitted as a proof of such a fact; but he should employ some organ, known to the country,

country, to satisfy the people of so desirable an event. It would not be reasonable that his majesty should be obliged to resort to the political servants of the regency, to desire that they should take the proper steps for restoring him to power; and the reason which induced him to think so was, that the servants of a government which was to be destroyed by such measures were certainly not the most fit to carry them into execution. His proposal then was, that as soon as it should appear to five out of the eight counsellors appointed to advise the queen, that his majesty's health was restored, they should certify it under their hands to the political servants of the regent, who should be bound to record the instrument in the council books, and farther to notify it to the lord mayor of London, and afterwards to the public in the London Gazette. The king should then summon the attendance of a number of members of the privy council, either such as had been members of it before his indisposition, or should have been added to it by the regent: the number that he would propose to be summoned on this occasion should be nine. These nine, sitting in council with his majesty, would have an opportunity of judging whether his incapacity was really removed or not; and should six of them be of opinion that it was, then a proclamation, signed by his majesty, and countersigned by these six privy counsellors, certifying the king's capacity, should immediately be published, and instantly all the power of the regent should cease and determine. These six persons should be responsible to the public for the opinion which they should thus give

under their hands; and that responsibility would be the people's security, that the trust reposed in these persons would not be abused.—Having premised this, he moved, that the blank left for the number of privy counsellors whom the king should summon be filled up with the word *nine*.

Mr. Powys said, that of all the measures proposed by the right honourable gentleman in the whole course of this unprecedented business, this was certainly the most extraordinary; the right honourable gentleman had first maintained, that parliament had a right to settle every thing relating to the present exigence; but now he abandoned that principle, and did not intend to suffer the interference of parliament in the restoration of the king to his government.

With respect to the responsibility of the privy counsellors who were to sign the proclamation, the public, he said, could not have much confidence in the declaration of men picked and chosen from their fellow counsellors in the manner proposed. But, after all, what was the nature of their responsibility? Their grounds for declaring that the king was restored to health could not be ascertained; and therefore, supposing they should be wrong, it could not be said whether they had acted wrong wilfully, or merely from an error in judgment: of what use, therefore, could that responsibility be to the public, which could not draw down upon these counsellors the punishment and vengeance of the law, because it was impossible to prove, in case they should be wrong in their declaration, that it was not through error, but design, that they had deceived the public.

The

The necessity of having the king's capacity to resume the government ascertained by the two houses of parliament, rather than by the queen's or the privy council, was strongly urged by Mr. Sheridan. He observed, that by the present bill every act that should be done by the king during his incapacity was declared to be invalid, and of no effect: now should it be resolved by the nine privy counsellors, during a recess of parliament, that the king was recovered, the most serious consequences might follow: for before the two houses could meet to ascertain that fact, the great seal might have been put to a commission of regency that would place it out of the power of the two houses to interfere any more, though his majesty should relapse; and thus those privy counsellors, whether through error or design, might be the means of making an incapable king establish a government which the two houses could not afterwards overturn. A clause to remedy this objection, was offered by Mr. Marsham, but rejected. Mr. Powys afterwards moved, that the physicians be examined by the queen's council on oath; which was negatived. Lastly, Mr. Sheridan, after again urging the necessity of parliamentary investigation of the recovery of his majesty, moved, that the regent be obliged to communicate to parliament the notification of the king's recovery.

Upon this motion, after some conversation, the house divided; when it was negatived. Ayes 113; Noes 181. Majority, 68.

The committee having gone through the whole bill, which the reader will find at the end of the State Papers, the house was resumed,

the report brought up, and agreed to, and the bill ordered for the third reading on the morrow.

Upon the third reading, two clauses were proposed to be added, the one by Mr. Pulteney, limiting the restriction relative to the creation of peers to three years, which was adopted; the other by Mr. W. Smith, reserving to the regent the power, in certain cases, of giving the royal assent to a bill or bills for the relief of dissenters from the church of England. This, after a short conversation, was withdrawn. The bill then passed, and was ordered to be carried to the lords.

On the 17th the regency bill, having passed through the previous stages without opposition, was committed in the house of lords, where, besides several verbal amendments, two new clauses were added to it: the first, placing under the controul and management of the queen all the palaces, houses, gardens, parks, &c. possessed by his majesty: the second committing to her majesty the care of all the royal offspring under the age of twenty-one.

This day, as soon as the lords were assembled, the chancellor rose, and after observing that it had appeared from the official report of the physicians, that his majesty had been for some time in a state of convalescence, informed them, that the accounts just received conveyed the happy intelligence that that improvement was still progressive; an information he was sure which would prove highly pleasing to every man in the kingdom. In this situation of things he conceived they could not possibly proceed

proceed upon the bill before them; and therefore moved, that their lordships do immediately adjourn to Tuesday next.

Before the question was put, the duke of York rose, and addressed the house in words to the following effect: "I trust your lordships will do me the justice to believe that no person in the house could feel equal pleasure with myself, from the favourable account which the noble lord on the wool-sack has given, and the motion he has made to the house, in which I entirely concur.—I should have had great satisfaction in making the same communication to the house, if I had been enabled to do it from any certain information. I thought it my duty yesterday, upon the favourable reports given to the public, to request to be admitted to his majesty's presence:—from reasons very justifiable, I have no doubt, it was not thought proper that I should have that satisfaction.

From the knowledge I have of my brother's sentiments, though I can have had no immediate communication with him upon the subject of this motion, I am convinced that he will feel equal if not greater pleasure than myself at the hopes of his majesty's recovery, as it must relieve him from the embarrassment of the situation in which the bill would have placed him, which nothing but a strong sense of his duty to the public would have induced him to undertake."

Feb. 24. On Tuesday the 24th the lord chancellor informed the house, that he had on that day attended his majesty, by his express command, and had found him perfectly recovered; but that, in order to bring the pressure of public af-

fairs as gradually as possible upon his mind, he should propose an adjournment to the Monday following.—On that day the house again adjourned to Thursday the 5th of March; when they were informed by the chancellor, that his majesty would signify his further pleasure to both houses on the Tuesday following.

Before we begin our narrative of the transactions of the British parliament subsequent to the king's recovery, we shall subjoin a short account of the proceedings of the parliament of Ireland during the important period which has so long occupied our attention.

The session was opened on the 5th of February by the marquis of Buckingham, who, in his speech from the throne, informed the two houses of the severe indisposition with which the king was afflicted; and at the same time acquainted them, that he had directed all the documents respecting his majesty's health which could assist their deliberations to be laid before them.

As soon as the usual address was voted, Mr. Fitzherbert, the secretary to the lord lieutenant, moved the house of commons, "that the house should resolve itself into a committee on the Monday se'nnight, to take into consideration the state of his majesty's health." As the evident design of this delay was to prevent the Irish parliament from coming to any resolutions relative to a regency, before the determinations of the British parliament could be proposed to them for their concurrence, it was strongly opposed, as derogatory to the independence of that kingdom, and to the dignity and credit of its parliament. Mr. Grattan, therefore, proposed that the house

house should meet on the next Wednesday; and his amendment, after a long and warm debate, in which the administration of the lord lieutenant was animadverted on with the greatest severity, was carried by a majority of 123 to 74.

At the same time, a motion made by the chancellor of the exchequer, for proceeding immediately upon the business of supply, preparatory to the passing of the money bills, was negatived; and the consideration of supply put off to the 12th of February.

On Wednesday the 11th, Mr. Connolly moved, that an address should be presented to the prince of Wales, requesting him to take on himself the government of that kingdom as regent, during his majesty's incapacity. This motion gave rise to a long and violent debate, in which the attorney general, Mr. Fitzgibbon, now chancellor of Ireland, eminently distinguished himself in opposition to the motion. It was supported by Mr. Grattan, Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. Curran, and other eminent speakers; and was ultimately carried without a division.

On Monday the 16th, the house of lords being met pursuant to their last adjournment, a motion for a further adjournment was made, and rejected. The earl of Charlemont then moved for an address to the prince of Wales, similar to that voted by the commons; which, after some debate, was carried by a majority of nineteen. A protest was entered, signed by seventeen lords\*.

On Thursday the 19th, both houses waited upon the lord lieutenant with their address, and requested him to transmit the same. With this request his excellency refused to comply; returning for answer, that

under the impressions he felt of his official duty, and of the oath he had taken, he did not consider himself warranted to lay before the prince an address, purporting to invest his royal highness with powers to take upon him the government of that realm, before he should be enabled by law so to do; and therefore was obliged to decline transmitting their address to Great Britain.

Upon the return of the commons to their own house, and the answer of the lord lieutenant being reported to them, Mr. Grattan observed, that in a case so extremely new, it would be highly improper to proceed with hurry or precipitation; the house was called upon to act with dignity, firmness, and decision; and therefore, that due time might be had for deliberation, he would move the question of adjournment; the question was put and carried without opposition.

On the day following Mr. Fitzherbert moved, that the lord lieutenant's answer be entered on the journals.

Mr. Grattan said, he was satisfied to let the answer be entered on the journals, in order to make way for some resolutions which he intended to propose, as necessary to carry the intention of the two houses into effect, and as a vindication of their honour and constitutional conduct.

The answer being entered on the journals, Mr. Grattan moved, "That his excellency the lord lieutenant having thought proper to decline to transmit to his royal highness George prince of Wales, the address of both houses of parliament, a competent number of members be appointed by this house to present the said address to his royal highness."

The question on Mr. Grattan's

\* See State Papers.

motion was then put, and passed without any division; whereupon he moved, "That Mr. Connolly do attend the lords with the said resolution, and acquaint them, that this house requests them to appoint members of their own body to join with the members of the commons in presenting the said address."

This also passed without any division; and Mr. Connolly went up to the Lords accordingly.

The message received in reply was, "that the lords had concurred in the resolution of the commons, and had appointed his grace the duke of Leinster and the earl of Charlemont to join with such members as the commons should appoint to present the address of both houses to his royal highness the prince of Wales."

Mr. Grattan then moved, "that the right honourable Thomas Connolly, right honourable J. O'Neil, right honourable W. B. Ponsonby, and J. Stewart, Esq; should be appointed commissioners on the part of the commons, for the purpose of presenting the address to his royal highness the prince of Wales;" and they were appointed accordingly.

These motions having passed, Mr. Grattan then moved, "that the two houses of parliament had discharged an indispensable duty, in providing for the third estate of the Irish constitution (rendered incomplete through the king's incapacity) by appointing the prince of Wales regent of Ireland."

The motion was opposed principally on the ground of its being considered as the foundation of a vote of censure on the lord lieutenant;

and after a long debate, the house divided; for the question 130, against it 71.

Mr. Grattan, after some comments on the preceding debate, and the decision of the house, made another motion, in purport, "that it is the opinion of this house, that the answer of his excellency the lord lieutenant to both houses, in refusing to transmit the said address, is ill-advised, and tends to convey an unwarrantable and unconstitutional censure on the conduct of both houses."

The attorney general moved, as an amendment, to preface this resolution with the following words, "that this house, uninformed of the motive that impressed his excellency's mind, and unacquainted with his private instructions, or the tenor of his oath," &c.

The house being divided on this amendment, there appeared for it 78, against it 119.

Capt. Burgh then proposed an amendment, to add the following words to the original resolution, "Inasmuch as the said lords and commons have proceeded to appoint his royal highness, &c. illegally and unconstitutionally." This amendment was negatived without a division.

Mr. Grattan's original motion of censure was then put; on which the house divided; and there appeared for the motion 115, against it 83.

On the 25th the report of the several resolutions of the committee of supply being brought up, and that which provides for the payment of the interest of the national debt, the annuities, and establishments, being read, Mr. Grattan proposed, that the words "for two

“ two months, ending the 26th of May 1789,” be added.

Upon this occasion, Mr. Brownlow observed, that though no party man, he thought it necessary to proceed with caution. Some difference had arisen between his excellency the governor and the two houses. He should never forget the affair of lord Townshend, who prorogued the parliament, and protested against their proceedings, for the commons exercising a right of originating bills of supply; a right in which lay the essence of all their privileges. What lord Townshend did, lord Buckingham might do, if they passed the supply for a year; nay, he might and perhaps would dissolve them, and then how could they look at their constituents; who would say, “ You have deserved all this; for when we put our purse in your hands, you foolishly let go the strings ?”

The attorney general said, that he recollected the event referred to by the honourable gentleman; and remembered too, that the house voted an address of thanks when they next met, which address cost the nation half a million of money.

On the question put, there appeared for the amendment, Ayes 104, Noes 85.

Mr. Grattan then moved, that the army be provided for but to the 25th of May; which was likewise carried, Ayes 102, Noes 77.

The committee of the two houses arrived in London on the

25th. and the day following presented their address to the prince of Wales at Carlton House. As the convalescent state of his majesty's health was at this time apparent, his royal highness, after returning his warmest thanks for the address, and expressing the satisfaction he received from the proof it afforded of their loyal and affectionate attachment to the person and government of the king, acquainted them with the fortunate change that had taken place. Within a few days, he hoped, that the joyful event of his majesty's resuming his government would enable him to give them a final answer, and make it only necessary for him to repeat those sentiments of gratitude and affection to the loyal and generous people of Ireland, which he felt indelibly imprinted on his heart.

On the 14th of March the lord lieutenant went in state to the house of peers; and having acquainted the two houses with the king's recovery, addresses of congratulation were immediately voted to his majesty.

On the 23d, the members of the committee appointed to wait upon the prince of Wales, being returned to Dublin, reported to the two houses the final answer of his royal highness [See State Papers, p. 315.]; which was ordered to be inserted in their journals, and an address of thanks was voted.

## C H A P. VI.

*New commission issued in consequence of the king's recovery. Speech of the commissioners to the two houses. Addresses of thanks and congratulation. Mr. Fox's observations upon the address of the house of commons. Addresses to the queen. Debate on the ordinance extraordinaries. Question of fortifying the West India Islands discussed; plan opposed by general Burgoyne, Mr. Courtenay, and Mr. Sheridan; supported by Mr. Pitt and colonel Phipps. Mr. Beaufoy's bill for commemorating the revolution, passes the house of commons, rejected by the lords. Mr. Fox moves for the repeal of the soap tax; agreed to by Mr. Pitt. Preamble to the bill of repeal objected. Restrictions on hawkers and pedlars taken off. Message from the king relative to the public thanksgiving day, and the resolutions of the house of commons thereon. Mr. Beaufoy's motion for repealing the corporation and test acts, supported by Mr. Smith and Mr. Fox, and opposed by lord North and Mr. Pitt; lost by a majority of only 20. The earl Stanhope's bill for repealing certain penal statutes rejected on the second reading. The consideration of the slave trade postponed to the next sessions. Mr. Grenville made secretary of state, and Mr. Henry Addington speaker of the house of commons. Budget opened. Animadversions thereon. Motion by Mr. Sheridan for a new committee of finance. The report of the committee of 1786 defended by Mr. Grenville. Plan opened by Mr. Pitt for transferring the tobacco duties to the excise. Strong opposition made to it by the manufacturers, and in both houses of parliament. Extraordinary conduct of the chancellor. India budget opened by Mr. Dundas; animadverted on by Mr. Francis. Bill passed to enable the company to add one million to their capital. Proceedings relative to the trial of Mr. Hastings. His petition to the house of commons, complaining of Mr. Burke; proceedings of the house, and resolution moved thereon. Libel on the house of commons, ordered to be prosecuted. Application from the French government for the exportation of flour, voted inadmissible. Sessions prorogued.*

March 10. **O**N this day the commons, with their speaker, being at the bar of the house of lords, the lord chancellor informed them, that his majesty, not thinking fit to be then present in his royal person, had caused a commission to be issued, authorizing the commissioners, who had been appointed by former letters patent to hold that parliament, to open and declare certain farther causes for holding the same. The commission being read, the chancellor addressed the two houses in

the name of the commissioners, and acquainted them, that his majesty being recovered from his late severe indisposition, and enabled to attend the public affairs of his kingdom, had commanded them to convey his warmest acknowledgments for the additional proofs which they had given of their affectionate attachment to his person, and of their zealous concern for the honour and interests of his crown, and the security and good government of his dominions.

That



That they were likewise ordered by his majesty to acquaint them, that, since the close of the last session, he had concluded a treaty of defensive alliance with the king of Prussia, copies of which would be laid before them; that his majesty's endeavours were employed during the last summer, in conjunction with his allies, in order to prevent, as much as possible, the extension of hostilities in the north, and to manifest his desire of effecting a general pacification; that no opportunity would be neglected on his part to promote this salutary object; and that he had, in the mean time, the satisfaction of receiving from all foreign courts continued assurances of their friendly dispositions to this country.

The house of commons were then told, that the estimates for the current year would forthwith be laid before them; and that his majesty was persuaded of their readiness to make the necessary provisions for the several branches of the public service.

An address of congratulation and thanks was moved in the house of lords by the earl of Chesterfield, and seconded by the earl of Cathcart; and in the house of commons by earl Gower and Mr. Yorke, and voted *nem. con.*

Some doubts were expressed by lord Stanhope, respecting the regularity of their proceedings, and their not having his majesty's recovery ascertained in the manner provided in the regency bill, which were over-ruled by the lord chancellor.

In the lower house, Mr. Fox observed, that though the praise bestowed in the king's speech upon the late proceedings of the two houses, appeared designed to pre-

vent his joining in the address, yet he should readily do so, considering it merely as the minister's eulogium on himself. That it was to be considered in no other light he was confident, because it fell to his lot to know from authority, that those who could alone inform his majesty of the reasons and grounds of the different opinions and doctrines which had been formed and maintained, had not an opportunity of giving him any such information; and he knew his majesty's sense of duty and regard to justice too well, to believe, that, without any explanation on the subject, his majesty would give a decided opinion. At the same time he remarked, that on such a day as that, he conceived, at least, that the right honourable gentleman might have been kept in the back ground, in order to let his majesty stand forward as the only prominent figure.

An address of congratulation to the queen was also proposed by the earl of Moreton and lord Hawkebury, and by the marquis of Graham and Mr. Hamilton in the lower house, and voted unanimously.

The first subject of debate that occurred in the house of commons, was a motion for a sum of 218,000*l.* to be granted for the extraordinaries of the ordnance. This demand was made in consequence of a plan formed by the master general for fortifying, to a certain extent, the West India Islands. In support of the plan it was urged, that the islands, in their present state, were exposed defenceless to the sudden attack of an enemy; and that for the want of such fortifications, several of them, during the last war, were captured even while our fleets were superior in those seas; which captures would have

been prevented, had the islands been in a situation to have held out for a short time. It was allowed that the islands must ultimately depend upon the fleet, but that the combined strength of a fleet, and of forts, would add much greater safety to them than could possibly be expected from a fleet alone, which could not be present every where at the same time.

On the other hand it was said, that in islands where there were but few landing-places, fortifications might be necessary in order to guard, at the beginning of a war, against surprise; but that fortifications were no defence against the enemy, so as to preserve those islands during a course of war, and might prove a disadvantage rather than an advantage. For instance, should an enemy on landing threaten a commander of a garrison, that if he did not capitulate, they would set fire to the island and burn the whole of it: in such a case, it was much to be doubted whether the clamour of the planters, their threats to join the enemy sooner than have their plantations destroyed, and a variety of other circumstances, might not oblige the best officer to capitulate. But supposing an island was taken, what would a French officer say, when called upon to capitulate, and threatened with the devastation of the island? His answer would be, "In the name of mischief burn away!" He would know, that at the end of the war in all probability the island would be restored by France to Great Britain, and therefore the less valuable it was rendered, the better. Fortifications, therefore, would in effect prove a disservice to us, and an advantage to the enemy, because it was evi-

dent we could not use the same means of regaining an island as the enemy might resort to for the purpose of obtaining its surrender.

The plan was further objected to, on account of the uncertainty of the expence attending it, and the number of additional troops it would require. The chancellor of the exchequer had stated the amount of the expence at about 180,000 l.; but he had at the same time said, he could only guess that it would be about the sum that he had mentioned, but it was impossible for him to ascertain it. Before they proceeded to vote so enormous an expence, they ought to have the estimates upon the table, and should be prepared to vote next year an increase of men to double, perhaps to treble, the number now voted for the defence of the West India Islands; not to mention that the climate of that country was so unhealthy, that it was generally deemed the grave of the British soldier; it often happening that one third of the troops sent there died within three months, another part were in the hospital, and not more than a third were capable of answering the muster roll and doing duty.

In reply to these objections it was urged, that fortifications were admitted to be of use against a *coup de main*, in islands where there were but few landing-places, and that this was the case in almost every island in the West Indies. Few of them had landing places but on one side of the island, in consequence of the trade winds, which blew so strong in those seas, that ships could not make the shore on the leeward side, and the more especially, as the coast of most of those islands was exceedingly rocky and dangerous. As a farther  
proof

proof of the use of fortifications, the circumstances of the capture of the island of Martinique, during the course of the war before the last, was mentioned. That island had then been attacked by 15,000 men, and it was almost a year before they could obtain a capitulation, tho' garrisoned by only 800 men. With respect to the devastation of plantation, if the planters were so little our friends as to wish to go over to our enemies, the fortifications were of use, by enabling the commander, even in spite of the planters themselves, to hold out, and preserve the island till assistance could be given by our fleets.

The unhealthiness of the climate had been insisted upon; but this circumstance, it was said, furnished an argument in favour of preserving stationary garrisons in those islands: because, much depended on the seasoning of the troops there employed. The 60th regiment, for instance, which was kept there, and by long habit was fully seasoned to the climate, was found infinitely more serviceable than twice the number of other troops. As to the number that might be required in the whole, it was sufficient to answer, that during peace the present establishment would be sufficient; and that in case of war, a smaller number, with the advantage of fortifications, would doubtless be more serviceable than a much larger without.

The speakers in support of the plan of fortification, were Mr. Pitt and colonel Phipps; in opposition to it, general Burgoyne, Mr. Courtenay, and Mr. Sheridan.—The resolution for granting the sum demanded was voted without a division.

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On this day a motion March 24. was made by Mr. Beaufoy, for leave to bring in a bill, "To establish a perpetual anniversary thanksgiving to Almighty God, for having, by the glorious revolution, delivered this nation from arbitrary power, and to commemorate annually the confirmation of the people's rights."—After a long eulogium upon the revolution, Mr. Beaufoy added, that if the House should approve of the motion, he would propose that the bill should contain that brief but comprehensive abstract of the rights and privileges of the people, which is exhibited in the bill of rights, and should be annually read in our churches as a part of the service of the day.

The motion was seconded by lord Muncaster, and opposed by sir Richard Hill as unnecessary, that event being expressly commemorated in the form of prayer appointed for the fifth of November. The motion, however, was agreed to, and the bill passed, and was carried to the lords; where it was rejected on the first reading, after a short conversation, in which the bishop of Bangor pointed out the several parts of the service of the fifth of November, which had been added and altered for the purpose of commemorating the revolution.

On the second of April, April 2. Mr. Fox renewed his annual motion for the repeal of the shop tax. He began with remarking, that in the various debates that had taken place upon it year after year, the enemies of this tax and its supporters met each other on this fair issue. The latter contended that it was not a tax which was ultimately

mately to fall upon the shop-keepers, but upon their customers; whilst the former maintained that it was actually a personal tax, which could not possibly be drawn from the customers, and which must of course fall upon the shop-keepers. Both sides admitted that according to the principle on which the tax was imposed, the shop-keeper was to pay it in the first instance, but was afterwards to reimburse himself by charging it on the goods sold by him to his customers. Both sides differ upon the matter of fact, whether the shop-keeper could in reality reimburse himself at all; one side insisting that he could, the other strenuously maintaining that he could not.

Mr. Fox then said, that he considered the perseverance of the shop-keepers in praying for a repeal of it, as a strong presumption that the tax lay entirely upon them; for men would not give themselves and parliament so much trouble, to seek relief from the burden of a tax, which it was in their power to throw upon the shoulders of others. The shop-keepers of London, Westminster, and of Southwark were most liable to the oppression of this tax, and, consequently, best enabled to judge whether they felt it to be oppressive or not; and they had unanimously, steadily, and unremittingly opposed the tax, on the ground that it was oppressive to an intolerable degree.

Amongst other objections to the tax, he stated that, after three years continuance, it did not appear to be a growing tax; on the contrary, it was evident, from the papers before the house, that the produce of the tax in Westminster alone, for the last year, fell four thousand pounds short of

the produce of the tax in Westminster for the preceding year.

The chancellor of the exchequer then rose, and said, that though he considered it to be his duty, generally, to resist any attempt to decrease the revenue by the repeal of taxes, objected to by persons who were most likely to be affected by them, and though, in the present case, as far as argument went, he had heard nothing to induce him to change his own sentiments, yet, when he found those sentiments contradicted by the positive assertions of those who had tried the effect of the tax during the space of three years, and observed the general concurrence of all of that description, he thought it no longer proper to oppose to their feelings and experience any opinions of his own mind founded on theory, and therefore he should not resist the motion.

The bill for the repeal of the shop tax, being brought in by Mr. Fox, the preamble, in which that tax was stated to have been found partial and oppressive, and contrary to just principles of taxation, was objected to by Mr. Pitt, who moved that those words should be left out, and the following inserted in their room, "whereas it is expedient to repeal." Mr. Fox remarked upon this opposition, that he believed the words objected to, or words to that effect, had been used by the right honourable gentleman himself; that however he should not press for a division of the house upon the subject.

In consequence of the repeal of the shop tax, the additional tax and restrictions which had been laid upon hawkers and pedlars were also, upon a motion of Mr. Dempster's, taken off.

Mr.

8th April. Mr. Pitt acquainted the house, that he was commanded by his majesty to inform this house, that his majesty has appointed Thursday, the 23d of this instant April, to be observed as a day of public thanksgiving to Almighty God, for that signal interposition of his good providence, which hath removed from his majesty the late illness with which he hath been afflicted; and for the greater solemnity of that day, his majesty will go to Saint Paul's church, to return thanks to Almighty God for the great mercy which hath been extended to him; and his majesty hath been pleased to give the necessary orders for providing convenient places in the said cathedral for the members of this house. Upon which it was resolved, "That the humble thanks of this house be returned to his majesty, for his majesty's gracious favour in communicating to this house his intention of going to Saint Paul's church upon the day of thanksgiving appointed by his majesty, and for having been pleased to give orders for providing convenient places in the said cathedral for the members of this house."

Ordered, "That the thanks of this house be returned to his majesty, by such members of this house as are of his majesty's most honourable privy council."

Resolved, "That this house will attend, as an house, in Saint Paul's church, upon the day appointed for a public thanksgiving."

Ordered, "That a committee be appointed to consider of the manner of this house going to Saint Paul's church, on Thursday the 23d day of this instant April, and of such regulations as may be necessary to be

observed for the preservation of order upon that occasion."

And a committee was appointed accordingly.

On this day Mr. Beau- 8th May. foy moved the house for a committee to take into consideration so much of the Test and Corporation acts as related to protestant dissenters. He opened his speech with an account of the reasons which had induced the dissenters to renew their applications to parliament; and with a few remarks on the temperate conduct which had distinguished their proceedings. He was perfectly aware, that among them, as in all large societies, intemperate individuals might be found; but that to impute to dissenters the unauthorised language and unsanctioned asperities of such men, would be as absurd as to expect that in a large multitude no man of a peculiar cast of mind, who measured all opinions by a standard of his own, was ever to be found. It is only by the tenor and general spirit of their conduct that large societies can ever be justly tried; and measured by that standard, whether as faithful and affectionate supporters of his majesty's illustrious house, or as citizens zealously attached to the constitution, or as protestants who, in doubtful and difficult emergencies, have proved themselves friends to the established church, the dissenters, he said, would be found on a level with the most distinguished of their fellow subjects. He then proceeded to state the same arguments in favour of a repeal of the acts complained of, which he had before urged in the year 1787, and which, having already given the substance of them, it is unnecessary for us now to repeat.

Mr. Beaumont's motion was opposed in a long and able speech by lord North, and supported by Mr. Smith (member for Sudbury) and by Mr. Fox; the latter of whom, in answer to the argument, that the admission to offices of trust and power, of persons entertaining opinions contrary to those of the established church, might endanger its establishment, contended with great ingenuity that it was unjust and tyrannical to infer the future conduct of men from the speculative opinions they entertained; and still more so, to make that inference the ground of previous punishment. Mr. Pitt replied to Mr. Fox, and argued, that government had a right to prevent any civil inconvenience which such opinions might produce, without waiting till by their being carried into action, the inconvenience had actually arisen. He considered the established church as a part of the constitution of the country, and the acts in question as justifiable on the principle of self-defence. They had now existed for above a century, and had ever been looked upon as one of the props and bulwarks of the constitution. He spoke of the great quiet that obtained at present relative to religious differences; and said, if there was any thing that could interrupt the harmony and moderation which subsisted between sects, once contending with great virulence and asperity, it would be by awakening a competition, and re-kindling the sparks of ancient animosity, which mutual forbearance had almost stifled and extinguished.

The house at length divided; when there appeared for the motion 102, against it 122.

Soon after this debate, the earl Stanhope, in the upper house, moved

for leave to bring in a bill "for relieving members of the church of England from sundry penalties and disabilities, to which by the laws now in force they may be liable, and for extending freedom in matters of religion to all persons (papists only excepted), and for other purposes therein mentioned."

As the foundation of this bill be laid before their lordships an account of all the penal laws, whether existing, obsolete, or repealed, which had been enacted from the earliest times, upon matters of religion, forcery, and various other subjects; and urged the injustice as well as disgrace of suffering them to remain any longer amongst our statutes.

The bill, which was rejected on the second reading, besides repealing all the afore-mentioned statutes, enacted, that all persons (papists, on account of their persecuting and dangerous principles only excepted) shall have free liberty to exercise their religion; and by speaking, writing, printing, and publishing, or by all or any of the said ways or means, to investigate religious subjects; and by preaching and teaching to instruct persons in the duties of religion, in such manner as every such person respectively shall judge the most conducive to promote virtue, the happiness of society, and the eternal felicity of mankind.

The bill was opposed by the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops of Bangor, St. Asaph, and St. David's. They admitted that a revision of the penal acts in question might be necessary; but they objected to the bill, on account of the extent to which it went, and the wide door it opened to every species of licentiousness and irreligion.

The

12th May. The consideration of the slave trade, which in conformity to a resolution passed by the house of commons last year, ought to have been resumed early in the present session, was, on account of the peculiar circumstances of the times, deferred till the 12th of May. A large and elaborate report from the privy council was laid upon the table, and several petitions, both for and against the proposed abolition of the trade, were presented to the house. As this subject has since undergone a more complete investigation, than the materials then in the possession of the house enabled them to accomplish, and will consequently come again under our notice, we shall beg leave to refer our readers for the present to the twelve resolutions which were presented by Mr. Wilberforce to the house, and which they will find in the Appendix to the Chronicle, page 268. These resolutions were founded on the report of the committee of the privy council, and were introduced by Mr. Wilberforce in a speech of extraordinary merit. The house afterwards sat for some days in a committee, to hear the evidence offered by the petitioners interested in the slave trade; and after some progress therein, adjourned the further consideration of the matter to the next session. The bill brought in by Sir William Dolben, for regulating the transportation of slaves from Africa to the West India islands, was by another act continued and amended.

Early in the month of June, lord Sydney resigned the office of secretary of state in the home department, and Mr. Grenville was immediately appointed in his room. This again occasioned a vacancy in the chair of the house of commons, which was

supplied by Mr. Henry Addington. Sir Gilbert Elliot was again proposed for that high office, and his claims supported not without some remarks on the overbearing influence of the minister, and the youth and inexperience of Sir Gilbert's competitor. The house divided on the question; when there appeared for Mr. Addington 215, for Sir Gilbert Elliot 142.

On the 10th of June the chancellor of the exchequer opened the budget for the year. He stated the total of the supplies voted for the current year to be 5,730,000*l.* exclusive of the annual account of renewed exchequer bills. A ways and means to provide for this supply, he took the land and malt tax at 2,750,000*l.*; a loan of 1,000,000*l.*; profits on a lottery, 271,000*l.*; by short annuities, 191,000*l.*; from the consolidated fund, 1,530,000*l.* — making in all 5,742,000*l.*

The first question that naturally occurred upon this statement, was, whether the consolidated fund was equal to the payment charged upon it? He said, the average produce of the two last years of all the taxes was 12,478,000*l.* The year preceding those had indeed fallen short 300,000*l.* but that this was to be accounted for from peculiar circumstances, and there was no doubt that the present and future years would exceed that average. The permanent charges on this fund, consisting of the interest of the national debt, charges of management, civil list, and a million to be laid out in purchase of stock, amounted to 11,278,000*l.* leaving a surplus of 1,700,000*l.*

Mr. Pitt then applied these facts to the two objects which the committee of finance, in 1786, had particu-

ticularly under consideration; first, whether we could pay the extraordinary expences which must accrue before we arrived at a regular peace establishment, without a loan? —and next, whether the revenue was equal to the sum stated by the committee of accounts as necessary to pay the annual establishments, and the interest of the public debt, and to have a surplus of one million annually towards its liquidation?

From 1786 we had raised no money by loan; it was now proposed to raise one million; and we had since that time increased the navy debt 500,000*l.* But what had been the extraordinary expences since that time? We had paid 3,500,000*l.* above the average peace establishment: we had paid, besides, 852,000*l.* to the loyalists; 216,000*l.* for the prince of Wales's debts; 210,000*l.* for the debts of the civil list; and 253,000*l.* for the expence of the armament last year: which sums, taken together, were equal to the additional navy debt incurred, and the million now to be borrowed. So that although in three years 3,500,000*l.* had been paid above the calculation of the committee, and 3,750,000*l.* for the reduction of the national debt, with which above four millions of debt had been actually paid, and 120,000*l.* brought annually to the sinking fund, had it not been for those unforeseen expences we should not only have been able to provide for the extraordinary million wanted this year without any additional burden on the people, but we should not even have wanted a substitute for the shop tax. Under those circumstances, he might congratulate the country, that the hopes which he had entertained were well founded,

and that the calculations of the committee had been verified to a degree of accuracy seldom to be expected in such calculations.

His next statement was that of the permanent income. It had been declared by the same committee, that 15,500,000*l.* revenue was necessary to defray the annual expences, and leave one million to be applied to the reduction of the debt. How did it stand at present? On an average of the last two years it appeared to be (including the land and malt tax) 15,573,000*l.* nearly exceeding by 100,000*l.* what the committee had thought to be necessary. There was, therefore, no disappointment with regard to the permanent income. It was not then necessary to say much to convince the committee that the finances were in as good a situation as there ever had been any reason held out to expect? he had neither been accessory to deceiving the public, nor been deceived himself; and the new burdens to be imposed ought to be borne with as much cheerfulness as any which were imposed on fair grounds, and for necessary purposes.

The million to be raised by loan he meant to borrow upon annuities with benefit of survivorship; by which means, in time, it must extinguish itself, and no addition be made to the public debt. Calculating on the most approved tables of lives, and reckoning the interest of money from the three per cents. at about four per cent. he had found that the interest on the whole would be about 4*l.* 10*s.* per cent. The persons who agreed for the whole, had allowed a small premium of 2,500*l.* It was part of the terms that no more than 1000*l.* a year should



should ever be received on the sum of 100l. a matter not of much consequence perhaps, but as it might guard against any uncommon length of servivorthip, so far it was in favour of the public. The subscribers were divided into six classes, and it was computed that an equal sum would be subscribed by each; but as more of one might offer than of any other, the contractors were not to be confined on this head. The interest, therefore, could not be precisely ascertained till the subscription was full, but might be taken at 44,750l. To re-place the sum lent from the civil list, he meant to raise 191,000l. \* by short annuities, which the instalments received in payment would answer; and in doing this he had made an economical bargain for the public.

During the course of the preceding year the shop tax had produced about 56,000l. which, with the tontine annuities, would make nearly 100,000l. to be raised by new taxes. To do this he proposed an augmentation of certain stamp duties. 1st. An additional halfpenny on every newspaper, which would produce 28,000l.; sixpence additional on each advertisement, 9000l.; sixpence additional on cards and dice, 9000l.; an additional duty on probates of wills, in proportion to the sum bequeathed, 18,261l.; on legacies to collateral relations, 5000l.; making in all, by stamp duties, 69,261l. On horses and carriages. —On one carriage an additional of one eighth of the present duty; on two an additional of one pound for the first, and of two for the second; on three or more, one pound for the

first, and three for all the rest: on two horses no addition for the first, but five shillings for the second; on three, four, or five horses, seven and sixpence for all above one; on more than five, ten shillings; making in all, with the additional stamp duties, about 111,000l.

To this statement of the finances many weighty objections were made —It was urged in general, that the necessity they were then under, of having recourse to new loans and new taxes, after a period of six years peace, was itself a sallicient proof that our finances were not in the condition they were represented to be. The unforeseen contingencies of expence, which had been alledged as the cause of the present difficulty, could not be calculated at more than 600,000l., that is, for three years, 200,000l. a year; for the loyalists had been paid by lotteries, and the 3,500,000l. slated to be the excess above the regular peace established, only proved that the original estimate was delusive, and that the establishment was taken too low—It was boasted that three millions of the national debt had been discharged—But on the other hand, besides the increased navy debt of 500,000l. one million of additional exchequer bills had been issued, another million was now to be borrowed, and two millions had been received from the East India Company. So that with the assistance of four millions, the minister had succeed in the notable attempt of paying three millions of national debt.—Mr. Sheridan pledged himself that these facts would be found true, if Mr. Pitt would consent that

\* This sum had been lent to the Dutch government, and was to be repaid by instalments.

the whole business should be referred to a new committee, such a one as might easily be obtained in that house, of independent members, chosen indifferently, and not such a committee as made the report, upon which the minister founded all his arguments in his own favour, and to which, upon all occasions, he retreated for protection.

The subject was some time after resumed by Mr Sheridan, upon a motion for the appointment of such a committee as he had before described. In a long and able speech on this occasion, he undertook to prove the four following propositions:—That the report of the committee, appointed in 1786, founded in fact, nor verified by experiment—That, for the three last years, the expenditure has exceeded the income two millions, and may be expected to do so for three years to come—That no progress has hitherto been made in the reduction of the public debt—That there is no ground for rational expectation, that any progress can be made without a considerable increase of the annual income, or reduction of the expences.

In support of the first proposition, Mr. Sheridan said, that the committee had declared it to be their opinion, upon a fair comparison between the extraordinary expenditure and the extraordinary means, that the latter would be adequate to the supply of the former, without a loan. A loan had, however, actually taken place.—The committee had further declared that the annual income, exclusive of land and malt tax, would be 12,794,000*l.* Now upon an average of three years, which included the

deficient year preceding the commercial treaty with France, and the productive year which succeeded it, the income would be found to fall short of this calculation about 300,000*l.*—This deficiency was not great, but it was not the whole deficiency. The committee calculated on the then subsisting taxes; and since that time some open, and much greater clandestine, additions had been made to them. By the amount of all these additions, added to 30,000*l.* did the revenue fall short of the calculation. The chancellor of the exchequer had openly laid taxes to the amount of 100,000*l.*; and he had had recourse to other taxes which he did not avow, but which, under the specious name of regulations, were as much levied on the subject as if the same sums had been raised by new taxes under a new name.—These taken together, and added to the deficiency of the land and malt tax, amounted, he said, to 500,000*l.*, and consequently so much was the estimate of the committee erroneous.

Upon the second proposition, he stated, that the average of the expenditure for the three last years, was 15,930,000*l.* a year. Of the various articles composing this sum the only one in which a reduction appeared probable, was that of miscellaneous services. This, on the same average, was 649,000*l.* a year. Did it seem likely that it would ever fall so low as 74,000*l.* the sum it was stated at by the committee? He recapitulated the various items which composed this article, commenting on each, and asking which of them was likely to be less for several years to come?

But this was not all: the floating navy

navy debt had been increased in the last three years 600,000*l.* If, to the average expenditure before stated, was added one-third of this increase of the navy debt, and the sum issued to the commissioners for the reduction of the public debt, the whole annual expenditure would amount to 17,130,000*l.* exceeding the average income by more than 1,940,000*l.* Such was our present situation! The expense of the current year was something above this estimate, and the next could not be expected to be much less.

Upon this head he entered into a variety of calculations, the result of which was, that since the year 1786 we had paid of the funded debt three millions, and that we had borrowed, by exchequer bills, 750,000*l.*; by anticipation of the sinking fund, one quarter. 628,000*l.*; by increase of navy debt, 600,000*l.*; by a tontine, 1,002,500*l.*; making together about as much as the sum paid off. If the 900,000*l.* navy bills bearing interest, which he had omitted, were added, the sum borrowed would exceed the sum paid by almost a million; and if the interest of the debt contracted were compared with that of the debt paid, it would exceed it in the same proportion. Such was our present situation, and such was our prospect for the year 1790, when we had been told that every thing was to be reduced to a firm establishment.

The report of the committee of 1780 was defended by Mr. secretary Grenville, who had been the chairman of it.—Upon the first of Mr. Sheridan's propositions, he remarked, that the years from which the average of the annual income ought to be taken, was the chief

point of difference in issue between them. Those who agreed with him, that the unproductive year preceding the commercial treaty ought to be left out of the account, and that the average of the two following years, which amounted to 15,578,000*l.* was a fair estimate of the probable future income, must decide for the committee; which had estimated the probable annual income in the year 1791 only at 15,500,000*l.* In counterbalance to the additional income alledged to have been derived from the imposition of new, and the regulation of old taxes. Mr. Grenville stated several deficiencies arising from alterations made for the sake of public accommodation, and the reduction of duties in consequence of the commercial treaty.

With regard to income, therefore, he thought he might pronounce, that the committee had already passed their trial, and it was decided in their favour, the amount already considerably exceeding what was estimated to be its amount by the year 1791. As to the expenditure, they were still on their trial; but he had no doubt that they should come off equally victorious. He begged, however, to have it recollected, that neither he in the name of the committee, nor the committee, had pledged themselves that the several services should not, in point of expence, exceed the amount of each stated; from the best information the committee could procure, they trusted there would be no occasion for a larger peace establishment than the estimate stated. It was true, that this year was an addition of 100,000*l.* to the army; but, if it was thought  
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right to have foreign alliances, he trusted that a necessary degree of expence would not be grudged, occasioned by an addition to our army, to enable us to fulfil our engagements in consequence of our treaties with foreign powers. That 100,000*l.* he conceived, would be permanent. Other expences of the present year would not be permanent. The navy had certainly cost more than had been estimated in 1786; but when it was considered what an account they had lately heard of the present condition of our navy, and of the quantity of stores in our dock-yards, from the highest authority, he was one of those who were so far from repining at the extraordinary expence, that he professed himself to be happy and glad that the money had been so expended. With regard to what their general peace establishments would be, the house must recollect, that they were not arrived at the period when the committee had estimated that their peace establishments would find their level; when that period should come, they would, doubtless, judge of the exigencies of the times as at present, and govern their establishments accordingly.

Upon the two last propositions Mr. Grenville remarked, that between three and four millions of the national debt had in fact been discharged, and that a million annually was appropriated to the same purpose. This could not be denied; and with respect to the loan of the present year, and the additional navy debt, it was never contended that such operations of finance might not be necessary, but it was thought proper first to secure a permanent surplus for the reduction of the na-

tional debt, and this had been effected.

Mr. Sheridan's motion was then negatived without a division. This subject was again discussed, and upon the same ground, in the house of lords, by lord Rawdon and the duke of Richmond.

On this day the chancellor of the exchequer, 16th June. pursuant to notice he had given upon the opening of the budget, submitted to the house his plan for repealing the existing duties upon tobacco, and substituting duties of excise.

The article of tobacco, he said, was a considerable object of the revenue; and under the present regulations and duties, a great article of smuggling: indeed, it was the only important article that could be considered as the smuggler's staple, since the regulations that had of late years taken place in regard to teas, wines, and spirits. Mr. Pitt summarily stated the great inducements that were held out to the smuggler to deal in this article, such as the very low price of its prime cost, compared with the amount of the duty, &c. which afforded an ample premium to illicit traders, and enticed them to carry on their traffic to a very great extent, to the material detriment of the revenue, and the equal injury of the fair trader. At least one half of the tobacco consumed in the kingdom was smuggled. It had, he observed, been computed, when the alteration was proposed on teas, that the quantity of tea annually imported in Great Britain, amounted to twelve millions of pounds; but it had since turned out that much more was the real amount of the quantity imported. It had generally been thought that

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the quantity of tobacco was nearly the same with that of tea; and upon enquiry, it turned out to be the fact. The merchants of Glasgow, who were intelligent men, and conversant on the subject, were of opinion, that not less than twelve millions of pounds of tobacco were annually imported into the kingdom; and upon application to the several traders in that article in London, they had thought that the importation was much greater, and that it amounted to nearly sixteen millions, but to fourteen, at least. The actual legal importation had been on the average estimated at seven millions, so that there was from five to seven millions of tobacco extraordinary used every year, without the payment of any duty, and to the injury of the revenue, to the amount of nearly three hundred thousand a year.

Such being the state of the case, it had appeared to him, that, the most probable means of effecting the end proposed, would be to change the greater part of the duty upon tobacco from customs to excise, and to subject the manufacturers of tobacco to the survey of excise. The peculiar benefit of this plan had been exemplified in a recent instance, in the article of wine. The quantity of wine which paid duty, antecedent to the excise regulation, was 13,000 tons; after the regulation had taken effect, 18,000 tons; and since the duties on wines were lowered, 22,000 tons. He then touched upon the objections which might possibly be made to the regulations he should propose, by the manufacturers; and said, though he hoped that the majority of those who called themselves fair traders

would cheerfully acquiesce; yet there were probably some manufacturers whose characters and conduct were not clear of suspicion, and others whose prejudices, founded in self-interest, might induce them to object to the regulations, and to desire to be heard against them. If any such application should be made, the house undoubtedly would listen to every thing that could be urged with patience and with candour; but they would recollect, that arguments coming from persons, circumstanced as he had described, ought to be received with some allowances; and that the allegations of those most likely to be masters of the whole subject, were not always to be relied on implicitly; since, when the regulations on wine were proposed, they had men at the bar, who had said confidently and roundly, that, under the restrictions, they could not carry on their trade: The house, at that time, thought their reasoning insufficient, and tried the experiment; and the result had been, that the trade had increased to an astonishing degree.

This plan occasioned a general alarm amongst the manufacturers of tobacco; petitions were presented against it from various quarters, and an attempt was made to excite, but without much success, that constitutional abhorrence of the extension of the excise laws, which had often, on former occasions, so strongly manifested itself amongst the people of England.—Besides this general ground of objection, the manufacturers, who were heard for several days by their council at the bar, endeavoured to establish the peculiar impropriety and hardship of subjecting their manufactures to the

the inspection of the officers of excise, and the total loss, which might follow, of the trade itself.

They proved that the variations in the weight of tobacco, during the process of its manufacture, were to inconceivably great, and at the same time so uncertain, that it would be impossible for the officers of excise to take any account of stock during that process, which might not subject them either, on the one hand, to a ruinous excess of duty, or, on the other, to fines and forfeitures, which would be equally ruinous.—But this was not all; the secrets possessed by different manufacturers of tobacco and snuff were of the greatest value; some had been sold and purchased at the price of 10,000*l.* and upwards; these would inevitably be exposed to the discovery of excisemen, amongst whom there might be persons (and such a temptation would doubtless be a sufficient inducement for men skilled to enter into the excise for the express purpose) capable of availing themselves of the opportunities they would enjoy. It was urged, that these difficulties and hardships might drive the manufacturers, whose interests principally consisted in the secrets they possessed, into other countries, and thus occasion to this country the entire loss of the manufacture.

A clause was offered by Sir Watkin Lewes, giving the manufacturer a right of trial at common law, if he was dissatisfied with the decision of the commissioners of excise. To this it was objected, that such a partial grant, under the present bill, would not be fair and equitable; that it ought to be given to all persons subject to the operation of the excise laws, or none.—Mr.

Beaufoy said, that though he conceived the trial by jury might safely be granted, under certain regulations, to persons aggrieved by the execution of the excise laws, yet in the present instance he was bound to oppose the clause. The privilege, he remarked, which the clause will give to the subject is not a right of regular appeal from the determination of the board of excise, but a right to prosecute, as a trespasser, every exciseman, who, on any ground, however legal, has ventured to make a seizure. It gives to the dishonest tradesman, however atrocious his frauds, a right to bring an action for damages against the officer, who, in the name of the crown, has taken possession of the articles on which the legal duties are withholden, and in that action it empowers him to include the officer's assistants, and to make them defendants in the suit. Thus, it enables the importer, and the dishonest manufacturer, to disqualify from being witnesses in the trial the only persons, generally speaking, who are able and willing to prove the existence of the fraud. It deprives the crown, in most cases, of its only evidence; and at the same time imposes upon it the burthen of the legal proof. If such a clause were made general, it would bring with it security to the smuggler, ruin to the fair manufacturer and the honourable merchant, and ultimate destruction to the most productive revenues of the state.

The bill, in its passage through the house, was altered and modified in such a manner as to remove the principal of the objections made to it by the manufacturers. The debates upon it were frequent and

and animated, but thinly attended. Several respectable members, who usually supported the minister, took a strong and decided part against it, and even reproached the other side of the house with the languor of their opposition. Upon one of these occasions Mr. Fox, after an able speech, in which he took a general political view of the effect of excise laws, of their great extension under the present administration, of the indifference with which that extension had been beheld by the people, and of the prevailing disposition which he saw of sacrificing the constitution to revenue, adverted to the complaint we have above mentioned. He had not, he said, attended the bill so closely as he might have done, because he plainly saw, that all opposition would be fruitless; but surely gentlemen on the other side had no right to expect that, on every occasion, when the interest of their constituents, or some personal motive to themselves, induced them to wish the measure of the minister opposed, that he, and those who acted with him, would be at their command, and ready to act as perpetual adversaries of the minister and his measures, whether those measures should appear to them to be well or ill founded. Were they to be considered as the standing counsel against the crown in that house, ever to be resorted to in the moments of difficulty, and therefore as necessary to exist as administration? What was this but saying, "We have put you into the most humiliating situation; you shall have no share of the power, no share of the honours, or emoluments of office; but we expect to command your public services, to profit by what-

ever abilities you may possess, to be joined by you and your friends, whenever we want the assistance of either?" Was it not, in other words, saying, "We have raised one man to a degree of power which makes all opposition useless. By our false clamours against you, and our delusions respecting him, we have taught the public to look up to him as something more than man: hence his measures, however mischievous, however fatal, are scarcely to be resisted; but remember, we look to you to watch him. Do you take care that he does no mischief in his situation. It is your office to sound the alarm, when danger lurks beneath a plausible pretext; and to oppose yourselves to the occasion, so that the evil may be in time averted." Having deprived them of the means of resistance with any hopes of success, by putting them into so useless a situation, to call upon them to oppose, to check and to stop the minister's measures, was neither more nor less than directly laughing in their faces, and adding insult to injury.

In the upper house, the bill was again opposed by the manufacturers at the bar, who were strenuously supported by lord Stormont and lord Loughborough. The lord chancellor too, though he expressed his approbation of the principle of the bill, yet treated the enacting part of it with an high degree of mixt asperity and contempt. He said, that the vexatious precautions and preventive severity of the excise laws, were unnecessarily extended to the subject in question; that a fit attention had not been paid to the essential interests and property of the manufacturers;

manufacturers; that the greater part of the enacting clauses were absurd, contradictory, ungrammatical, and unintelligible. He expressed his wishes that the house of commons, if they meant to persevere in their claim of having money bills returned from that house unaltered, would not insult them, by requiring their adoption of laws that would disgrace schoolboys. His lordship (notwithstanding the danger which the minister's proposition thereby run of being defeated for the session, for it was now the beginning of August) moved an amendment, upon which the house divided; contents 7, non-contents 10. Another amendment was afterwards moved by the duke of Richmond, and carried, upon a supposition that the commons would not object to it. But upon the third reading of the bill, which was on the morning of the prorogation of parliament, the amendment was withdrawn.

July 1. On the first of July, Mr. Dundas opened what has been called the Indian Budget. As the long train of calculations which he went through would be unsatisfactory to our readers, without the voluminous documents and authorities to which they referred, we shall content ourselves with laying before them the result of the whole, collected from the seventeen resolutions which he moved upon that occasion, and which were agreed to by the house. From these it appeared,

That the annual revenues of the company, in the provinces of Bengal and its dependencies, for the year 1787-8, amounted to - 5,182,000

And that the charges defrayed in the said pro-

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vinces in the same year, amounted to - 3,046,000  
Leaving a net revenue of 2,136,000

That the annual revenues of Madras, and its subordinate settlements, for the same year, amounted to - 1,082,000

And that the charges defrayed amounted to 1,347,000  
Leaving a deficiency of 265,000

That the annual revenues of Bombay, and its settlements, for the same year, amounted to - 131,000

And that the charges defrayed amounted to - 475,000  
Leaving a deficiency of 344,000

That the net revenues of all the company's possessions in India amounted to - 1,527,000

That in addition to this, as part of the Indian funds, the import sales and certificates amounted to 321,000l. making in all - 1,848,000

That the total of debts owing to the company in the East Indies, exclusive of the bills drawn on the court of directors at home, amounted to 7,604,000l.; that of this sum 5,776,000l. bore interest, the annual amount of which was - 480,700

Consequently, that the nett revenue applicable to the discharge of this debt, and the purchase of investment, amounted to - - 1,367,300

Upon this statement of the affairs of the company in India, Mr. Francis made several observations.

Amongst

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3,046,000

2,136,000

1,082,000

1,347,000

265,000

131,000

475,000

344,000

1,527,000

1,848,000

480,700

1,367,300

5,182,000



Amongst other omissions of expence, he instanced the interest on the bond debt of Bombay, the commercial establishments in Bengal, and the charge of the four new regiments sent to India. He concluded with remarking, that as long as these facts existed, viz. that the debts abroad were not diminished, and those at home were increasing, the right honourable gentleman's budget could afford no satisfactory proof of the prosperity of the company. Major Scott followed Mr. Francis, and contended that whatever merit was to be derived from the present flourishing condition of the company, was to be ascribed to the wise and vigorous measures that had been adopted during the government of Mr. Hastings.

Soon after, a petition was presented from the company, praying that they might be permitted to add one million to their capital stock. This petition was supported by Mr. Dundas, who affirmed, that upon a supposition of the final extinction of their charter in 1794, their effects in Europe would overbalance their debts by the sum of 350,000l.; and that with respect to their debts in India, they would go along with the territory, and be very readily undertaken by those into whose hands the possession of that territory might come. A bill to enable the company to carry the prayer of their petition into effect was brought in, and carried through both houses with little opposition.

Soon after the opening of the sessions, on the third of February, Mr. Hastings presented a petition to the house of lords, in which, after recapitulating the proceedings which had already been had from the commencement of the impeachment, he

stated the great hardships to which his extraordinary duration had and was likely still further to subject him. Amongst these, he mentioned the decease of several of his judges, the detention of witnesses necessary for his defence, the probability of his being deprived of many of them by various accidents, his health impaired, and his fortune wasted. He reminded them, that two articles only, out of twenty, had as yet been gone through by his accusers, that his expences had already exceeded 30,000l. and consequently, that should his life be continued to the close of the trial, he might find himself destitute of the means of defence, and even of subsistence, and run the dreadful chance of having his character transmitted on their records blasted with unrefuted criminations. He therefore prayed that they would enable him to make his innocence, and he hoped his deserts, apparent, by proceeding without delay upon his trial.

The intervention of the circuits of the judges rendered it impossible for the lords to proceed upon the trial before the 20th day of April, when the court was resumed, and sat, during the remainder of the session, 17 days. The charge brought before them, and opened by Mr. Burke, was that relative to the corrupt receipt of money. In the course of his speech, Mr. Burke had occasion to remark upon the conduct of Mr. Hastings towards one of his accusers in India, called Nundcomar; and after relating other acts of injustice and cruelty, he added that he had, at last, murdered that person, by the hands of sir Elijah Impey — A few days after the charge had been thus opened, major Scott presented a petition from Mr.

Hastings

Hastings to the house of commons, in which he stated that Mr. Burke, in supporting the charges exhibited against him at the bar of the house of lords, had accused him of sundry heinous crimes not laid in the articles of impeachment. He instanced the charge of having been concerned in a plot for assassinating the Shahzada, and in another plot for putting to death the son of Jaffer Ally Khan; of being accessory to certain horrible cruelties alledged to have been committed by one Debi Sing; and lastly, of having been guilty of the murder of Nundcomar. He therefore prayed the house either to bring forward and prosecute those charges in specific articles, and thereby give him an opportunity of vindicating his innocence, or to grant him such other redress as to their justice and wisdom might seem fit.

A motion being made, that the petition should be brought up, Mr. Fox rose to warn the house of the mischievous tendency of receiving such a petition, and of the disgrace they would incur by acting upon it. The subject matter of the complaint consisted of words said to have been used by one of their own members in the prosecution of a charge preferred by themselves. Would they suffer the culprit to come forward, and object to the mode of proceeding against him; the accused to arraign the conduct of his accusers? Would not this have the strongest appearance of prevarication; and that instead of supporting and countenancing their own cause, they were more inclined to cavil as an adverse party at the conduct of their managers? And to whom was the complaint made? Not to the court which heard the offence complained

of, and which was competent to have redressed the complainant at the moment, but to that house, the accuser, for the purpose of making it the instrument of the resentment and malice of the accused against one of their own managers. He reminded the house, that some of the expressions complained of had been uttered above a year before; and he asked, whether they could think it possible, if the managers were to be subject to a perpetual litigation with the accused before that house, whenever he chose to bring forward a complaint, that they could carry on the prosecution at all. He stated the many and peculiar difficulties which the managers of the present impeachment had to encounter, and their strong claim to the fair and liberal protection of the house; and he beseeched them, if they were weary, or repented of what they had done, that they would openly retract their resolutions, and not act the double part of being, at the same time, the accusers and the defenders of Mr. Hastings. He concluded with remarking, that as he could have no doubt that the real drift of this business was to disgust his right honourable friend by a personal insult, so he was confident that the artifice would be vain and fruitless.

Mr. Burke, after declaring that on the present occasion he should receive the decision of the house, whatever it might be, without any other emotion than what he should feel for the honour and reputation of the house itself, proceeded to explain the argument which had led him, in the course of it, to advert to the murder of Nundcomar, and to impute it to Mr. Hastings. The power of prosecuting and enforcing the

the charges against Mr. Hastings, under an injunction not to use one extraneous word, he compared to the giving Shylock the power of taking a pound of flesh, upon condition of his not spilling one drop of blood; a task which neither Jew nor Christian could perform. He added, that if the house was dissatisfied with his conduct, they ought to remove him, and not oblige him, in the midst of his accusation, to turn short about at the pleasure of the culprit to defend himself, to-day an accuser, to-morrow a person accused. The drift of such an artifice was obvious enough; and if the house should give it their countenance, and make him one day stand his trial there, and send him the next to Westminster Hall as the prosecutor of Mr. Hastings, it could not fail to cover them with ridicule and disgrace.

Mr. Pulteney, Mr. Marsham, and several other members, insisted strongly on the glaring impropriety of receiving the petition, of its being totally unprecedented, and grossly disrespectful to the house of lords, whose protection the complainant ought to have sought, and who were alone competent to interfere on the occasion. Mr. Pitt, however, and some other members, having declared themselves for receiving the petition, on the ground that Mr. Hastings, though the object of their accusation, did not cease to be the object of their justice, and therefore ought not to be deprived of the right belonging to every subject, of preferring a petition, and stating a grievance to that house for its consideration and disposal; the motion was agreed to without a division.

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On the Thursday following, a motion, in conformity to the usual practice of the house on similar occasions, was entered on the journals, purporting, "that a petition having been presented by Warren Hastings, Esq. against the managers of his impeachment, and the name of the Right honourable Edmund Burke being mentioned in the said petition, notice is given to that gentleman, now being in his place, that the house will to-morrow take the matter of the said petition into consideration."

On that day Mr. Montague having read, as a part of his speech, a letter written to him by Mr. Burke (see Appendix to the Chronicle) the first difficulty that occurred relative to the mode of proceeding was, whether they should go into proof of the truth or falsehood of the particulars which were complained of by Mr. Hastings as being false as well as irrelevant. The affirmative was contended for by the managers, as the petition contained a charge upon them of having asserted direct falsehoods. But the master of the rolls having given his opinion, that the averment of the falsehood was no more than a protestation or formal plea of not guilty, on the part of the petitioner, and that therefore it was not necessary to go into the proof, the house acquiesced in his opinion.

The next difficulty that occurred, was the mode of ascertaining the words spoken. The names of the short-hand writers, who attended the trial, being contended for by several members, Mr. Fox and Mr. Grey Cooper objected to their being produced, as contrary to the usual practice

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practice of parliament. There did not exist in the proceedings of that house an instance of any words, delivered by a member, being ever permitted by that house to be noticed by any but a member of the house, and that too at the moment when the words were uttered; nay, the custom of parliament observed a still stricter rule, for the words must not only be noticed at the moment by a member of the house, but they must also be taken down at the moment, and the objection must then be stated, for the purpose of allowing to the person uttering the words an opportunity of explaining his meaning; and this the honourable baronet illustrated by instances, where the house had been very careful in seeing that no surprize should ever ensnare into an unintentional offence. They were now, for the first time, about to call in third persons as witnesses of words spoken in their own presence; a precedent that, though innocuous in the present instance, might lead to the most serious consequences.—These objections appeared of so much importance to the house, that a committee was appointed to search for precedents.

May 4. The committee reported, that there were no precedents of any complaint of words spoken by managers in Westminster-hall to be found.—The managers again urged their objections to the examination of any short-hand writer; but the favourers of the petition, insisting upon the duty of the house to govern itself in such cases by what should appear most likely to promote the ends of substantial justice, prevailed; and after a division of 115 to 66, the short-hand writer was called in.

The next question was, whether all the particulars complained of by the petitioner should be enquired into, or whether the house might select what part they pleased. Mr. Pitt and others were of opinion, that the house ought to pay no attention to the words said to have been spoken in the former year, as the complaint had been so long deferred; and they should confine themselves to the words relative to Nundcomar. This was also objected to by the managers, as an arbitrary proceeding, but finally agreed to by the house.

Another debate then took place upon the extent of the examination, as restricted to the case of Nundcomar. The managers contended that the whole of that part of Mr. Burke's speech ought to be produced, as necessary to elucidate the nature of the words complained of; the other side were of opinion, that it was only necessary to ask the witness if Mr. Burke had made use of those express words. After much altercation, in which Mr. Fox complained in strong and pointed terms of the indignity and injustice with which the managers were treated, it was agreed that some part of the speech preceding the words should be read; which being done, and the offensive words ascertained, the marquis of Graham rose, and moved, "that the said words were not authorized by any proceedings of that house." Mr. Fox declared, that he could have no objection to this motion, as it conveyed no censure; it being undoubtedly true, that the words read were not authorized by the house, any more than the speeches or expressions used by any other manager, in substantiating the charges committed

committed to them by the house. On the other side it was said, that though no direct censure was meant to be conveyed, yet it implied, that the manager had exceeded the powers with which he had been entrusted by the house. Upon this several of the managers rose, and entreated the house to deal with them with more openness and candour. If they meant to censure their conduct, they ought also to remove them. The house could not, consistently with its own honour, continue them in the management of the impeachment; nor were they so lost to all sense of honour and dignity, as to remain in a situation, however elevated, under an imputed censure of their conduct. On the other hand, if the motion meant nothing more than the words conveyed, they should feel no hesitation in pursuing, upon any similar occasion, precisely the same mode of conduct.

In consequence of these declarations lord Graham moved, that the words "and ought not to have been used," should be added to his former motion. This produced another long debate in which Mr. Fox endeavoured to prove both the relevancy of Mr. Burke's words, and the impropriety and injustice of the interference of the house; and was answered by Mr. Pitt and col. Phipps. The house at length divided; when there appeared for lord Graham's motion 135, against it 66.

In consequence of this vote some difference of opinion is said to have arisen in the committee of managers, relative to their continuance in that situation.—It was, however, resolved to proceed; and accordingly the next day of trial, Mr.

Burke began his speech by commenting on the relative situations of himself and of the prisoner at the bar, and on the decision of the commons with respect to their proceedings.

It was his duty, he observed, as a manager on the part of the commons, to illustrate and enforce, by every proper means, the guilt of Mr. Hastings. He had, in the pursuit of justice, laboured to the best of his power and judgment; but in consequence of a recent proceeding of those by whom he had been delegated, he was to inform their lordships that certain expressions of his, charging Mr. Hastings with the murder of Nundcomar, through the agency of Sir Elijah Impey, had been disavowed by the commons as unauthorised by them. He did not mean to arraign the justice of this decision—he would not even complain that it wore not the complexion of support to the managers whom they had appointed. The decision went of course to narrow the line of their proceeding, yet should not restrain their efforts to use their remaining powers with the utmost vigour and effect.

But still some explanation was due from him to their lordships, to members of the house of commons, and to so respectable an auditory.—He had undoubtedly charged Mr. Hastings with the destruction of a witness whose evidence was necessary to the present charge; and which the prisoner had, of course, endeavoured to invalidate. In stating this, however, he had said no more than what he really believed, and what, if necessary, he trusted he should be able to prove. He had used the word *murder*, not, perhaps, in the strictly legal, but in its

moral and popular sense, to denote a crime, which stood, according to his conception, on the same line of enormity, but which the poverty of language did not afford him another word to express.

Soon after the conclusion of this business, a complaint was made to the house, by Mr. Marfham, of a paragraph in a public news-paper, in which it was said, "that the trial of Mr. Hastings was to be put off to another sessions, unless the house of lords had spirit enough to put an end to so shameful a business." — After some observations upon the scandalous licentiousness of the press, a motion was made, and carried unanimously, for prosecuting the printer of the paper. In the course of the conversation which this motion gave rise to, Mr. Burke read, from one of the public prints, a curious paper, purporting to be a bill of charges made by the editor upon major Scott, for sundry articles inserted in the paper on his account. They chiefly consisted of speeches, letters, paragraphs composed by him, and amongst the rest was this singular article, "For attack-

ing the veracity of Mr. Burke, 3s. 6d."

A short time before the conclusion of the session, an application had been made by the French government to permit 20,000 sacks of wheat flour to be exported from England, for the relief of the inhabitants of their northern provinces. As the price of corn, at this time, in Great Britain exceeded the exportation price, the matter was necessarily brought into parliament. A committee was appointed to enquire into the case; who reported, that from a comparative view of the prices of wheat flour in France and in England, they were of opinion, that 20,000 sacks of flour ought not to be exported.

On the eleventh day 11th Aug. of August the sessions was prorogued by commission; the lord chancellor acquainted the two houses, that he had his majesty's commands to thank them for the supplies granted, and to assure them of the satisfaction he felt from the situation of affairs abroad, which continued to promise to this country the uninterrupted enjoyment of the blessings of peace.

## C H A P. VII.

*State of the contending armies on the borders of the Danube and the Black Sea. Imperialists. Marshal Haddick, to supply the Emperor's absence, appointed to the command of the grand army. Ottomans in a much worse situation than they had been in the preceding campaign. Fatal consequences of the loss of Oczakow, and the slaughter of their bravest men. Grand Vizir tried at Constantinople, on the double charge, of not providing for the preservation of Oczakow, and of causelessly evacuating the Bannat. Honourably acquitted of both, he returns to the command of the army. Death of Abdul Hamet, the Grand Signior, the greatest misfortune, at that critical period, which could have fallen upon the Turkish empire. Character of that excellent sovereign. Selim, his nephew, soon shews how unworthy he is of being his successor. The wealth of the Grand Vizir, Jusuf Pacha, dooms him to be the first victim to his avarice and cruelty. His destruction followed by that of many others on the same base motives. New Sultan changes all the plans for conducting the war which had been formed by his predecessor and by the late Grand Vizir. Precipitancy, weakness, and rashness, along with rapacity and cruelty, the characteristics of the present reign. Turkish commanders and troops lose all their wonted spirit, hope, and vigour, a misfortune which soon produces the most fatal consequences. Small but severe war carried on between the Russians and Turks through the winter in Moldavia, as well as in the Budziack. Young Tartar prince, son to the Khan, killed in an action near Bender. Humane and honourable conduct of general Kamenskoi, with respect to the body of the prince, and in restoring it to his father. Grateful acknowledgments of the Khan to the Russian general for his generosity and compassion, and the pious consolations with which he endeavours to sooth his own grief. War renewed with great animosity along the frontiers by the Turks and Austrians upon the expiration of the armistice. Empress of Russia exceeds even her usual magnificence in the rewards and honours which she bestows upon the conquerors of Oczakow. Has not yet given up her designs on Egypt, where the Baron de Thorus, late Russian consul at Alexandria, being sent in disguise, and furnished with powers to make great proposals to the Beys to induce them to enter into a treaty, and excite new commotions in the country, the Baron is seized by Ismael Bey, and sent bound, with his credentials and papers, to the Turkish Bascha, who commits him close prisoner to the castle of Grand Cairo. Desperate and ferocious valour displayed by the Bojriacs, fighting entirely on their own account, in defence of their estates, families, and country, against the Austrians. Turkish spirit sinks totally before the Russians. General Dorfelden's victory on the banks of the Sereth; pursues his success, attacks the Turkish strong camp at Galats; forces the camp; seizes the whole as a spoil; and routs, disperses, or destroys the enemy's army. War rages in Transylvania and the Bannat. Marshal Laudobr, with the Austrian army on the side of Croatia, makes preparations for the siege of Turkish Gradisca, where he had been joiled the preceding year.*

*That place, the grand outwork to Belgrade, and hitherto famous for its repeated successful resistance, strangely abandoned upon receiving a bombardment. The Marshal immediately commences his preparations for the siege of Belgrade. Prince of Saxe Cobourg has the fortune of retrieving the honour of the Austrian arms, by obtaining the first victory of any moment which they gained in the course of the war. Totally defeats and ruins an army of 30,000 Turks, under the command of a Serasquier, in the strong fortified camp of Fockzan, in Wallachia. Prince of Anhalt Bernbourg, with a part of Kamenskoï's army, defeats a body of Turks who were going to the relief of Bender, and takes the whole convoy. New Grand Vizir, with a vast army, totally defeated at Martinesti, by the prince of Saxe Cobourg and general Suvwarow, with very inferior forces. Grand Turkish army totally dispersed and ruined. Belgrade besieged and taken by Marshal Laudon, who grants favourable conditions to the garrison and inhabitants. Grand admiral, Hafan Paeba, quits the fleet in the Black Sea, and takes the command of the army in Bessarabia, in the hope of saving Bender; but, forsaken now by his usual good fortune, is totally defeated, after an obstinate battle, by the Prince Potemkin and Repnin, at Tobak. Bender taken after a long siege. Eilogrod and Kyla Nova, likewise taken by the Russians. Austrians no less successful, take Bucharest and other places, until the noble defence made by the garrison of Orjova put a stop to their farther progress.*

**T**HE loss of health and total ruin of his constitution, which were the unhappy effects the Emperor experienced from his unfortunate campaign on the Danube, in the year 1783, produced no remission to the Ottomans on that side, in the succeeding year, from a renewal of those incessant assaults which they had so successfully withstood in the preceding. On the contrary, his generals being freed by that event, from his continual interference in their conduct and designs, and several of them being men of great experience and ability, they now, when left to themselves, acted with such vigour and success, that it seemed difficult to believe they commanded the same troops, who had so lately been repeatedly baffled and disgraced.

The sovereign himself seemed, however, apprehensive, that his absence from the army could not

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easily be supplied with effect, and in his anxiety to procure a proper substitute, thought it necessary to draw forth the old field marshal Haddick from his retirement, as it might be considered, at the head of the war department in Vienna, and to place him at the head of the grand army. This general had undoubtedly great and long experience; perhaps exceeding in that respect any other in Europe. For he had been highly distinguished as an able and most active officer, in the earliest wars of the late empress Maria Theresa. But he had long lain dormant, and his great age seemed a full manumission from all farther active service. The prince de Ligne was appointed second in command under marshal Haddick. The prince of Saxe Cobourg, whose military reputation had risen very high since the commencement of the war, commanded on the side of Moldavia,



via, Wallachia, and the Buckowine, and generally acted in concert with the Russians under general Suwarow and others. The prince of Hohenloe, commanded in Transylvania, where he had nearly a constant small war to maintain on the frontiers. The army expected and intended to be most effective, was that commanded by marshal Laudohn on the side of Croatia, who was assisted by the generals Rouvroi, Mitrowski, and others.

The very bad success of the former campaign, along with the unexampled waste of treasure and of men with which it was accompanied, and a feeling sense of the heavy subsidies which must be provided for its continuance, had, however, served, both at Vienna and in the provinces, effectually to cure the people of all stomach and inclination for the war. The splendid dreams of conquests, glory, and the spoils of ruined and vanquished nations, were now vanished, and the people, instead of thirsting for the wealth or blood of others, would have thought themselves happy indeed if they could preserve their own. Though this temper produced complaints and remonstrances from the provinces, they had no effect upon the court; the emperor's tarnished glory, must by some means, though it were only by deputation, be restored to its lustre, and this could only be done by a successful campaign. In a grand council held at Vienna, soon after the opening of the year 1789, it was accordingly determined to support the war, in all its parts, with the utmost possible vigour; heavy subsidies were of course demanded, and of necessity granted; the thinned ranks of the different armies

were completely filled up; hope, design, and intended action were visible in every department; and it seemed rather the opening of a new war, than the prosecution of an old.

If the situation of the Ottomans was by no means mended in their contest with the Emperor, they stood much worse with respect to their other potent and most determined enemy, than they had done at the commencement of the war. The fatality by which, contrary to all reason and probability, they had lost Oczakow, was irrecoverably ruinous. It seemed, indeed, an irresistible blow of Providence, destined entirely to crush a sinking empire; and to be actually realising those old prophecies, by which they fancy themselves doomed, sooner or later, to become the victims of that northern people. Such a tradition, and an opinion so founded on both sides might produce no small effects, even without the aid of predestination, in nations much less superstitious and more enlightened, than either the Mussulmans or Russians.

By that fatal blow, besides the slaughter of several thousands of their chosen and best troops, and including a large proportion of their bravest and most adventurous officers, and by the loss of Choczim (which could not, however, have been preserved) the Russian armies were now in the heart of their dominions, both on the side of the Black Sea, and in their Daubian provinces. Thus they were to open the campaign under the greatest disadvantages, rather waiting the direction of the enemy in their attacks, than being able to pursue any comprehensive plan of their own

for active service and offensive war. They had likewise lost the flower of their troops in other places besides Oczakow, during the bloody service of the last campaign; and it was perhaps the greatest fault that could be justly imputed to the conduct of the grand vizir, and indeed there could not be a greater, that he had been too prodigal of the lives of his men. Nor could this loss be supplied with effect. The innumerable new levies by which every part of the empire was now indiscriminately drained, being far inferior to those brave men who came forward in the fullness of confidence and enthusiasm to the defence of their country at the opening of the war.

On the other hand, the armies of their combined enemies were now in such positions, as would easily admit of their junction if that should be found necessary, and consequently had a free choice of acting jointly or separately, as the occasion might offer, and advantage point out. Their vicinity likewise excited that emulation between the nations which produces such wonderful effects in war. The Austrian, who felt that the military character, and, as he conceived, honour of his country, had been tarnished in the last year, besides that powerful motive for exertion, was farther, and it might be said irresistibly impelled by the consideration, that he was acting immediately under the eye of the victorious and insulting Russian, whose constant triumphs led him to hold the enemy cheap, and to regard those with contempt who were less successful than himself.

We have shewn in our last volume, the clamour that was raised at Constantinople against the grand

vizir, on account of his conduct in abandoning the Bannat. A violent faction was likewise formed against him in the divan, which supported, and probably encouraged the intemperance of the populace. This might have been, perhaps, withstood without much difficulty, but the loss of Oczakow blew up a flame which it seemed scarcely possible to extinguish. Nothing could exceed the rage of the people upon receiving the account of that misfortune. All the blame was laid upon the unfortunate general; it was in vain to shew that he had provided amply and excellently for the defence of the place, and that no wisdom or care could guard against accident, or prevent misfortune. All argument and reason was lost, and an ignorant and barbarous rabble thirsting for blood, thought that nothing could tend so much to the preservation of the empire, as the making a sacrifice of the only man who had shewn himself capable of retrieving its fortune.

It seemed so far fortunate for the grand vizir, that he had not arrived at the capital, at the time the news was received of the loss of Oczakow. In that case, nothing could have saved him from the fury of the multitude. The Grand Signior was almost his only friend, and almost the only person who would acknowledge a due sense of his merit, abilities, and service; but in these points he was inflexible, and neither violence without, nor cabals in the council, could bend him to the sacrifice of his minister and general. It, however, required not only all the sovereign's authority, but no small portion of management and address to save him; at least without exasperating the people in

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too dangerous a degree. On the grand vizir's return to the capital, he was arrested at some distance, and brought prisoner under a very strong guard to Constantinople. As every body now considered him already as a dead man, it served much to allay the rage of the people, as the time spent in the forms and delays of a trial (which was publicly announced, and conducted with great parade) contributed still farther to dull the edge of their fury. The novelty of a trial, under a government where state punishments are almost always summary and arbitrary, could not but greatly attract the public attention, and divert it from other matters. The result was, the honourable acquittal of the grand vizir from the two capital charges, of his having causelessly evacuated the Bannat, and of having, through neglect or ill-conduct, been the cause of the loss of Oczakow. The Captain Basha is said to have had a great share in the management of this affair; and the grand vizir being now freed from apparent danger, was glad to depart from an ungrateful capital, and, trusting to his fortune, and to the friendship and firmness of his royal master, resumed the command of the army (where he was adored) and made every preparation for supporting the war with vigour and firmness.

But the Ottoman empire was now to experience a domestic misfortune, more fatal, perhaps, than any it could have received from without, and which seemed destined in its consequences to obscure, if not to sink the Crescent for ever. This was the loss of its excellent sovereign, Abdul Hamet, who being taken suddenly ill in the street, dropped down, and, notwithstanding

the aid of medicine, expired early the following morning. His disorder seems to have been a kind of apoplexy, though his death, as is customary in such circumstances, with respect to princes, was attributed to poison. He was immediately succeeded by his nephew Selim, who, with the greatest integrity and honour, he had most carefully bred up and educated for that purpose, in prejudice to his own issue, but in a pious conformity with the last request of his dying brother and predecessor.

Abdul Hamet had departed entirely from that intolerable haughtiness and arrogance, those unjust and cruel maxims of policy, and that stern ferocious disposition, which had rendered so many of his predecessors the objects of dread and abhorrence to mankind. Humanity, benevolence, and justice, were the leading traits of his character; and he seemed a new graft upon the Ottoman stock. He had received his education in the seraglio at Scutari, near the capital, where, besides the learning common to his country and religion, in the Turkish, Arabic, and Greek, he had been early initiated in the sciences and languages of several of the countries of Christendom; he spoke the Italian, Spanish, and French languages with tolerable fluency, but read and understood them all perfectly. This facility of conversation, undoubtedly contributed to render him so fond as he was of the company of intelligent Europeans; a gratification which seemed to form one of his most pleasing amusements. He read much, but gave a decided preference to history and politics, beyond all other studies. Though scrupulously

lously exact in his observance of all the Mussulman religious rites and duties, yet he was suspected of being a Freethinker; which perhaps proceeded from his never having been known to condemn, or to treat with ridicule or contempt, the religious rites or opinions of any of the various sects, whether Christian or other, which were spread through the wide circuit of his dominions. On the contrary, he appeared the common father of them all, not only protecting them, as far as his intelligence could reach, from the oppression of the Turks, but becoming himself occasionally the composer of their religious feuds, and the mild restrainer of their violence.

With respect to government, he saw perfectly, and deeply lamented, the incorrigible vices and abuses which prevailed in every part of the empire, and which were so closely entwined in the constitution itself, as not to afford a hope of his being able to eradicate, or even to reform them in any effectual degree. He abhorred the Janizaries, as an ill-governed, turbulent, and most dangerous body. Their entire dissolution, and the establishment of the military force of the empire upon European principles, were the great objects of his wishes through the course of his reign; and if it had not been his ill-fortune to have lived in *'evil days,'* and in a bad neighbourhood, he might possibly have gone greater lengths towards their attainment than may be now easily imagined. He was fond of peace, because it suited his views, in training his subjects to the pursuit of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, as the means to render them rich and happy, and to which he

gave them every encouragement. But he sufficiently shewed that he was not afraid of war, when necessity required that fatal decision.

We have the testimony of the celebrated count de Vergennes, late prime minister of France, and formerly ambassador at the Porte (who can be considered as no incompetent judge) that Abdal Hamet was one of the finest gentlemen he had ever seen. Europeans were astonished when they heard him discourse with intimate knowledge, of the state of the arts, of the amusements, and of the parties in their respective countries; when they heard him talk like a connoisseur of the music, operas, and paintings of Italy, of the French and English theatres, and still more, when he stated the political views and interests of the greater nations, and talked familiarly of the French intrigues in England and Holland, and of the factions which they formed or nursed in those countries. His favourite and happiest parties were formed with the Christian ministers at the Porte; and of these, the marquis de Choiseul Gouffier, and sir Robert Ainslie, the French and English ambassadors, seemed to hold the first place in favour. In these private parties, all assumption of state and dignity was laid aside; a perfect equality appeared, and the most unreserved freedom of conversation took place. He was fond of wine, and was said, upon these occasions, sometimes to indulge it to excess. It was in these moments of hilarity that he laughingly said, "if he were to become an infidel, he should assuredly embrace the Roman Catholic communion, for that all the best European wines grew in their countries; and indeed, that he had never heard of  
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“ a good Protestant wine.”—Upon the whole, Abdul Hamet, the morning before his death, might have been safely classed among the best sovereigns then existing.

His successor Selim, of whom great hopes seemed to have been formed, as if destined to restore the fortune and greatness of the empire, soon shewed himself equally unworthy of the education which he received, and of the inviolable integrity which his uncle had displayed in his favour. The opening of his reign was sullied by avarice and rapacity, and his throne deeply stained by cruelty and blood. The wealth of the grand vizir Jussuf Pacha, which was estimated at about a million sterling, pointed him out as one of the first objects for the gratification of these fordid and inhuman passions. Instead of accepting his wealth as the price of his life, his blood was doomed to be sacrificed to his treasure.

This great minister and general was seized at the head of the grand army at Ruschiouk, and being conveyed prisoner to Constantinople, was sentenced to banishment, and to the forfeiture of his treasures; but this punishment being, upon reflection, thought too mild, he was murdered on the way to the place of his exile, and his head being brought back in triumph, was hung up to ornament the gates or walls of the seraglio. Confiscations and executions were now become fashionable, and their terror was lessened by their frequency; while distance or obscurity could only afford protection against the rapacity and cruelty of the new sultan. The violent spirit of caprice and innovation with which he was possessed, was still perhaps more ruinous to the empire,

than even this vile system of government. He seemed acting the part of Rehoboam. Every thing his uncle or the late grand vizir had done or established, was altered or overthrown, and, excepting the captain pacha, or grand admiral, every man was dispossessed of his office who was qualified to hold it.

The consequences might have been easily foretold, for they could scarcely have been other than what they actually were. Fortune totally abandoned the Turkish standard. The troops lost their accustomed confidence and valour, and, along with zeal and hope, the spirit of enterprise had fled from the commanders. It accordingly fell out, that, from the time the causes which produced this fatal change had taken full effect, dismay, defeat, disgrace, and ruin, were the constant concomitants of the Ottoman armies; until, through a long series of losses and miscarriages, and a continual failure of all their hopes and designs, the empire was reduced to so abject and deplorable a state, as to owe its existence, in any form, to the intervention of those European powers, who were interested in preventing its total downfall.

The basha of Widin was appointed grand vizir, and only served in that station to shew, how totally unqualified he was to supply the place of his illustrious though unfortunate predecessor, and the egregious want of wisdom that operated in the change. The whole scheme of the campaign, as it had been formed by the late sovereign and his general, was now, like every thing else, entirely changed; and in particular, it was designed, upon the new system, to conduct the war offensively  
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against Russia, and defensively with the emperor.

In despite of the severity of the season, some small but severe actions had taken place in the course of the winter in Moldavia, between the Russians and Turks, where though the former were generally successful, the latter by no means shewed any lack of that vigour and resolution which they had displayed in the preceding campaign. A petty war of the same nature was carried on in the Budziack, and the borders of Bender, between the Russians and Tartars. In one of these actions, the death of the young Tartar sultan, eldest son of the khan, who lay on the field covered by a heap of his friends, who perished bravely in his defence, and in endeavouring to save his body from insult, afforded an opportunity to general Kamenskoi, to distinguish himself by an act of humanity which did him more honour than the victory.

He had the body carefully sought out, and all those relics which could serve to confirm its identity recovered, from the rapacity of the soldiers, and sent by a deputation of the neighbouring Greek priests to the unhappy father, accompanied with a letter of condolence, tenderly commiserating his situation, declaring the deepness of his own regret for the misfortune, and lamenting the calamities of war, with that fatal necessity, which thus compelled brave men to be the destroyers of each other. The khan's letter of acknowledgment in answer, may be considered as a model in miniature, of natural, pathetic, and unaffected eloquence. The tender but dignified sensations of gratitude in which he acknowledges his obligation to the Russian general, the re-

ligious piety and philosophy, with which, though evidently struck to the heart, he endeavoured to console his grief, by a due submission to the will of Heaven, and a reflection on the uncertainty of human condition, as well as on the fatal events of war, render it truly affecting, and pleasingly melancholy. It may be thought remarkable, that the Tartar prince seeks no relief in the usual Greek and Roman consolation, that his son had died bravely: it seems as if that circumstance was too much a matter of course, either to excite observation, or to afford solace; we see the man and the father naked and confessed, without the assumption of an unnatural firmness, or the artificial disguise of vanity.

Upon the expiration of the armistice between the Austrians and the Turks, a petty, but severe and destructive war, was commenced, and conducted with great animosity on both sides, all along the frontiers, both on the side of Transylvania and of the Danube. In all these quarters the Turks shewed great vigour at the opening of the campaign.

The empress of Russia, fully sensible of the value of those great events which hung upon the taking of Oczakow, exceeded even her own usual magnificence in the rewards which she bestowed upon the fortunate conquerors. Prince Potemkin, besides a letter of thanks, and the honour of having medals struck to eternize his glory, received a staff of command, entwined with laurel, richly ornamented with diamonds, and a present in money of a hundred thousand roubles. The generals, prince Repnin and Suwarow, received magnificent gold-hilted swords,

swords, richly set with diamonds, and the latter a gorgeous plume of brilliants to wear in his hat. Estates, lots of peasants, and sums of money, were distributed to the other commanders; gold-hilted swords were showered upon the other officers down to the rank of lieutenant colonel and major; the widow of an artillery colonel, who was slain in the attack, was, with her children, consoled by a good estate; promotion was extended to officers of a lower order, and even the non-commissioned subalterns, and common soldiers who were concerned in that affair, were ornamented with silver medals.

Neither the disappointment which the empress had experienced in the preceding year, in not being able to send a fleet to the Mediterranean, nor even the probable continuance of the war with Sweden, had been sufficient to induce that great and enterprising woman entirely to relinquish her designs upon Egypt. The baron de Thorus, formerly Russian consul at Alexandria, who had been deeply engaged in the rebellion of the turbulent Beys, and in the desolation which consequently overspread that rich and fertile country, before the expedition of the grand admiral had reduced them to some degree of reason and order, was, in the latter part of the preceding year, sent secretly thither again, in order to excite new commotions. For this purpose he was furnished with ample powers for concluding a permanent treaty with the two most powerful and ruling Beys; insuring to them the sovereignty of the country in perpetuity, upon condition that they entirely threw off the Ottoman yoke, and placed themselves under the protection of the empress, whose

fleets and armies would be ready effectually to support them.

The baron, thus provided, having landed secretly at Alexandria, and proceeded with the same caution up the Nile, presented himself to his old acquaintance, Ismael Bey, in his camp, for he was one of the great Beys to whom his commission was directed, and commanded the army in Lower Egypt. But this man, most unfortunately for the baron, had totally changed his political principles, or at least his disposition with respect to the Russians; he accordingly sent the envoy bound, with his credentials and papers, under a strong guard to the Turkish basha at Grand Cairo, who committed him to a close imprisonment in that castle. We are not acquainted with the subsequent fate of the baron.

While fortune seemed yet wavering in the small frontier war between the Austrians and Turks, and that the Bosniacs (appertaining to the latter, but fighting for themselves) displayed acts of the most desperate and ferocious valour, the Russians carried every thing before them in Moldavia; the Ottoman genius and courage seeming to sink to entirely in the face of that enemy, that their troops did not seem to bear the same character with those who were otherwise engaged. Habitual ill success, predestinarian principles, superstition, and the terror excited by the slaughter at Ocza-kow, struck officers and men with such a panic, that they expected nothing but defeat, and were already beaten in idea, before a blow was given. While causes in every thing directly opposite, operating with no less force on the other side, the Russian advanced  
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upon his enemy in all the pride and security of assured triumph and easy victory.

In the last days of April, general Dorfelden gained a considerable victory over a body of Turks on the banks of the river Sereth, where several hundreds were killed, many driven into the river and drowned, and along with the loss of their artillery, the *basha* who commanded, with several of his principal officers, and a number of soldiers, were made prisoners. The principal Turkish force in the province was posted in a strongly fortified camp near *Gaiats*, and this success encouraged Dorfelden to march incontinently to their attack. On the first of May, after an action of three hours, the camp was stormed in different quarters, and nothing but rout, terror, and slaughter ensued. About 1,500 Turks were killed; a *basha* of three *taïls* who commanded, with several inferior *basha's*, an unusual number of officers, and above a thousand soldiers, had the fortune to escape the sabre, and to become prisoners. The camp, with its artillery, magazines, stores, trophies, and whatever else it contained, became a prey to the victors.

The war raged on the borders of Transylvania, between the Turks and Austrians, through the month of April, the climate there admitting of early service; the latter were satisfied to act on the defensive in that quarter, where their posts and passes in the mountains were too strong to admit of the enemy making any great progress. The Turks had an eye still upon the *Bannat*, into which they made an irruption pretty early in the season, which was deemed so serious, that we find marshal Haddick with the grand

army encamped at *Weiskirchen* towards the middle of the summer. Nothing of consequence was, however, done on either side in that province; and it had been so entirely ruined in the preceding year, that it could not suffer much in the present.

In the mean time marshal Laudohn, with the executive army, was on the side of Croatia, making the necessary preparations for the siege of Turkish *Gradiſca*, which had so manfully and repeatedly withstood the Austrian attacks in the past year, and was now expected to make a very vigorous, if not long defence. Having brought forward a prodigious artillery, both of mortars and battering cannon, and without waiting to break ground or to inclose the fortrefs, he commenced his operations with a most violent cannonade and bombardment. This, however, which could only have been done with a view to dispirit the garrison and to shatter the houses, produced an effect which the marshal had little reason to expect; for on the morning of the second day's bombardment, the Turks evacuated the fortrefs, on the side that was open towards the mountains, and marched off bag and baggage in good order, without interruption, the conquerors seeming too well satisfied with their cheap success, to attempt disturbing their retreat.

It is difficult to determine the motive, or to account for the principle, which could have induced the new grand vizir, or whoever conducted the war under him in that quarter, to have given up this fortrefs so easily. Besides its strength, the garrison had been trained up in  
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a successful course of defence, and were in the habit of baffling their enemy. Laudohn himself, notwithstanding the rapid success of his arms in taking other places, had been foiled before this in the preceding year, the winter having obliged him to abandon it after a siege of considerable length. But it was otherwise a place of the utmost importance. For it might be considered as the great and principal outwork of Belgrade; it being the only fortress now left, which could have rendered the siege of that place difficult, if not impracticable; and the whole time spent before the former would have been so much gained to the security of the latter; for if the siege of Belgrade had been procrastinated to a certain season, the rivers would have fought in defence of the town upon the approach of winter. This was so well understood by marshal Laudohn, that as soon as he had taken possession of Gradisca (by the Turks called Berbir) he immediately commenced, with the utmost assiduity, his preparations for the siege of Belgrade.

The prince of Saxe Cobourg had the fortune of retrieving the honour of the Austrian arms, by obtaining the first victory of any moment which they had gained in the course of the present war. A Turkish serafquier at the head of an army of 30,000 men being encamped near Focksan in Wallachia, which town he had fortified, and formed great magazines in it, the prince of Cobourg, with a much inferior force, attacked him in his camp, and gained a most complete victory. The serafquier himself, with a number of his principal officers, were taken prisoners, above 5,000 of his

men killed or taken, the whole army dispersed and ruined, while the artillery and spoils of the camp, with the town of Focksan, and all its magazines, fell into the hands of the victors. It was so now a spectacle at Vienna to behold any marks of success or triumph arising from this hitherto unfortunate war, that the arrival of the express upon this occasion, preceded by a number of horns, and displaying a few of the most portable trophies of victory, diffused an excess of joy beyond all description among the inhabitants; and if the unfortunate emperor's state of health had not been too deplorable to admit relief, it is not to be doubted, but this, along with the succeeding fortunate events which were soon to take place, might have contributed much to his recovery.

The grand vizir, who, among his other vain-glorious assumptions, had boldly pledged himself for the recovery of Oczakow, made many preparations and movements which indicated a design of endeavouring to fulfil his promise; but a dreadful scarcity of provisions which sorely distressed his army, along with the watchful eye of the Russians upon all his motions, and above all, the torrent of ill fortune which now began to overwhelm him from every quarter, not only erased all traces of that design, but soon convinced him, that even the preservation of Bender was not within the compass of his power or fortune.

We have already seen that general Kamenskoi, who commanded the Russian forces in Bessarabia, had posted them in such a manner through the winter, as, without forming a regular blockade, greatly to incommodate the garrison of Bender, by cutting

cutting off their communications and intercepting their supplies. This being not only continued, but the evil augmented in the fine weather of summer, the garrison was reduced to great distress, and its relief became a matter of necessity. The prince of Anhalt Bernbourg, who had gained great renown at the taking of Oczakow, and now commanded a detachment of Kamenskoi's army, derived an opportunity, from this state of things, of adding new laurels to the former. He had the fortune, near Caufchan, on the Niefter, to fall in with a serafquier, at the head of seven or eight thousand spahis, or Turkish cavalry, who were conducting relief to the garrison of Bender. Though the prince was inferior in force, he instantly attacked the Turks, and seems to have had no great difficulty in totally routing and dispersing them, their convoy, and every thing they possessed, falling into his hands, and the serafquier himself being made prisoner.

But defeats were now to become so common with the Ottomans, as to afford no matter of surprise either to themselves or others. As none of the contending parties are in the habit of giving any precise detail of their military movements or transactions, we can only acquire a knowledge of events of some notoriety as they occurred, without any information as to the previous steps, causes, or motives which led to them. Thus, in the present instance, we find the grand vizir, not long after the battle of Fockfan, with his whole army, in the heart of Wallachia, without any account how or where he passed the Danube.

In whatever manner he entered that province, this enterprize proved

fatal to his army, and nearly so to the Ottoman empire. The combined forces of Austria and Russia, under the prince of Cobourg and general Suwarow, estimated only at about 30,000 men, had the hardihood to attack the grand Turkish army, said Sept. 22d. to consist of between ninety and a hundred thousand, near Martineffi, where they gained, with little difficulty or loss, one of the most signal and extraordinary victories known in modern times. We have no particulars of the mode of attack, of the nature of the ground, nor any of the circumstances that led to this cheap victory. Nothing is related but the rout, slaughter, pursuit and dispersion of the grand Turkish army, as if these had been matters of course, and the inevitable consequences of their meeting.

Above 5,000 Turks were killed on the spot, and about 2,000 in the pursuit; and nothing but the blunted swords, the wearied arms, and the tired horses of the pursuers, could have checked the slaughter. Few or no prisoners were made, the rage and indignation of the Turks being excited in such a degree by the shamefulness of their defeat, (which, as usual, they attributed entirely to their general) that they disdained to accept of quarter. The whole camp as it stood, including the grand vizir's tents and equipage, became a prey to the victors. 300 camels, 400 oxen, 5,000 loaded waggon, 8,000 tents, 6 mortars, 17 pieces of heavy cannon, 64 field pieces, near 100 standards, with a prodigious quantity of ammunition and stores, were among the spoils and trophies of victory. A few hundred men in killed and wounded, was the whole loss of the victors.

The

The fugitives having crossed the little river Rimini, continued their flight, without intermission, towards the borders of the Danube, which they passed as they could, with the utmost precipitation, rending the air with exclamations and curses against their general. The grand vizir had the ill fortune to escape; he was destined, besides the loss of his head, which at the end of the campaign was the close of his military career, deservedly to endure the taunts, scoffs, and reproaches of the populace, which he incurred by his stupid arrogance and blind contempt of his warlike enemies, in causing an immense quantity of iron chains to be made, when he took the command of the army, in order to manacle the legions of Austrian and Russian prisoners, who he vainly expected to drive before him to Constantinople as monuments of his triumph. He was evidently a headstrong, ignorant man, destitute of every quality necessary for a general, excepting those merely of enterprize and courage; and it seemed as if nothing less than the ill fortune incident to a falling empire, could have induced the choice of such a supporter for the tottering fabric.

This great and splendid victory raised the prince of Saxe-Cobourg nearly to the pinnacle of military renown, and the emperor, along with other marks of his favour and gratitude, promoted him immediately to the rank of field-marshal. The empress of Russia likewise considered this victory of such great importance with respect to her views upon Bender, that, along with great compliment and praise, she, in her usual magnificence, presented the prince with a magnificent gold snuff-box, so richly ornamented with dia-

monds, as to be valued at 16,000 roubles.

We have before seen that marshal Laudon had early commenced his preparations for the siege of Belgrade, and these were carried to an extent, and occasioned a waste of time, which, if we may be allowed to form any opinion from the event, neither the magnitude nor difficulty of the service rendered necessary. In particular, a fleet of armed vessels was formed on the Danube for that purpose, which was, indeed, practised in former sieges; but in those days the enemy had an equal force on the river; so that the naval contests on the Danube emulated those of other nations on the ocean. But in the present instance, it does not appear that the Turks had any force whatever on the river. Custom and precedent are, however, matters of consideration in all German transactions, and a general being under the controul, in a considerable degree, of the council of war at Vienna, finds it necessary to comply with established forms, even where they militate with his own opinion.

On the 10th of September, the several divisions of Laudon's army united, without opposition, at the heights of Bodina, near Belgrade, where they encamped, having a full command of the old lines of circumvallation constructed by prince Eugene, in the celebrated siege of 1717: a circumstance which could not but greatly facilitate their operations; as these lines, from whatever cause or negligence it proceeded, had in no degree been sufficiently eroded.

We do not find that the besiegers met with any great interruption from the garrison in their approaches, so that the trenches were steadily

opened, and batteries constructed on the side of the heights, where marshal Laudohn commanded, against the upper town, and by the prince de Ligne, on the borders of the Saave, opposite to Semlin, against the lower. The fatal defeat which the Turks received at Martinefi, on the 22d, could not but produce its effect on the spirit and hope both of the besieged and besiegers. It was possibly a sense of its operation which induced M. Laudohn, after a terrible cannonade and bombardment, to assault at the same time, early on the morning of the last day of the month, all the suburbs and outworks of the place, which were all carried sword in hand.

The body of the place being thus left naked, and all relief hopeless, it could not be expected to hold out long, and the Turkish governor Oct. 8. accordingly, in about a week, listened to a capitulation. By this time the Austrians had nearly filled up the ditch with fascines, had chased the besieged out of the covered way, had advanced their batteries within 150 yards of the body of the place, had destroyed the best houses in the town, and among the rest the governor's palace, by their shells and red-hot balls; to complete the impossibility of farther defence, their prodigious artillery, with the weight and nearness of their unintermitting fire, had dismantled most of the cannon upon the works, at the same time that they had mines ready to spring under two principal bastions and a ravelin, which would have laid the place entirely open.

In this state of things Osman Pacha, the governor, requested an armistice for 16 days; a compliance, with which it was not possible he could have seriously expected. This be-

ing peremptorily refused, and only a few hours allowed for drawing up and signing the capitulation, the governor was obliged to submit to the necessity of his situation. Laudohn, upon this occasion, as upon all others, acted the part of a soldier and a man of honour. Satisfied with the important and great conquest he had made, and the glory he acquired, he disdained to oppress the unfortunate, or to trample upon the fallen. This was the more praiseworthy, as the obstinacy with which the governor rejected all his proposals, even after the outworks and suburbs were taken, would, in the opinion of other commanders, have warranted no small severity of treatment. Yet, notwithstanding, he was satisfied with giving the governor a gentle rebuke for his contumacy, at the same time that he granted the most favourable and honourable conditions. The garrison and inhabitants were secured in all their property and effects of every sort; and even the merchants, who had stocks of provisions on their hands, were allowed to sell them at the best price they could get; and, to prevent all imposition and fraud, the marshal himself desired, that four Turkish commissaries should be left behind to manage the sales. The garrison, with their women, families and effects, were to be conveyed, in the best manner, by water to Orsova, under the care of an Austrian escort, for whose good conduct and behaviour the marshal rendered himself answerable. The inhabitants, of all religions, with their effects, were to be conveyed in the same manner; and full security was granted to all, for any property which they had not time or opportunity to dispose of before their departure. There was a special

a special article, that the Jews and Christians of Servia should be treated with every degree of indulgence in their conveyance. It is singular, that the usual honours of war are not mentioned on either side.—About 300 pieces of heavy artillery, with an immense quantity of stores and ammunition, were found in the place.

It seemed as if the emperor, who considered himself as so little a favourite of fortune in the fore part of his life, that he once, in a fit of vexation, recommended the following inscription as the proper one for his monument: “Here lies ———, who never succeeded in any of his undertakings,” was now destined, near its close, to be overwhelmed with her favours. He had scarcely time to ruminate upon and enjoy the glad tidings of the great victory at Martinesti, when general Klebeck, in the habit of a courier, and preceded by 24 positions sounding their horns, arrived with the more interesting and important news of the taking of Belgrade. The sick and exhausted monarch quitted his bed to receive the joyful news. The former ill success, had prepared the people for the most extravagant joy on this extraordinary reverse of fortune. All the evils of the war, and all the distresses of the people through taxation and military conscription, were at once forgotten, and the rejoicings now at Vienna had not probably been exceeded, since the famous John Sobieski had saved that capital from the Turks in the year 1683. The emperor sent his own diamond star, of the order of Maria Theresa, to marshal Laudohn; an honour the more distinguished, as he had hitherto admitted of no companions, excepting

the princes of his own family, in that order.

Even the emperor's health seemed to derive some benefit from the present tide of good fortune; though his constitution was too far gone to admit of a permanent restoration. The evil habit of his body had added to his primary disorders, of a pulmonary consumption, with a slow fever, which terminated finally in a hectic, that most painful cause of complaint, a fistula; for which he had been obliged to undergo, besides an excessive loss of blood, more than one manual operation. He appeared now, however, to approach so far towards a recovery, that he dismissed, with the most liberal and princely rewards, an eminent physician, and a surgeon of the same rank, who it had been thought necessary to call in to the assistance of his usual medical attendants. It happened unfortunately, that this gleam of hope was transient and illusive.

It was about the time that Belgrade was taken, that the grand admiral, Haffin Pacha, thinking, perhaps, that the singular good fortune which had attended him through life might still continue, and enable him to resist that torrent of ruin which was overwhelming the empire, thought fitting to quit the command of the fleet in the Black Sea, (where some indecisive actions only had taken place during the present season) and to endeavour to save Bender, by taking the command of the army in Bessarabia, and committing every thing to the dangerous decision of a battle with the grand Russian army, under the princes Potemkin and Repnin, trained up, as it was, in a constant course of conquest and victory.

The hostile armies met at Tobak  
[M] 2 in

in Bessarabia, not far from Bender, where the Turks seemed, under the auspices of Hasian Bey, to have recovered their former confidence and courage. But the grand admiral's fortune was now to desert him; and, after a hard fought battle, for several hours obstinately maintained, his army was totally defeated, with the loss of several thousand men, and of the greater part, if not the whole, of their artillery. We have had various opportunities of seeing, that one of the most fatal as well as the most common consequences of the Turkish deficiency in discipline and tactics is, that they are incapable of drawing an army off from a field in the face of the enemy, or of conducting a retreat properly; so that their battles admitting of no medium, absolute victory or total defeat are the only alternatives. This battle decided the fate of Bender; before which prince Potemkin immediately sat down; but notwithstanding the long distress it had already undergone, it was not surrendered until the middle of November.

Every thing now, either fell before or fled from the arms of the combined powers, and it seemed as if nothing less than the winter could have prevented the subversion of the Ottoman empire, at least in Europe; its existence afterwards must have been short indeed! The Turks were now so sunk and dispirited, that they could no longer bear the sight of their enemy, and any small Austrian or Russian detachment was sufficient to disperse any number of those that attempted to form a body. The Asiatics, struck with horror at the idea of being compelled to endure an European winter, could not be retained any longer, by treaty or force,

but marched off, without leave or notice, in great bodies to the Hellespont. And while the Porte was thus overborne on the side of Europe, her ancient and implacable enemies, the Persians, hoping to profit by her present distress, seemed for a time to forget those mutual animosities which seemed incurable, and began to direct those swords, which had for so many years been drenched in civil blood, against her eastern frontiers. To render her situation still more deplorable, and even hopeless, anarchy and insurrection prevailed in several of the best provinces of the empire.

The Russians pursued their conquests to the Black Sea, where the strong port town of Bialogrod, more generally known of late years by the Turkish name of Ackirman, situated at the mouth of the Niefter, fell without much difficulty into their hands; such being the present state of hopelessness and disorder, that the garrison was not competent to its defence. Kyliia Nova, another fortress, lying on the northern mouth of the Danube, and which in better times would have been deemed a conquest of difficulty, became now likewise an easy prey.

The Austrians were likewise carrying every thing before them; Bucharest, the capital of Wallachia, the strong fortress of Czernitz, with the greatest part of that fine province, notwithstanding the unconquerable spirit and indefatigable exertions of prince Maurojeni, (who of all their christian subjects was distinguished for never swerving from his faith and loyalty to the Ottomans) fell incontinently into their hands. On the side of Servia they were no less successful; having taken Cladova, the places of less strength

strength and consequence surrendered without opposition, and they over-run the province to the walls of Orsova. There, however, their progress was stayed, by the virtue and unexpected firmness of the garrison; who, at a time when all hearts were sunk in dismay and terror under the present torrent of misfortune, boldly rose to oppose the danger, and, disdainful to listen to any terms of accommodation, prepared for the most obstinate defence.

The siege of Orsova was commenced with all the expedition, and the operations conducted with all the vigour, which a sense of the lateness of the season, and strong resentment for the confident presumption of the garrison, could possibly induce. A terrible bombardment, with showers of red-hot balls, and all the other modern methods of accelerating the destruction of fortresses, were accordingly resorted to with unceasing violence. But the minds of the besieged were not easily subdued; and they covered and maintained their works with such desperate valour, that the impression made on them bore no proportion to the fury with which they were assaulted. By this means the progress of the Austrians was protracted, until the severity of the winter, operating as a powerful auxiliary, compelled them to raise the siege; and thereby afforded that meed of honour to the garrison which their unequalled bravery so highly merited. This disappointment was the more felt, as it was well known in the army, that the emperor set his mind particularly upon the taking of Orsova, and could not at all regard the success of the campaign,

great as it was, complete without.

It is but justice to Selim (whose conduct upon his accession we reprehended with not more severity than justice) to acknowledge, that he bore this unexampled torrent of ill fortune with the greatest constancy and firmness, and that, instead of sinking in despondency, or of persevering in a vain reliance on his native powers, he had judgment enough to perceive that they were totally incapable of preserving the empire, and spirit enough to seek for other resources wherever they could be found. With this view he resumed the policy of his uncle, and looked to Europe as the only quarter which could afford a counterpoise to the exorbitant power and ambition of the two domineering empires. Sweden had already done all that she could, and more than she could bear; but the disproportion of force was so vast, that while she ruined herself in the attempt, the effect which it produced in the operations of Russia against the Porte were scarcely perceptible. Other alliances were then to be sought, and, as France was now out of the question, the king of Prussia, and the maritime powers, were the only object of hope; and indeed the only European states who were capable of interfering with effect in checking the progress of the combined empires. He accordingly laid himself out with the greatest assiduity to cultivate the friendship of these three powers, and to enter into the closest possible alliance and connection with them; thus resting his hope of preventing the downfall of the Crescent, and the overthrow of Mahometanism, upon christian assistance, instead of the aid of his prophet.

*Difficult and embarrassed state of the king of Sweden's affairs at the close of the year 1788, notwithstanding the armistice with the Danes, and the retreat of their army out of the kingdom. Situations in which the most daring and hazardous measures become prudent and necessary acts. Gustavus heroically determines to overcome his difficulties, and thereby retrieve his affairs, or to perish in the encounter. Fortunately, notwithstanding some interweaving jealousies, the three lower classes of the people still continued much attached to him. Incurable animosity of the equestrian order. Diet summoned to meet at Stockholm. King calls a meeting of the magistrates, accompanied by fifty of the most ancient and respectable citizens of that capital, to whom, as to a grand council of state, he communicates in a most eloquent speech, the wretched state of his affairs; shows how his inveterate foreign enemy had, by insidiously practising upon his own disaffected subjects, rendered them the instruments of frustrating all the well-laid designs, and blasting all the fair hopes of the preceding campaign. Assembly encourage the king to the prosecution of the war, and engage to support him with their lives and fortunes against all his enemies. Diet meets. Equestrian order soon show their indisposition to stand upon good terms with the king. They first cavilled about the body of free Dalecarlians, which had joined the king with so much zeal in the preceding season of danger, being garrisoned in Stockholm. This the nobles resented with much ill-humour, on the double account of its being an infraction of the freedom of the diet, and of its being a direct affront to their order, from its implying a suspicion of their loyalty and honour. But being totally unsupported by the other orders, their ill-humour on this ground comes to nothing. The king having appointed count Lowenhaupt to be marshal of the diet, the nobility, on that account, insult him so grossly, that he absents himself from discharging the duties of his station under such public dishonour. The king, finding himself secure in the attachment of the three other orders, goes to the diet to demand reparation for the insult offered to himself through the marshal. High words and very harsh language between the king and the nobles, until he throws out a charge of disaffection and treason, without naming particular persons, when they all quit the assembly in a body. King makes a speech to the remaining states, which is received with satisfaction. Three days after, their houses being suddenly surrounded by detachments of the guards and of the armed burghers of Stockholm, 25 of the principal nobility of the kingdom are seized, and sent prisoners to the castle of Fredericshoff. Mutinous commanders and officers in Finland already arrested, and on their way, as prisoners, to Stockholm, to be tried for their lives. Ordered to prepare for their trials. Names of several of these unfortunate gentlemen. King's conduct meets such general approbation, that the smallest commotion is not produced by these violent measures. Numberless resignations take place; spirit and strength of the equestrian order entirely broken. Dangerous precedent established against the nobility, of carrying on the public business in the diet without them. New privileges granted to the peasants. Senate entirely abolished, and a new court appointed to supply its place. King's speech to the diet. Act of confederation. King, triumphant at home, prepares for the prosecution of the war, by sea and land, with the utmost*



utmost vigour. Severe sentences passed on the Finland officers, considerably mitigated through the king's lenity. Successful efforts of Mr. Linné, in behalf of the allied courts, to induce the court of Copenhagen to agree to a strict neutrality, relieves the Swedish sovereign from all apprehension on that side. War in Finland. Rough face, and savage nature of the country, little calculated for rapid success or brilliant action. A number of small but severe and bloody actions take place. Encounter between the Russian fleet, and the Swedish commanded by the duke of Saldernama, terminates without decision or effect. Baron Siedin's defeats the Russian general de Schantz. This success counterbalanced by the high and dangerous retreat which the king was obliged to make out of Russian Finland. King exposes his person like a common soldier on ice. Takes Hogfors, where he is joined by his fleet of galleys, and other light vessels, which are speedily attacked by the prince of Nassau, with a similar armament. Unusually hard-fought, desperate, and bloody action, between the hostile fleets. Swedes overthrown, and obliged to retire under the cannon of Sveaburg. Great superiority of the Russians in point of number, could not be compensated by any exertions of valor. This action decisive with respect to the fortune of the campaign. King again retires, with much difficulty and danger, from the Russian territories, and his garrison at Hogfors narrowly escapes being cut off. Russian, while the weather permits, become masters of the sea, and spread terror every where. Winter puts an end to the campaign, and the king returns to his capital.

WE saw in our last volume the exceedingly embarrassed state of the king of Sweden's affairs, and the more than common personal and political dangers with which he was environed in the latter part of the year 1788; and, though these were much lessened by that powerful interposition which, towards the close of the year, obliged the Danes to withdraw their invading auxiliary army, and to conclude an armistice for six months, yet he was still involved in such difficulties as rendered his situation extremely critical. For the consequences of his being overborne in war, by an enemy too mighty for his contention with any reasonable prospect of success, formed only a part of the evils and dangers which he had to apprehend. That enemy, by her influence and cabals with his own subjects, had found means to shake his authority in the very seat of his power. He

had already experienced the singular misfortune, of a well-disciplined and undaunted army, not only questioning his orders, but heightening the disgrace to him and to themselves, by refusing, in the field, and in the view of a foreign enemy, to draw their swords in his behalf. The army's entering afterwards into a convention, and assuming the authority of concluding an armistice with the same enemy, and that without consulting the king's approbation, or seeking his consent, could not add much to the effect of their former conduct, with respect either to military subordination, or to the point of allegiance. Thus the nature of the war was totally changed, and instead of any questions upon that subject, the only state problem now seemed to be, whether the king should continue to reign in any form.

He had indeed difficulties to encounter,

counter, which would have required all the artifice and all the abilities of either the first, or the great Gustavus to surmount. In this state of affairs, peace must have been of all things the most desirable to the king, and the most suitable to his circumstances. But his potent enemy was too haughty, and too implacable in her resentments, to listen now to peace upon any terms of equality. She had besides too intimate a knowledge of his affairs, and too clear a view of the difficulties and dangers with which he was surrounded, not fully to comprehend the advantages that were to be derived from them: so that political interest and personal animosity were equally indicative of the course to be pursued. The king saw that peace could not be hoped for upon any conditions, which would not be in the last degree disgraceful at present, and totally ruinous to the rights and interests of the crown in future. That he must have signed a *charte blanche*, to be filled up by his mortal enemy: that the immediate and inevitable consequence would have been, his return to that wretched state of thraldom under which his father had languished through life, and which reduced him to the hard necessity of determining to relinquish a crown, rather than to bear the name of its subject, to the affronts and mortifications which he continually experienced.

There was no alternative but that of battling every thing, crown and exchequer, to the hazard, in an heroic endeavour to overcome the difficulties and surmount the dangers that stood in his way. It was a situation as new as it was dangerous; involved in war with a superior enemy, and distracted by internal dissentions, to attempt a reform of

government, and the new-modelling and punishment of a mutinous army, under the eyes of that enemy, and which had itself been the author both of the dissentions and mutiny. Highly emulous of the glory of the most renowned of his predecessors, Gustavus felt his mind equal to the magnitude of the difficulty and danger; and, in the worst event that could happen, he determined rather to perish in the generous encounter, than to sink into the obscurity and insignificance to which, in the present circumstances, he must have been condemned by the degrading conditions of such an inglorious peace as he could now only obtain.

It happened very fortunately for the king, that through his reign, and even during his father's life, he had highly gained the opinion, attachment, and affection of the lower classes of the people. The order of peasants was generally devoted to him, and the burghers in no small degree; we have heretofore seen more than one instance, of the strong attachment which the citizens of Stockholm, in particular, bore to his person, and of the advantages which he derived from it. It is true, that one act of his reign, as well as some subsequent duplicity with which he was charged relative to it, contributed not a little to lessen his popularity. This was the monopoly of brandy, the making and sale of which was seized by the crown, and no private distilleries admitted. No imposition could have been more grievous in so poor a country, where such immense quantities of that commodity are of necessity consumed, and where every man that pleased was before his own distiller. In consequence of great complaints and strong remonstrances on the sub-  
ject,

ject, the peasants understood at a former diet, that the king had agreed to relinquish the monopoly. But it was so productive a source of ready-money revenue, that the king could not easily bring himself to forego the benefit which he derived from it, and this non-compliance being considered as a breach of faith, could not but occasion much discontent. But notwithstanding this jealousy, the influence which the king had obtained with the three lower orders of the state could only be weakened, and he still possessed a greater portion of it than usually fell to the lot of sovereigns.

On this popularity, and on his own dexterity and courage in its application, now rested all hope of the king's being able to subdue, or even to counteract, the incorrigible obstinacy of the equestrian order; the principals of whom were so implacable in their resentments on account of the revolution, that, after a lapse of so many years, no favours, preferments, honours, or even apparent ties of friendship, seemed capable of curing their animosity. Some of them, however, stood upon more honourable ground, and seemed, independent of party or faction, to act up to what they deemed their public duty, and to the true principles of patriotism. This was particularly exemplified by some of those commanders, who had acquired the greatest glory, and performed the most signal service, in the bloody naval action of the preceding year against Russia. Having, when involved in the occasion, filled up with applause all the duties of men of honour and gallant officers, the same nicety of principle which operated in service, forbade them any farther to support a war, which they held to be unconstitutional and

illegal; they accordingly resigned their commission, as soon as the campaign was closed, and the fleet safely laid up: thus voluntarily tearing away the laurels which they had so nobly attained.

The king had summoned a diet to meet at Stockholm early in the year 1789; and upon his return from Gottenburgh to that city, thinking it necessary, in order to maintain and increase his influence with the inhabitants, and as usefully preparatory to the execution of those measures which he had determined to adopt, he called a meeting of all the magistrates, to which he likewise invited fifty of the most respectable and ancient citizens. Nothing could be more flattering than the importance and distinction which they seemed thus to attain; while the king, looking clearly into the minds of men, gave it full effect, by treating the assembly as if it were a grand council of state, in whose breasts the fate of nations was concentrated. After expressing the most grateful sense, and in the most flattering terms, of the readiness with which they accepted, and the fidelity with which they had discharged, the great trust he reposed in them, of being the protectors of every thing that was most dear to him during his absence, he then laid before them the whole state of public affairs; shewed the fair prospect which he had had in the preceding year of a most successful campaign, and of retrieving the glory of Sweden, when he was arrested in the midst of his hopes and pursuit, by the insidious intrigues of their inveterate enemy, which were, unhappily, too well seconded by the disaffection of a number of his own subjects, which extended so far as to

contaminate

contaminate his army, and led it to the disgraceful and fatal excess of a mutiny, in the presence of their sovereign, and in the face of a foreign enemy. On this subject, and on the unexpected and insidious attack of the Danes, in the midst of his troubles, and procured by the same enemy, he expatiated with all the usual force and effect of his eloquence; impressing his auditors with the fullest conviction of every thing he wished to establish, and rendering them individually parties in his grievances. The immediate consequence was, their unanimous declaration for the continuance of the war, with a warm assurance of their lives and fortunes being devoted to his service.

Thus confirmed and secured in the opinion and affections of his capital, the king waited with confidence for the meeting of the diet, and felt himself more assured in the prosecution of his designs. He likewise made every possible preparation for carrying on the war with the greatest vigour both by sea and land.

The diet met on the 26th of January 1789, and, after some days spent in preparatory forms, was opened by the king in a long speech to the four orders, after which the secretary of state read a paper, stating those matters which were particularly urged for their consideration, including more especially what related to the prosecution of the war. Although the usual congratulations and compliments were passed by all the orders, yet it was soon perceived, that the nobles were not only far from being disposed to coincide in the king's views, but that they paid very little regard to the terms upon which they were to stand with respect to him.

The first ground or pretence of squabble was, the king's having drawn the body of free Dalecarlians, who had joined him with so much zeal in the preceding season of danger, into Stockholm, as a garrison. This was resented with much ill-humour by the order of nobles (and by them alone) on the double account, of its shewing a distrust of their honour and loyalty, and of its being an infraction of the freedom of the diet, and calculated to influence or overawe their deliberations. This was carried so far, that several of the more violent party used it as a pretext for absenting themselves for several days from their duty at the diet.

The second ground of dispute was the king's appointment or nomination of count Lowenhaupt (a name memorable in the reign of Charles the XIIth) to be marshal of the diet. This nobleman's being a particular and intimate friend of the king's of many years standing, was a sufficient motive for rendering him in the highest degree obnoxious to the opposite party, who formed a vast majority in that order. The consequence was soon apparent; the marshal was treated with a degree of contempt, and coarseness of behaviour, without example in his situation; and every proposal that came through him from the throne, relative to the public business, was instantly rejected, without any regard to the common forms of deliberation or debate. At length the marshal was so grossly insulted, that he felt it incompatible with his honour to attempt any farther, under such circumstances, the discharge of the duties annexed to his station, and he absented himself entirely from the diet; a measure which rendered that order incapable of acting.

The

The king had by this time the satisfaction to find that he possessed all the influence he could wish with the three other orders, and that the peasants and burghers, upon whom the expences of the war were principally to fall, had determined upon supporting it with great unanimity and spirit. This concurrence of the other orders had rendered the opposition of the nobles in fact nugatory; and all the public business might have been done without them, however desirable their sanction would have been, and however the constitution might seem to halt, if the first order did not act with the other three.

He had probably made up his mind before the meeting of the diet, to the critical and hazardous task, of endeavouring, at all events, to break the spirit of that dangerous combination which subsisted among the principal nobility. Their extraordinary refractoriness since, would have been sufficient to inspire that resolution, if it had not before existed, and could not fail to quicken and bring it into act if it did. The insult offered to the marshal was considered as a direct and personal affront to the king himself; they had likewise, upon more than one occasion, treated his own name and character not only with great disrespect, but with a virulence, and an affectation of contempt, which were insupportable; but by the forms of the constitution, he was not to be supposed to know any thing farther of their proceedings, than what was laid officially before him.

Under all these circumstances, encouraged particularly by the favourable auspices which appeared in the other orders, and a com-

plaint having been (we suppose) lodged by the marshal, the king went in person to the diet, Feb. 17th. and demanded satisfaction for the insult offered to count Lowenhaupt, and which had laid that nobleman under a necessity of deserting the duties of his important station. This produced a violent altercation between the king and the nobles, in which the latter shewed so little temper, as to throw out some very pointed and severe reproaches directly against him, until the king put an end to the contention, by rising from his seat and declaring, that there were men among them, who in their hearts would rather wish to see the Russians at Stockholm, and an ambassador from that country dictating laws to Sweden, than sacrifice their own ambitious views, and their thirst for revenge, to the good and preservation of their country. Upon this severe charge, the whole order of nobles immediately arose, and quitted the assembly in a body, leaving the king and the other states together.

The king then made a speech to the remaining states, in which he disclaimed, in the most solemn terms, all intention of aiming at, or wishing for absolute sovereignty; and declared, that if even the continuation of the present disorders should compel him for a short time to its exercise, it should last no longer than while the occasion prompted the necessity; but he concluded by declaring with firmness, that it was a duty which he owed to his country, as well as to himself, not to permit those who would wrest the sceptre from his hands to pass unpunished; and that he would not suffer a faction to favour  
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the views of the enemy, by the interruption which they endeavoured to give to the public business, and to the means of the public defence.

For three days Stockholm was in a state of great disorder and tumult; the people were so sanguine in the king's favour, and so highly incensed against the nobility, that it required attention and care to prevent their proceeding to acts of outrage. Thus every thing conspired to further the King's wishes, and to encourage him in the

Feb. 20. prosecution of his designs. On the morning succeeding this period of confusion, the sovereign received a deputation from the three remaining states of the diet, to whom he imparted the measures which he intended to pursue with the nobility. But at the very time that he made the communication, these measures were carrying into execution; for a party of the light cavalry of the king's body guard, supported by a body of the armed burghers of the city, surrounded, at the same instant, the houses of several of the principal nobility, whose persons being arrested, they were sent prisoners to the castle of Frederichsboff.

This violent measure was carried into execution with such regularity and dispatch, and accorded to much with the temper of the people, that it did not occasion the smallest disturbance. Twenty-five of the nobles were thus seized and imprisoned, and that number included those of the most ancient and illustrious families in the kingdom, men of the greatest fortune and most extensive connections, and several who had filled the highest offices of the state and government. The

vigour of the king's measures were not confined to the capital. He had previously taken those that were necessary for arresting and bringing up for trial, the principals of those refractory and disobedient commanders and officers, who had been most active in exciting the mutiny of the army in Finland. These were so far advanced, under a strong guard, on their way, that they arrived in Stockholm speedily after the arrest of the nobles. They were immediately committed to close and strict imprisonment, and ordered to prepare for their respective trials. The general charges of disobedience, disaffection, mutiny, and treachery, were laid against all, and particular charges of treason, treachery, and a treasonable correspondence with the enemy, applied more directly to some individuals than to others.

Among the unfortunate gentlemen who were involved in this hard and dangerous predicament, we find the following names; Lieutenant General Baron d'Armfield, Major General d'Hartfater, with the Colonels de Montgomerie, d'Otter, de Stedink, de Hallestko, and de Klenfparre. The Majors de Kleck, and de Jogenhorn, had the fortune to save themselves by flight, and found refuge under the Russian protection. To the former number were afterwards added the Brigadier and Colonel Hallestehr, the Lieutenant Colonel Baron de Kothen, Baron Leymstedt, and Enghjelm, Captain Willebrandt, and a number of subalterns.

The number of resignations which took place upon these arrests of the nobles and officers, was perhaps without example in any convulsion of government which did not amount

to an entire subversion. They extended to every department of the state and government, both civil and military, and to all the provinces; so that the apparent effects of the revolution in 1772 bore no proportion to the magnitude of those which now struck every beholder. But however alarming these appearances might seem to others, the king steadily pursued the system of political conduct and government which he laid down for himself, without being in the smallest degree disturbed by them.

The spirit and strength of the equestrian order was, by these vigorous measures, entirely broken; and all disposition to faction was absorbed in the immediate apprehension of personal danger. Many of the nobles, perhaps most, encouraged by the lax nature of the government, as well as by the license which had been so long prevalent in Sweden, and prompted either by private views, ambition, or what they deemed patriotism, had undoubtedly gone unwarrantable lengths in their connections and correspondence with Russia. An unexpected season of severe enquiry and retribution seemed to be now arrived; and such even as had not transgressed in that point were yet alarmed, as there was no foreseeing how far the treason laws might in their construction be extended.

The precedent so dangerous to the nobles, and so subversive of their ancient rights, that the public business might, in general, be carried on in the diet by the other states, without their concurrence, was now established. The king exerted, most successfully, all his usual ad-

dress to secure and confirm the confidence and attachment of the remaining three orders of the states. To that of the peasant, he granted several new privileges; and, well aware of the great effect produced in certain cases, by matters seemingly of little importance, upon the death of Olaus Cloffen, their speaker, he ordered a sumptuous public funeral for him at his own expence. Nor did he neglect paying such attentions to the orders of the clergy and burghers, as were sufficient for the purposes he intended.

Gustavus was not of a disposition to suffer the present season of advantage to pass without producing its full effect. He followed the blow, before the metal cooled, with as much spirit as it had been first given; and, profiting by the consternation and dismay which now prevailed, he ventured upon the bold measure of totally abolishing the senate, which had so long been a sore thorn in the crown, and which, notwithstanding the modelling it had undergone at the late revolution, shewed dispositions not more favourable to his interest and designs, than its predecessors had done to those of former kings. To supply the place of the senate, he instituted a new commission or court, the model of which he is said to have taken from the *La Cour Pénale*, which had been so much opposed and at length rejected in France. This new board, or whatever other name it is known by, was erudite, in certain cases, and under certain circumstances, with considerable powers; but these were all subjected to the king's immediate controul.

The king, after the arrest of the nobles, made a long speech to the diet,

diet, in which he expressed the regard and esteem which he held for the equestrian order in general, notwithstanding the ill conduct and evil designs of several individuals among them, which he, however, should not in any degree impute to the whole order. He exhorted the states to unanimity and to reciprocal confidence; reminded them, that he had ratified with them about seventeen years before, in that very chamber, those constitutional laws which laid the foundation for their liberties and his rights, and which restored tranquillity to the kingdom; and observed, that the country had then been convulsed by circumstances similar to those, which, with a more rapid progress, had arisen upon the present occasion. That the same enemies without had then laid for them in secret the artful snares which they now do openly; and that the same views within, which then undermined and afflicted the body of the state, seemed now to have rallied and acquired fresh vigour.

He enquires into the causes of those violent shocks which they all so sensibly feel, after tranquillity had been restored, and all ancient diffentions appeared to be filled. These he charges to views of self-interest, and to false explanations and confused opinions of sundry privileges claimed by or appertaining to respective orders, which excite distrust and jealousies among them. These effects he deprecates, and proposes to remove their causes, by exactly defining the privileges and rights of each order, and establishing them on such firm ground, and placing them in so clear a light, as would equally secure their stabi-

lity, and preclude the possibility of their being liable to future misconception or doubt.

But the king's grand specific or nostrum, which was to cure or prevent all present and future evils and disorders of the state, was his act of confederation, union, and surety, by which he and all true Swedes were to be mutually bound, in the most firm and solemn manner, not only to common defence, but to the preservation of their respective rights, and of the present constitution and laws, against all impugners, whether foreign or domestic. We have not seen this document, but it seems probable that it was at first only intended as an association of individuals, who were to bind themselves by oath or subscription to the defence of the king's person and government. This is the more likely, as it was first proposed to and adopted by the late meeting which the king held, of the magistrates and ancient citizens of Stockholm. In this state, perhaps little more was intended, than the power of distinguishing those who were attached to the king from the disaffected.

But the king seems afterwards to have enlarged the idea, and, having moulded it into the form of a law (probably containing some abstract of that constitution which was to be defended) he set his heart much upon having it passed in that form by the diet. This was opposed by the nobles with greater violence than even any other of his measures; and, as their concurrence was absolutely necessary to the passing of a new law, their present secession from the diet seemed to render the affair hopeless. But the king felt himself



now too powerful, to suffer his designs to be impeded by any common difficulties; if he could not untie the knot, he knew how to cut it. The law being passed by the other orders, count Lowenhaupt, the marshal of the diet, was rendered the instrument of its ratification, by signing it in the name of the equestrian order, who were not present. So broken was the spirit of the nobles at this juncture, that this open violation of the constitution, and outrage on their order, would have passed without any public reprehension or notice, if the gallant count Wachtmeister, acting with the same honour and intrepidity by which he had been so much signalized, when fighting against his own opinion and political principles in the preceding year, had not singly entered a striking protest against the measure.

Thus triumphant at home, sedition entirely quelled, all opposition broken down, the murmurs of dissent or discontent faintly, if at all heard, and the necessary funds being provided by the diet, the king applied his thoughts to the prosecution of the war with the utmost vigour by sea and land. He had, early in the diet, as soon as he felt the disposition of the burghers and peasants to support the war, by agreeing to its expence, ordered cloathing for 51,000 men to be prepared with the utmost expedition; nor had he since slackened in his diligence with respect to any other necessary article of preparation, while the Ottoman ready money gave new life and vigour to all the operations of the state. As the business of the diet grew towards a conclusion, the king released the 25 nobles who were imprisoned in the castle of Frederic-

schoff, who retired immediately (and undoubtedly in great disgust) to their respective country seats.

Thus had Gustavus the singular fortune of living to the accomplishment of two great and complete revolutions in his country; each of them accompanied with or liable to infinite hazard and danger; but the present being perhaps more arduous than the former, from the circumstance of his being now involved in a doubtful war with a power far his superior in strength, and who was scarcely less interested in defeating his design, than he was himself in its success. In another respect, however, the season for the accomplishment of both had been admirably chosen, Russia being at each time deeply engaged in war with the Turk, and the objects of her ambition on that side being too fascinating, and too vast, to admit of their being easily resigned to, or exchanged for others of less temptation or magnitude. It is worthy of observation, that the same means and instruments which produced the great revolution in the sister kingdom of Denmark about a century ago, had now been twice used with equal success in Sweden. In both countries the lower orders had been gained over to crush the power of the nobles, and to transfer that power, with little security to themselves, to the crown. So that the tyrants were, in fact, only personally changed, while the tyranny continued the same. Such likewise has been the event of all the Asiatic revolutions of government recorded in history.

The trials of the unfortunate officers who had been arrested in Finland, and elsewhere, under the charges of mutiny or treason, were commenced

menced in the month of March, and continued for more than twelve months to their final conclusion. The sentences were so severe that they were said to be written in blood, and struck the public in other countries than Sweden with horror; the more especially as the disobedience with which they were charged, if not entirely covered by, seemed, however, considerably sheltered by the plea of attachment to the constitution of their country, and involved the nice, and perhaps doubtful legal question, of the king's right, as the laws then stood, to commence a war without the consent of the states.

Of these, the lieutenant-general baron d'Armfeldt, the colonels Hafflesko, and baron d'Otter, with the lieutenant-colonel baron Klenzsparre, were condemned to lose their heads, their honour, and their estates. Colonel Montgomerie, and lieutenant-colonel baron Leymsiedt, to be shot. Lieutenant-colonel baron de Kothen, lieutenant-colonel Enghjelm, captain Willebrandt, and lieutenant Gadolin, to be beheaded. The brigadier and colonel Hassfeldt, was condemned to have his head cut off with peculiar marks of disgrace and infamy. Some others of rank, and a number of subalterns, were condemned to die. As the king is, however, the reverse of being cruel in his nature, the sentences were more bloody in their design than effect, and the executions were not numerous.

But with all this success at home, and the strongest disposition to carry on the war with the utmost vigour against Russia, Denmark still continued a heavy clog upon the king's movements and designs. The term for which the armistice was concluded

was nearly worn out, and the supporting of a war on his southern frontier, against an enemy fully equal to himself in strength and resource, at the same time that he was involved in another still more dangerous in the opposite extremity of his dominions, would have gone so far beyond his means and capability of acting, that all the greatest exertions of courage, skill, and ability, must have sunk undistinguished under the overwhelming weight of power, and inevitable ruin must, in the common course of things, have been the immediate consequence. The king's only hope of being extricated with honour and safety from this very alarming and dangerous situation, must then have rested entirely with the great and friendly powers, whose timely interference in the preceding year had given so sudden a check to the progress of the Danish arms, and procured that armistice which was not yet entirely expired.

The king had, however, good reason to believe that he should not be disappointed in this expectation. The friendship of the allied powers continued undiminished; they were fully aware of the critical situation of his affairs; and Mr. Elliot, the British minister, whose ability and address had produced such essential and timely benefits in the foregoing year, who still took the lead, on the part of the three allied courts, in all affairs relative to the northern kingdoms, was now at Copenhagen, exerting equal zeal in the same cause. After a long course of verbal representation on the subject through the winter and spring, Mr. Elliot, at the request of count Bernstorff, the Danish minister, summed up and compressed the whole of the arguments and motives which he had

had hitherto assigned, for Denmark's observing a strict neutrality in the war between Sweden and Russia, in one written document, April 23d, 1789. which he sent to that nobleman, rather in the guise of a private or confidential letter, than with the formality of a state memorial.

As this piece contains some particulars, relative to the conduct of the different parties, which were not before publicly known, and which could not otherwise with propriety have come within our discussion, we shall give an abstract of it, as throwing considerable light upon the subject.

Mr. Elliot first reminds the Danish minister, that at the very time the king, his master, had yielded up a great part of his land and sea forces as auxiliaries to Russia, he likewise applied to his Britannic majesty for his intervention in the re-establishment of tranquillity between Sweden and Russia. He also reminds him, that the empress of Russia rejected the mediation of the king and his allies; and that this refusal was the only cause of the continuation of hostilities, as the king of Sweden had accepted, in the most free and amicable manner, the mediation of the three allied courts, who were animated by no other motives in their proposal, than a desire to put a stop to the effusion of blood, and to maintain the northern balance.

He then calls upon the Danish minister as a witness to the energy with which the king of Great Britain and his allies acted, in giving the most undoubted proofs that they considered the preservation of Sweden as a matter of the greatest importance; and glancing at their

joint exertions in procuring a cessation of arms between Sweden and Denmark in the last year, does not seem to think the salutary effects which their endeavours produced by any means less an obligation to the latter than the former. He then states the sorrow with which the king his master sees, that since that epoch the offers of mediation and of service from him and his allies have not produced the desired effect; and that they could not incline the empress to agree to a mediation for restoring peace to the East or to the North of Europe.

That under these circumstances, when the continuation of hostilities results entirely from the refusal of Russia to accept of any mediation, his Britannic majesty and his allies cannot but consider the court of Denmark as entirely freed from every stipulation of a treaty merely defensive; and likewise to add, that in the present case, the joining of the Danish forces, either by land or sea, to those of Russia, must even cause Denmark to be considered as one of the powers at war, and would justify the king of Sweden in requiring speedy and efficacious assistance from the king of Great Britain and his allies, after having already accepted their pure and unlimited mediation.

The minister then staked that character of sincerity on which he valued himself, as well as those principles of attachment and friendship, which bound him personally, as well as on account of his master, to the interests of the court of Denmark, in a firm assurance, that the allied powers for whom he was acting would not give up that system which they had adopted, with the design only of maintaining the equal bal-

lance of the North: a balance no less interesting to Denmark than to all maritime and trading nations.

He then proceeds to state, that if the treaty with Russia had been entirely of a different nature, if it had been even absolutely offensive instead of defensive, and that their interests had in every thing been one and the same, still that it would be an act of the greatest imprudence and impolicy, and highly prejudicial to that common cause (supposing it such) for Denmark, in the present state of things, to take any part in the war. For that by such an act, the interference of the three allied powers of Great Britain, Prussia, and Holland (who wished for nothing but the restoration of peace and harmony in the North) would of necessity be brought on; new hostilities unavoidably commenced; and Russia herself, for the misjudged aid of a single friend, would have the encounter of three potent enemies to withstand.

He concluded, by expressly intreating the Danish minister, in the name of his principals, to induce his court to refrain from granting any of its forces by land or sea to take part in the war; but on the contrary to support a perfect neutrality by sea and land in all his dominions. He holds out this conduct as affording the certain means of procuring the restoration of peace to the North; in the attainment of which happy object, the king his master would be proud of the concurrence of his Danish majesty; and he promises, in the name of all the allies, the most perfect security and indemnity by sea and land from all consequences that might possibly result from such neutrality. He lastly presses the Danish minister, in

the most urgent terms, for a clear and decisive answer on the intentions of his court with respect to the proposed neutrality.

Such representations, backed by such power, could scarcely fail of effect. It was evident, at the first glance, that the assistance which Denmark could afford to her ally, would in no degree counterpoise the weight of power which the three allied courts might throw into the adverse scale, so that her intended aid would prove a misfortune instead of a benefit to Russia. Nor could the ablest politician or wisest speculator foresee, when the rancour of mutual injury and hostility had roused the animosity of so many warlike and potent nations to its utmost extreme, what sacrifices might be necessary to allay their fury, or at what point of violence their angry and vindictive passions might find leisure to listen to the voice of reason or humanity. It is not to be supposed that a situation and necessity so likely to take place as the present could have escaped the previous attention of the courts of Peterburgh and Copenhagen; or that they should not already have mutually determined upon the measures necessary to be pursued under such circumstances.

It was not, however, until after long hesitation that the court of Denmark was at length brought to assent to a perfect neutrality, and even then it was attended with some modifications. These related to a Russian Squadron of six sail of the line and some frigates, under admiral Dessen, which had come round from Archangel to the Sound early in the war; and having since enjoyed the use of the port of Copenhagen as a friendly refuge from the effects of winter

winter and bad weather, had been a grievous check to the commerce of Sweden from Gothenburgh, as well as from some of the ports within the Sound. The junction of this squadron with the Russian principal fleet at Cronstadt was now wished and wanted; but the Swedes lay with a superior force in the way, which rendered the junction difficult and dangerous. The court of Copenhagen accordingly stipulated, that the Danish fleet should take this squadron under its protection, in order to facilitate the junction, until its arrival at a certain defined distance or place of separation, which was deemed sufficient for the purpose, without this act being considered as any violation of the neutrality. It was likewise stipulated, that the allied courts of London, Berlin, and the Hague, should afford no aid whatever to the Swedes.

The king of Sweden being thus freed from interruption and danger on his southern frontier, and the internal affairs of his kingdom being settled entirely to his wishes, was enabled to direct his whole attention and force to the prosecution of the war in Finland. But he had to do with an enemy which did not admit causes of triumph to be as easily attained on that side, as he had recently experienced at home. Russia, notwithstanding the numerous and incessant calls for her troops to support the Ottoman war in so many parts of Europe and Asia at the same time, had yet been able to form an army in Finland, rather superior in point of number to that of Sweden. It is true that this army was by no means composed of her best and veteran troops, but the natural constitution, rough habits, bodily strength, and insensibility of pain and danger,

which so much distinguish that extraordinary people, together with that inexorable severity of their discipline and punishments, which none but Russians could endure, serve, all together, to render even their rawest militia, if not formidable in active service, at least difficult to be subdued. Indeed this kind of passive valour was their characteristic in very early times, and we find, that when the savage and undisciplined state of their armies, occasioned their exertions in the field to be treated with the utmost contempt by their warlike neighbours of Poland and Sweden, yet their unexampled obstinacy in the defence of fortresses was acknowledged on all hands.

The rough and savage nature of the country which was the scene of action, was likewise little calculated for brilliant action or rapid success. Covered with forests, encumbered with almost impassable rocks and mountains, intersected with such a multitude of fresh-water lakes and deep inlets of the sea, as is perhaps without example in any country of the old hemisphere, Finland seldom affords open ground sufficient for the drawing up of a moderate army in any regular order of battle. In a country of fastnesses, thus formed by nature for defence, two commanders, any thing equal in skill, temper and ability, might carry on a small and unprofitable, but troublesome and bloody war, consisting in the attack and defence of posts, without any thing like decision taking place between them for a long series of time; excepting only, that the marine on one side should be much superior to that on the other, which must be totally ruinous to the opposite army. For from the numerous inlets of the sea which we have taken notice of,

the troops on both sides must continually act as marines on board small vessels calculated for the purpose, and as much of the service be performed by water as on land; so that a war in this country must, in every sense, differ from most others.

The severity of the climate could not restrain the mutual animosity of the nations from commencing hostilities as soon as the armistice concluded by the Swedish officers in the preceding year had expired. Several skirmishes took place on the frontiers towards the latter end of May, between the Russians under the orders of count Moufchkin Pouschkin, and the Swedes under those of general Mayersfeldt. The success in these was various, but in all unproductive; some were severe and bloody, and the Swedes were frequently signaled by acts of the most extraordinary valour. But the season was over in which these could produce any extraordinary effect; in the days of Gustavus Adolphus and Charles the XIIth they would have been attended with conquest and glory. So great is the revolution which has taken place in military affairs and in the state of nations!

The king arrived in Finland pretty early in June, and about the same time his brother, the duke of Sudermania, took the command of the fleet at Carlescroon. The arrival of the former at the seat of action was soon signaled by a desperate encounter, between a body of Russians consisting of 3,600 men, and a party of Swedes estimated only at 2,200. This action, in which the king served as a volunteer, was fought at a place called Dainstadt, in Finland, where the weaker party were the aggressors. The Swedish left

wing under general Platen, having attacked the right of the Russians with great fury, the mutual eagerness of the combatants soon extended the action to every division, and it may be said to every man. The contention was obstinate and bloody; but the ardour of the Swedes seemed irresistible; the enemy, notwithstanding their superiority, were every where repelled; and at length totally routed and their camp taken. It was reported, that the Russians, after a long and terrible fire on both sides, having rushed furiously with fixed bayonets on the Swedes, the latter shewed some symptoms of disorder, and retired about twenty paces, but that the king throwing himself from his horse, instantly rallied the infantry, and they soon drove the enemy before them.

The king, in a letter to his son, the prince royal, acknowledges that the enemy's troops fought well, but the Swedes, he says, better; and he holds this instance up as an incitement to the young prince, to render himself worthy of commanding so brave and so generous a people.

The Duke of Sudermania failed from Carlescroon with the Swedish fleet in the beginning of July. The Russian fleet lay then at Revel, and the duke's object undoubtedly was to prevent its junction with the squadron which had been so long in the Sound, or at least to bring it to a decisive engagement in the attempt. As the hostile fleets could not well pass each other, in so narrow a sea, without an encounter, so, however contrary it was to the views of the Russian commanders, they fell in with the Swedes on July 26th. A distant and languid action commenced about two o'clock in the afternoon,

ternoon, and continued till eight in the evening, the Russians constantly retiring, and having no other object in view but the continuation of their course; while the Swedes endeavoured in vain to stop their progress, and bring on a general engagement. The fleets lost each other in the night, and the wished-for junction with the Russian squadron was soon after effected. As this flying action or skirmish afforded no matter of triumph to either of the parties, so no correct or circumstantial account of it was published on either side; which serves to leave the public somewhat in the dark, how far the duke of Sudermania had fulfilled the part of an able commander in his efforts to prevent a junction, which had the untoward effect of affording a decided naval superiority to the enemy through the whole campaign. The Russian commanders seem to have displayed considerable address in evading the action, and getting clear of their enemy.

Among the number of small actions which now took place in Finland, one of the most remarkable was the defeat which the Swedish Colonel Baron de Stedink, (who had lately been distinguished, with a very inferior force, in an action with General Michelson) gave to the Russian General de Schultz. Of this action we have no account of the force on either side; nor of its nature or particular circumstances; but are informed, on the whole, that the defeat was so complete, that the arms, baggage, tents and artillery, all were taken by the Swedes; that the general only escaped by throwing himself into a morass; that 600 Russians were killed or wounded, of whom were 24 officers; and that

the general's aid de camps were taken. The success was undoubtedly brilliant, from the king's immediately promoting Baron Stedink to the rank of major general.

This success was, however, soon counterbalanced, by the very hasty retreat, which the king, in person, was obliged to make out of Russian Finland; into which his impetuosity seems to have led him to penetrate too deeply, without maturely considering the great danger which he might run of being suddenly enclosed, in a country composed of difficulties and fastnesses. His situation was the more dangerous, as, having crossed the Kymene, that deep river greatly increased the obstacles to his return. The retreat was covered by Major General de Kaulban, who brought up the rear, and who, besides sustaining no small loss on the occasion, had the farther misfortune of suffering much blame for his conduct.

Thus far the war had been conducted with various success, and, if the Swedes gained no other advantage, they however secured their military honour, and even acquired new in almost every encounter. The king, with respect to his own person, exposed himself on every occasion, with the temerity rather of a volunteer than the caution of a general. He seemed to have the acts of the two most renowned of his predecessors constantly before his eyes, and not only endeavoured to emulate their greatest actions, but wished to unite in himself their different characters, and to temper the adventure and impetuosity of Charles, by the judgment and ability of Gustavus. Perhaps he made the former upon some occasions too much his model. He could not avoid being incessantly goaded by the fore and vexatious re-

flection, (which undoubtedly might have had some influence upon his conduct) that if the Swedish army had entered into the war with the same alacrity in the preceding campaign as in the present, his successes would have been great and his triumphs splendid. Vexation is not perhaps more ruinous to gamesters than to generals! and the great exertions which were now made without any correspondent effect, were sufficient to generate it without the operation of any prior cause.

On the other side, the fortune of Russia seemed destined this year to predominate over all her enemies in every quarter; and the smiles which the uncertain goddesses seemed to bestow upon the Swedes in the beginning of the campaign, soon appeared to be meretricious and delusive.

The contending powers had from the commencement of their hostilities, used great exertions, and gone to great expence on both sides, in fitting out numerous fleets of galleys and light vessels, calculated for the purposes of the war in Finland. Peter the Great had early trained his subjects to this species of amphibious service, for which they seem peculiarly designed by nature, and they have to the present day continued unrivalled in its practice. It was with this novel mixture of land and marine force that he spread desolation and ruin through every part of Sweden; and this was the kind of enemy, who, penetrating the bowels of the earth, hunted and destroyed the wretched miners in their deepest and most hidden caverns.

The king, after a course of skirmishes and actions of little moment, had again penetrated into the Rus-

sian territories, and taken a fortified port town, called Hogfors, or Hogfort; which he seems to have intended to retain as a place of arms both for the land and the sea service.

He was about this time joined by his fleet of galleys, which acted separately or in conjunction with the army, as the occasion required. But the Russian fleet of the same sort was at hand, and in great force, under the command of the prince of Nassau, who had quitted the Liman and the Black Sea for the purpose, where he had already rendered himself highly eminent by his constant success in this peculiar service. An action marked with ferocity and blood soon took place Aug. 25th.

between the contending fleets, and, excepting only the difference occasioned by the use of gunpowder, and its appropriate weapons, affording a picture of those early naval engagements which took place between the ancient Grecians, Phœnicians, Romans, and Carthaginians. As in them, the men fought frequently hand to hand, with every instrument of destruction which rage, chance, or opinion presented. Gallies were seen dismantled and sinking, the decks strewed with the dead and dying, and the survivors jumping into the sea, to evade the more dreaded sword of the enemy. To this exhibition of ancient naval tactics, was added the explosions of gunpowder, and blowing up of vessels.

No battle was perhaps ever fought, the accounts of which were so directly and totally contradictory as those which related to this action. The contradictions were so glaring, that they drew a strong letter of complaint



complaint and remonstrance from the prince of Nassau to the king upon the subject, soliciting and demanding a fair statement of facts; and shrewdly observing, that veracity was one of the first principles of a man of honour and hero. The peculiar situation in which the king stood with his subjects, and the measures of opinion which he was obliged to observe with them, as well as the desire of keeping up those ideas of power and consequence which he wished to impress on his allies, seemed in some degree to lay him under a sort of necessity of having recourse to such subterfuges, which were so inconsistent with, and so unworthy of other parts of his character.

It is evident upon the whole, that the Swedes, however unwilling to acknowledge it, were worsted; and that they were at length obliged to take refuge under the cannon of Sweaburg. The disproportion of the two fleets as to number, was too great to be compensated by valour. The Russian fleet amounted to 70 vessels, and the Swedish consisted only of about 40. Yet notwithstanding this inequality, the battle raged without intermission, and with the greatest fury, from ten o'clock in the morning till half past eight at night. In this violent encounter, acts of the most desperate valour were so repeatedly performed, that they lost their effect in their frequency. The Swedish major, Hagenherfson, being boarded, and finding it impossible to save his vessel, blew himself up along with his enemy. Several vessels were sunk, blown up, or driven on the rocks, on both sides, but few, if any, taken by either. The carnage must have

been extreme in so long and so dreadful an action; but we are in the dark as to the particulars.

This action was decisive as to the fortune of the campaign. The king was obliged to abandon the Russian territories, and encountered such difficulties in gaining his own frontier, that he exposed his person to equal danger with any common soldier. The garrison of Hogfors was near being cut off in its retreat, through the activity of the Russians in making a landing from their galleys; and was only saved by the superior gallantry of a battalion of West Gothland, which acquired and deserved the highest honour upon the occasion. But the noblest exertions of valour, when displayed in seasons of ill-fortune, are apt to pass unnoticed in a crowd of surrounding disasters; or at least lose much of their estimation and value with the public, whose thoughts are occupied only by their losses.

As the Russians were able to keep the sea for a considerable time after the late engagement, and were entirely masters of it, they spread terror every where, so that the city of Stockholm itself was not a little alarmed under the apprehension of a descent; and adopted the most vigorous measures to repel such an insult. The early approach of winter in that northern climate, was a circumstance at this time which could not be ungrateful to either of the contending parties. They had both sustained considerable losses; they were both sore with wounds, and crippled by hard service; and they both wanted time for repose, recovery, and reparation. Neither had either side any great object in view, which came at all within the reach

of near attainment; so that hard blows, and mutual bloodshed, could be the only fruits of their farther contention at the present.

Under these circumstances, the

hostile armies looked only to the security of their respective frontiers for the winter, and the king returned to his capital.

## C H A P. IX.

*New convention of Notables. Great questions relative to the organization of the States General, which agitate the whole kingdom of France. King resigns himself entirely to the advice of M. Neckar. That minister takes a decided part in favour of the double representation of the commons; but gives no opinion on other questions of great importance, which are left, in the event, to chance. Notables, as well as the parliament of Paris, strongly recommend, that the constitution of 1614 should be the model for the new convention of the states; with which the scheme of a double representation directly militates. Parliament of Paris endeavour to recover their popularity by issuing an arret, which, if adopted, might be considered as the Magna Charta of French liberty. Treated with the utmost contempt by the popular parties, as falling short of their views. Violent jealousies and dissensions between the three orders which were to compose the states. Nobles, odious in the extreme. Dukes and peers offer to contribute a due proportion to the public expences; and a similar disposition seems general among the nobles; but this disposition appears too late to afford satisfaction. Nobility, goaded by numberless attacks, publish a declaration of their rights, which renders them still more odious. Divisions and jealousies among themselves at this critical period. Dissensions in the parliaments. Clergy as little united as the nobles. Curates, or parish priests, disposed to side with the commons, or third estate. Commons wish that the three orders should sit in one chamber, deliberate in common, and vote by heads, instead of voting by orders, according to former practice. Strongly opposed by the nobles. In the provincial assembly of the states of Dauphiny, the nobles and clergy coalisce with the commons, and thereby establish a precedent contrary to the general sense of their orders. Differences between the nobles and commons of Britany rise so high as to carry the appearance of a civil war. Count d'Artois, with the princes of Conde, and Conti, (who are called the Triumvirate) present a memorial to the king, which increases the popular odium against them to the highest pitch. Measures pursued by the duke of Orleans to acquire popularity in Paris. M. Neckar blamed for not having used any means to reconcile the jarring factions, or to allay the national ferment, previous to the elections. He presents a memorial to the king, strongly urging the measure of double representation, and making himself responsible for its consequences. King accordingly issues a decree for that purpose; but leaves, undecided and open, the very important and critical questions, relative to the manner of voting, and to the sitting of the states in one, or in three chambers. Unfortunate and ruinous consequences of this omission of the minister's. Some well-intended schemes for*

for amending the constitution, which were subsequently proposed; but rejected. Ancient practice and nature of the Cahiers, or instructions given by the electors to their deputies in the states. Nobles bound by oath not to sit or vote in one common assembly. Aphoristic statement of the views of the different parties. Some farther particulars relative to them. Most of the deputies to the states arrive at Versailles, but the delays caused by the elections in Paris prevent their opening the assembly. Some explanation of the terms Primary Assemblies, and Primary Elections, with the manner of their application. Violent riot in Paris, and much blood shed.

WE observed in our first chapter that Mr. Neckar had at the beginning of winter summoned a new convention of Notables, in order to receive their opinion and advice, on several subjects relative to the convocation of the States General. Two great questions were at issue between the three orders or classes from which that body was to be drawn, namely the nobles, the clergy, and the tiers l'etat, or commons; and these necessarily agitated the whole nation. The first was, Whether the deputies of the three orders of the state should meet together in one assembly, in which all the concentrated powers of the States General should reside? or, Whether they should be divided, as they had been at the last meeting, in 1614, into three chambers, through each of which a resolution must be carried (or at least through two of them) before it became the acknowledged act of the states? Voting by heads was the term applied to the first of these alternatives, and voting by orders, to the second.

The next question was, Whether the number of deputies from each of the orders should be the same as in 1614, which was about three hundred of each? or, Whether, the clergy and nobles still adhering to their former numbers, the third estate should be allowed to send six

hundred deputies, which would equal both in number?

This was called the double representation of the people. And the gaining of this point was not only the great and principal object in view with the third estate, but united the wishes of the republican party, and of all the factious throughout the kingdom, under whatever denominations they were classed. This was deemed, even by moderate men, in some degree necessary, as it was generally taken for granted, and the court itself most unwisely adopted the opinion, that the clergy and nobles, being privileged bodies, would coalesce, and act nearly, if not entirely, together; so that forming two bodies to one, and amounting to about double in number, whether they voted by orders or by heads, it was supposed that they would carry every question against the commons. But if the double representation took place, the commons would then have 600 votes to oppose the 300 of each other order, and they were sure of desertions from each; particularly that many of the curates would join them; while they had nothing less than a certainty that the members of their own order would hold well together.

But to render the double representation entirely effective, and the superiority of the third estate complete

plete and lasting, another great point was to be gained, of scarce less importance than the former. This was the amalgamation, as it was called, of the three orders in one assembly; whereby, sitting together, without any distinction, in the same chamber, they should vote by heads, and the majority of votes, without any regard to orders, be of course conclusive. The real views in this design were very well covered, by a reference to the conduct of the ancient states general, who, with very few exceptions, had been rendered totally useless to the nation, through the idle disputes and ridiculous quarrels which continually took place between the different orders, relative to privileges and other matters of no public moment, whereby their time being wasted, and deliberations distracted, they at length became as odious to the people as to the crown itself; the former grudging the expence they were put to by convocations which they found by experience to be totally unprofitable. This evil, whether justly or not, was industriously represented to the public, and by men not destitute of ability, as proceeding entirely, from the ancient states general being classed in different orders, and sitting in different chambers: while they held out, that the system of amalgamation would prevent the possibility of such disputes.

On these questions the king's absolute authority was equally appealed to by all the parties for a final decision; the plenitude of his power not being yet openly questioned by any. On the other hand, the sovereign resigned himself entirely to the advice of Mr. Neckar in every thing relative to this subject,

whose popularity he thought would afford a sanction to whatever was covered by his name, and thereby prove the means of procuring him that quiet and ease in government which he wished beyond all things.

That minister, whose real or supposed talents for finance and political œconomy had, along with a number of fortuitous circumstances, raised him to a degree of public opinion and credit which has not often been equalled, found himself entirely out of his element when he became involved in the untried and difficult science of political legislation. Surrounded and overawed by powerful and eager factions, unable to fathom their designs, and incapable even of suspecting their insidious views, he was liable to fall into every snare which was laid for him. As vanity possessed no small share in his composition, it laid him the more open to be played upon. Standing as he did, the minister of the people, and owing his elevation to them, that circumstance alone, independent of education and habit, could not but give him a strong bias to the popular party. Honest himself, and moderate in all his views, he seems to have built too much upon the rectitude of others, and not to have been aware that the designs of men often extended far beyond their present avowal or action.

With these dispositions, Mr. Neckar wished to make great concessions to gratify and satisfy the people, and to render their future condition happy; but he was at the same time equally intent to preserve the prerogatives, rights, and authority of the crown undiminished, in all things which were necessary to give effect and energy to

good

good government. He probably did not wish that the crown should have the power of doing wrong in any essential matters; and he still less intended that the ancient rights of the sovereignty should be subverted. In the pursuit of this system, it is now evident, that he was deficient with respect to steadiness, courage, and sagacity, and nothing can be more clear than that he did not foresee the consequences of his own most favourite measures. Wishing to please all parties, he temporized, and lost the opinion and confidence of all; and while he earnestly endeavoured to establish order, good temper, and good government in the kingdom, he unfortunately, but unwittingly, became, in no small degree, the instrument of the mischief and confusion which followed.

With respect to the questions which now so much agitated the nation, that minister never gave any decided opinion upon the subjects, either of the states voting by heads or by classes; of their sitting in one chamber or in three; nor of their amalgamation; but with respect to the double representation of the commons, he took a most decided part in favour of that measure, and persevered in it with no small degree of pertinacity. The notables were of a directly contrary opinion. They recommended the constitution of 1614, as the model by which the present convocation of the states should be regulated, as that had been by the regulations and orders established by their predecessors. That the three orders should conduct their deliberations in separate chambers, as had ever been the case, since the third estate had been first admitted to these convocations by

Philip le Bel, in the year 1302; and that the three orders should consist of something near equal numbers, amounting to about 300 each.

The notables, in giving this advice, only trod in the steps of the parliament of Paris, which had before given its unqualified opinion in support of the principle of convoking the states general according to the constitution of 1614. This conduct of the parliament, which in other seasons would have been productive of all the applause which usually attended their proceedings, upon this occasion produced a very different effect. The minds of men were now too much heated, and the new-fangled notions of government too widely spread, to admit of their being at all satisfied with those securities or concessions, which would before have occasioned the greatest joy and triumph. All the former popular acts of that assembly, all the arduous conflicts which they had sustained with the late administration, as well as that unconquerable courage and perseverance which ended only with its downfall, were now at once forgotten; and those distinguished members whose zeal and sufferings had ranked them among the heroes and martyrs of patriotism, were regarded, in the inflamed minds of the commons, as the contemptible tools of aristocracy.

This unexpected change in the public opinion was most sensibly felt by the parliament; who, in order to recover the affection of the people, assembled with more than usual formality early in December, inviting at the same time (to give the greater eclat to their proceedings) the attendance of the princes and peers. At this meeting they

they issued a piece, under the title of an arret on the present state of the nation, containing a number of resolutions, which seemed to include their ideas of the principal points of French liberty. It lays down, as a position not to be departed from, that no assembly could be considered as truly national, which did not ascertain the following essential points in favour of the people, namely, The periodical return of the states general:—No subsidy to be allowed, under any pretence, that was not granted by the states:—No law to be executed by the courts of justice which the states had not consented to:—The suppression of all those taxes that marked a distinction between the orders; and their replacement by common subsidies equally imposed on all:—The responsibility of ministers:—The right of the states general to bring accusations before the courts of justice for crimes that interest the whole nation:—The protection of the liberty of citizens, by obliging every man, detained in a royal prison, to be put into the hands of his proper judges:—And lastly, the lawful freedom of the press.

These provisions for establishing and preserving the rights and security of the people, and the attainment of which, only a small time back, would have been considered as presenting a glorious Magna Charta of French freedom, and as forming a new epocha in the history of that country, were now received not only with indifference, but with the greatest contempt. They fell so far short of the ideas of liberty and equality now spread, that they could not be listened to with patience: the parliament of Paris was totally disappointed in

the hope of recovering that popularity which it so eagerly sought; and from this time continued to dwindle day after day into still lower degrees of insignificance, until it was at length totally laid aside, and all its past exertions and consequence forgotten.

In the mean time the greatest jealousy and dissention subsisted between the different orders which were to compose the states. The third estate, or commons, so far from being satisfied with the submission of the nobility to an equal taxation, and to contribute in future a due proportion in the raising of subsidies, would overthrow all privileges whatever; and would not consider that as a concession which they claimed as an absolute right. This idea of extinguishing all claims founded upon ancient usage, compact, or privilege was carried so far as to trench in some respects upon private property, and in one instance to affect the circumstances of a numerous order of the state, many of whom were among those the least able to bear such a loss. For many of the lords had ages since, whether upon principles of kindness or mutual utility, released their peasants from that state of vassalage in which they were then held, and received certain fixed rents from them as a compensation for their lands; but, under the present scheme and philosophy of general equality, it was taught to be an intolerable grievance and oppression, to pay a price for the enjoyment of those rights and goods of nature to which every man was, as such, equally entitled. Several feudal rights and services were likewise still retained in most or all lordships or manors, some of which were

were commuted for in money, and others, perhaps more, discharged in kind. The loss of these rents and services would be very severely felt by the smaller nobility, who were very numerous, and who being obliged to support a certain degree of rank in very straitened circumstances, could expect nothing less than utter ruin and misery to their families, when to this defalcation from their narrow incomes, was to be added the share which they were in future to afford to the common taxation.

For the nobility, who, most fatally to themselves, had in the year 1787 held so tenacious a grasp of their pecuniary exemptions that they would not coincide in affording the smallest aid to extricate their sovereign or the public from the emergencies in which they were involved, and thereby opened the way to all the degradations which the monarch had since undergone, as well as to all the disorder and ill temper of the present time, were now become, not only fully sensible of their error, but began to perceive and to feel some part of the growing danger of their situation; the dukes and peers of France had already presented a memoir to the king, offering to bear their due proportion of the public charges, and, so far as they could, answering for the rest of the nobility as holding the same sentiments; and they were supported in this engagement by the public declarations or avowed disposition of the nobles in different parts of the kingdom. But their repentance, or right sense of their condition, was too late! the season was now past! and the popular ferment was grown to such a height, that all hope of conciliation seemed at an end.

For no equalization of taxes, no ease in their own situation, no exaltation of their political importance in the state, seemed now capable of affording any gratification to the commons, while the other two classes possessed a single privilege, or any degree of importance distinct from the general mass. As the writers, as well as the orators, and those numerous sects who were counted philosophers, were almost all on the popular side, so the tenures of the nobility were rendered so odious in the numberless writings which were every hour published on the subject, and their privileges, claims, conduct and services placed in such ridiculous and degrading points of view, that the nobles thought it necessary to issue a declaration in defence, wherein they insisted that their feudal rights were inviolable property, coeval with their estates, and equally acquired by the valour of their ancestors: that they had been established by the original constitution of the country, and confirmed by the sanction of unnumbered laws and of untold ages. But this declaration, instead of producing any good, or contributing in any degree to allay the prevailing animosity, served only to increase the unpopularity and odium under which the nobility already laboured.

At the very time that the closest union would have been indispensably necessary, to resist the designs that were laid against the whole of their immunities and distinctions, the nobility were divided by various jealousies among themselves, and split into violent factions. That superiority assumed by the dukes and peers of France, from their possessing seats in the parliament of Paris, and from their

their being considered as the hereditary counsellors of the crown, though a distinction of very long standing, and hitherto, like other old establishments, passed over without exciting much care or enquiry, became, in this season of innovation, and under the influence of that restless spirit which marked the genius and temper of the time, an object of much dissatisfaction and envy with those nobles, who from the largeness of their possessions, the antiquity or public services of their families, or from all together, thought themselves no less entitled to so flattering a pre-eminence.

In the same manner, and as if the contagion was general and unavoidable, the parliaments were torn to pieces by internal dissensions. For the places of judges, in these bodies, had by degrees been rendered in a great measure hereditary, the son usually succeeding the father in the office, if he had attained a proper maturity at the decease of the former. This was considered both an intolerable grievance, and an absolute injury, by the pleading lawyers, who saw themselves nearly cut off from ever attaining those emoluments and distinctions, which they considered as the proper objects of their professional ambition, as well as the due rewards of merit and ability, and necessary encouragements to assiduity, labour and exertion. They accordingly formed a strong and numerous as well as loquacious party, to cry down the judges, and ruin them with the public. The former were not always correct in their decisions; wrong was sometimes confirmed or established; and it had happened in some notorious and celebrated criminal cases, which awakened the attention

or excited the horror of all Europe, that the innocent were condemned to suffer the most cruel punishments, which the law permitted for the highest degrees of guilt. Though such cases were not frequent, yet when they occurred, the most eminent of the pleading advocates did not miss the occasion of acquiring great popularity by the courage and eloquence with which they defended the oppressed and injured: they boldly controverted and arraigned, and sometimes successfully, the decisions of the judges; and if every thing else failed, where the case was sufficiently clear, they appealed to the world at large, by publishing the proceedings. But in this eager chase of popularity they not seldom overshot the mark; for, being in the habit of opposing the judges, and growing warm in the exercise, they would strain and warp the law from its usual and natural bias, to make it suit the immediate purpose. They, however, gained their point, in rendering both the judges and the courts odious; and were indifferent as to the consequences, under a reliance, that their own legal knowledge and abilities would in all cases, and in any change that could take place, be indispensably necessary.

It is well known that the French parliaments boasted a peculiar nobility of their own, originating from particular office and rank. It seemed as if some fatality had, in this season of innovation and danger, prompted several of these provincial bodies to become dissatisfied with their former privilege and honour, and to attempt, by a new regulation, that none but gentlemen (by which is intended the smaller nobility) should be admitted into their



their respective assemblies. Nothing could have been a greater insult or injury to the third estate than this measure of folly and vanity, if time had been afforded for its being carried into effect; it having long been one of the most crying grievances of that body, that, through the partiality of the crown, nearly all promotions, whether civil, military, naval, or ecclesiastical, were monopolized by the nobility. The affront and intended injury were the more galling to the commons, as being offered by men who were drawn from the common mass of citizens, but who now regarded their fellows with such marked disdain, that they would for ever shut them out from possessing the same advantage. These circumstances served to render the parliaments not only unpopular but odious; and their subsequent fall, to be neither attended with pity, nor accompanied with respect.

Other prevalent causes operated in disuniting and weakening the nobility. Many of the most necessitous, the most turbulent, or the most profligate, rejoiced in the present ferment; they wished for disturbance and commotion, a state of things by which they could not lose much, but from whence the eagerness of hope and desire flattered them with prospects of great possible advantage. These eagerly sought popularity at any price and at all events, without any more regard to the benefit or security of their particular order, than to the general good of the state. Some, of high rank and great power, were supposed to entertain views of a remote but dangerous ambition, which could have no other hope of obtaining its end, than amid the disorders

produced by some great convulsion in the state. Upon this principle, it was their interest to promote by all means the present ferment; considering the rage and violence of the people as the proper dispositions for rendering them hereafter the useful and active instruments in the prosecution of their own designs. Such men could not want retainers and associates either in their own or any other order.

It had always been reckoned highly disgraceful in France, for a nobleman to become a member of the third estate; and on the other side, it was held no less disgraceful to the commons to elect a nobleman to be their delegate; such a measure, besides other grounds of objection, seeming to be a tacit acknowledgment, that no one of their own class was properly qualified to be their representative. But all delicacy or squeamishness in this respect was now, in some instances, laid by on both sides in the preparation for the approaching election of the states. Some of the most factious and desperate of the nobility, either despairing of being chosen by their own order, or holding, that the tiers *l'etat* would, in the present state of things, afford a more ample field for the display of their talents, as well as a more fertile soil for the propagation of their opinions and designs, used all their interest and address to obtain seats among the commons; while similar motives and dispositions to those which urged them to the application, operating with no less effect on the other side, they were received with open arms.

As if the spirit of discord was now destined to infect all orders of men, so the clergy were little better satisfied, or united among themselves

elves than the other classes of the people. The curates, or parish priests, who lived among and associated with the commons, had very generally, though in a less or greater degree as chance or temper operated, imbibed many of the popular notions and opinions. But there was a peculiar grievance relative to themselves, which, with little open complaint, they had long justly repined at. This was the monopoly which the nobility had, probably in all times, possessed, of nearly all the dignities and emoluments in the church; which, along with its being a constant object of vexation, jealousy and envy, could not but operate fatally to the discouragement of learning, virtue, and piety among the inferior clergy, and to the diligent exercise of those duties, which require such constant labour and care in the application, and are so indispensably necessary in that body. It is, however, probable, that this grievance was more felt and thought of in the present season of reform and innovation, than it had been at any former period.

The jealousy and dislike between the nobility and commons was every day increasing, and strongly indicating mischiefs and evils, which it should have been the great object of a wise and prudent government to prevent or evade. For the disposition of the nobles to subject their estates in future to a proportional share of the public burdens, afforded, as we have already seen, no satisfaction to the commons, while the former would have this considered merely as a concession of favour, but by no means as any dereliction of their right of exemption. The chief bone of contention was,

however, the question of amalgamation, or the three orders sitting and voting in common in one general assembly. This point the commons were determined, if possible, to carry at all events; deeming every other acquisition imperfect and of little value, without the strength and efficacy which this was capable of communicating; while the nobility, in general, were as obstinately bent on its rejection. But a part of their own body established an alarming precedent against the conduct and sentiments of the great majority; for at the provincial meeting of the states of Dauphiny, the nobles and clergy not only coalesced into one common mass with the representatives of the people, but it was determined by that assembly, that their deputies to the states general should be instructed to support stedfastly the question of amalgamation, and to give weight and currency to it from their own example, by neither sitting or voting in any other manner.

The commons of Britany, who, from the union of that province with France, had to the present day retained some greater portion of freedom than any others in the kingdom, and who had for some time, as we have heretofore seen, been in habits of great license and disorder, being now fired by the example of Dauphiny, insisted that their states should be modelled in the same manner; but this being peremptorily refused by the gentlemen, who thought it a most ungrateful return for the zeal, spirit, and risque with which they had supported the public rights, against the tyrannical designs and attempts of the late administration; the differences grew so high, and the contending

tending parties were so much enraged, that the country was for several weeks in little, if any thing, less than in a state of civil war.

On the other hand, the count d'Artois (the king's second brother) with the two princes of Conde and of Conti, who were at this time called the Triumvirate, and who were at the head of those scattered parties which still retained some attachment to the court, declared themselves strongly in support of the rights of the nobility, and presented a memorial to the king, in which, along with a profession, in the name of that body, of their willingness to contribute to the exigencies of the state by consenting to an equalization of taxes, they, however, reserved the obnoxious provision, "that this was to be considered as a matter of concession and favour, but not of right." And having treated, in the same memorial, some of the new pretensions of the third estate with great freedom, if not severity, it raised the indignation of that numerous and formidable party to the highest pitch, so that the count, who had long been sufficiently unpopular, was now execrated throughout the nation, and considered as the common enemy of the people: nor did these circumstances fail to increase the general animosity to the nobility.

The first prince of the blood, the duke of Orleans, had, upon the change of ministry, been discharged by the king from the restrictions which confined him to his country seat at Reims; but, instead of going to court, he proceeded to the palais royal in Paris, which was his own estate, and which for some time might have been considered

as his citadel. There he laid himself out by all possible means to attain a popularity, in the acquisition of which he had hitherto through life been singularly unfortunate. His immense fortune (being reckoned the richest subject in Europe, and his yearly income estimated at something about half a million sterling) rendered this design, in the present state of things, a matter of no great difficulty. The streets were deluged by an uncountable multitude of vagabonds, partly natives, but a greater number outcasts of the different provinces, who, hungry, ragged, and abandoned, were ready to perform any service of which they were capable, for food and covering. By excessive largesses in money and corn, he soon became the idol of that vast and profligate city, and seemed to succeed in filling the place which had been occupied by the duke of Beaufort towards the middle of the last century, and to stand fair for attaining, as he had done, the title of king of the mob. It was impossible that such a man, in such a situation and such circumstances, should be destitute of a considerable party. Mirabeau, and some other of the most violent demagogues in the succeeding convulsions, were closely connected with him, and were supposed to be actuated in their proceedings by views very different from those which were ostensibly avowed. While the duke, wrapped up in the darkness of his Olympus, and fixed in the centre of all the politics, intrigues, cabals, and violence of the metropolis, was, without any visible exertion, for a considerable time, supposed to guide the clouds, and to direct the course of the tempest.

Mr. Neckar has been much, and to all appearance deservedly, blamed for not having used the means which his official situation, and even his popularity, seemed to place in his hands, of endeavouring, previous to the elections, or even after, to allay the ferment which prevailed in the nation, to conciliate some, or to gain over others of the jarring factions, and above all things, to endeavour to heal or to soften the animosities between the commons and the nobility; which, as the latter were now willing to resign their exemption with respect to taxation, and might probably, under the influence of the present alarming aspect of public affairs, have been led to further concessions, did not by any means seem an unattainable object. Nothing of this sort was, however, done or attempted; every thing seems to have been committed to chance, or suffered to pursue that bias from which it received its original direction; while the minister, confident in hope, and looking to the States General with a degree of idolatry, as the summit of all possible perfection, seemed to rush blindly on, trusting, in defiance of the history and experience of past times, to find in that body a remedy for all the political evils of the state.

In this course, and through all the violence of contending factions, he adhered firmly to his favourite scheme of the double representation of the commons; although that measure was directly contrary to the opinion and advice of the parliament, the notables, of most if not all the other ministers, and to the sentiments and liking of the king himself. To secure this point, he presented a memoire to the sove-

reign, in which he rendered himself personally responsible for the success of that measure, and vainly desired that he might be made the sacrifice to its failure, or at least to its production of any sinister event. It is remarkable, that while in this piece he drew an imaginary picture of some of the effects which really ensued, he seemed scarcely to consider them as possibilities, or to think there was turpitude sufficient in mankind for their production.

The king, who had received a minister from the people merely in the hope of thereby restoring tranquillity to the public, and quiet to himself, did not think it prudent to hazard so desired an object by any interference of his own in counteracting his designs. In pursuance of this sentiment, in the beginning of January 1789, he issued that decree, framed or dictated by the minister, which granted to the third estate a double representation; but through some unaccountable negligence or blindness, left untouched that most essential question of amalgamation, and consequently of the states sitting in one, two, or three chambers. For the minister, in his preceding memoire to the king, although it was sufficiently verbose in other respects, touched slightly upon this subject, as if it were a matter rather of indifference than moment; only casually expressing a hope, that the states would settle these matters among themselves without any dissention; and hinting, distantly, at the possibility of the union of the three orders, without giving any opinion for or against its propriety.

Nothing could have been more unfortunate in the present state of things than this omission, and indeed

it may be considered as opening the way in a very great measure to the succeeding evils. The king's decision on the subject would have been final, and not only willingly submitted to, but was expected and wished; for none of the parties had yet called in question the plenitude of his authority, at least until the meeting of the states, to act in all things as provisional legislator. Nor did it require any great sagacity to foresee, that the great point of a double representation being gained by the third estate, while the other, of amalgamating the three orders into one, was left open and undecided, they would immediately endeavour to seize the advantage thus offered, and that their success in the first instance would render them infinitely more strenuous and impetuous in their efforts to obtain the second, which could alone communicate that full efficacy to the double representation which they wished and aimed at. Nor did it seem more difficult to perceive the danger of trusting the whole power of a mighty state in the hands of a single assembly, without any other to check or regulate its conduct, or any power whatever in the government which could, even by the interposition of a negative, attempt to restrain the exorbitances to which such a body, possessed of such unexampled authority, must almost be necessarily subject. It was evident, that in such an assemblage all its power must be subjected to the caprice or design of a majority; that such a majority, once formed, would soon become too much enamoured of their new power, not to cohere firmly together in its support; that the dissenting minority, whatever its number, could do nothing

more than complain (if they were allowed to do that) and would thereby become entirely useless, while the triumphant majority, by a proper management of the inflamed populace, with the national purse and the sword in their hands, might establish the most complete tyranny, under a republican name or form, and render it unalterable, by boldly perpetuating their own existence.

These, not only possible but probable consequences, were, however, overlooked upon this occasion.

Some well-judged proposals were, however, made for mollifying or correcting this state of things, and for conciliating the animosity of the parties: for the nobles had bound themselves by a solemn oath, never to submit to the amalgamating or consolidating system, so far as to sit or to vote in one common assembly.

One of these schemes was, that the representatives of the nobles and clergy should be united in one assembly, and should supply, at least in a certain degree, the place of the house of lords in England; while the third estate should sit by itself, under the name of the *lower commons*.

The second scheme was much more comprehensive. It proposed to unite, as the other did, the clergy and nobility in one house; but to restrict the number of seats possessed by both to a certain given and proportional number; that the clergy should be chosen by rotation; that the nobles should possess a certain given quantity of land to qualify them for election; but in order that the services of merit and ability should not be lost to the public, nor utility sacrificed to forms, that the

eldest sons or immediate heirs of these noble possessors should be likewise qualified to fill seats, if elected; and lastly, to enlarge the sphere of representation in the third estate, to remove prejudices, and to unite every rank and class of the people in one common interest, that the nobility at large, as well as the clergy, who were not appointed to the upper, but less numerous assembly, should be qualified to be elected by the commons as their representatives in the third estate; the number to be still restricted, though, to its original designation.

It is easily seen that this scheme, if adopted, would, among its smaller benefits, have been the means of introducing much decency, urbanity, and order, in the deliberations and proceedings of that body; that it would likewise have tended to a general diffusion of intelligence and public knowledge among the members, which was much and particularly wanted in whatever related to foreign affairs and connections; that it must have had an admirable effect in removing prejudices, curing animosities, and coalescing all the classes of the people; and that it would have obviated that reproach since thrown upon the constituent assembly, that they were mostly composed of lawyers, attorneys, country curates, artists, and authors; that many of them were men of narrow minds, and of very circumscribed knowledge; and were as little respectable in point of property, as of ability or knowledge. These were, however, but smaller matters, when placed in comparison with that excellency of constitution, and that just fitness, due proportion, strength, and security of all the parts of go-

vernment, which the framers and supporters of this scheme supposed or said might have been derived from it. For they represented, that counterpoises would be thus provided to every distinct power in the state; that each would operate as a check and regulator to the others, and prevent all excess in any; that under such guards it would become impossible for any one to devour all the others; and that thus, the most valuable parts of the English constitution would be obtained, without any of its defects.

But the views of the commons were now so much extended, and their desires so much inflamed by the near prospect of placing all the powers of the state in one single assembly, that no proposal which went wide of that mark could be attended to with patience. It was not difficult to find ostensible and popular reasons for the rejection of such a proposal. It would be disgraceful in the last degree for the greatest and most enlightened nation in Europe to borrow a constitution from another country. They possessed wisdom and philosophy sufficient for modelling and regulating their own government, without submitting to the shameful degradation of being in any degree beholden to the aid of foreigners. This idea had such force, that it became for a considerable time a fixed principle neither to borrow from, nor to imitate England in any respect whatever relative to the state and government.

It had at all times been customary in France, at the elections of the states general, for each order in each district to present a memorial of grievances, accompanied with instructions, to its peculiar deputy,

the

the practice being equally common with the clergy, the nobility, and the commons. These memorials or instructions were called *cahiers*; and in proportion to the number of them that coincided in pointing out any particular grievance, or in urging any particular instruction, it was expected the states would pay particular attention to them, and regulate their conduct accordingly. So general was the spirit now abroad, that the cahiers of the nobility, as well as of the clergy, went as fully to a reform in the government, as those of the commons; the only distinctions of any consequence being, that although the delegates of the nobility were instructed to give up freely the pecuniary exemptions of that order, they were strictly withheld from any surrender of their feudal rights, which was insisted on by the commons; but the second distinction was the great source of discontent and discord, involving a principle in which it seemed impossible that the two other orders could accord with the third estate; for the deputies of the commons were instructed, peremptorily to insist upon the consolidation of the three orders in one assembly. This enraged the nobility so much, that their delegates were generally, if not universally, instructed to resist the attempt to the utmost, and to proceed to any extremity, even to that of secession, sooner than submit to it. The delegates acted up to the spirit of their instructions, and besides resolutions and declarations, in order to guard against the versatility of individuals, they were generally bound by a solemn oath never to sit or to vote in

one common or general assembly, but to adhere firmly to their ancient forms and mode of acting.

Thus early did the unfortunate effects of that fatal error, negligence, or whatever other name it may be called, which left that most essential question of consolidation open and undecided, begin to appear, and with a most alarming aspect, in the first instance, opened the way to all the confusion that followed, to the utter degradation and ruin of the two first orders of the state, and to the final overthrow of the longest established government in Christendom, and probably in the world, China itself not excepted.

The following short account of the views of the different parties then in France is thus given by a person well acquainted with them, and who was himself an actor of consideration in the scenes then exhibited: \* That, "the commons wished to conquer; the nobles wished to preserve what they already possessed; the clergy waited to see which side would be victorious, in order to join the conquerors;"—but, "if any one sincerely wished for peace, it was the king."

The states had been summoned for the 27th of April, and most of the deputies were on that day assembled at Versailles; but the numerous deputation from Paris, as well as the multitude of the electors, occasioned so much delay in the elections of that city, that the king thought it necessary to defer the opening of the assembly unto the 4th of May. The factions who were thus brought from all parts of the kingdom to

\* Lally Tolendal.

clash together and shew their animosity at Versailles, were soon distinguished, and were arranged under their respective leaders before the formal opening of the assembly. They were classed under three great divisions, and these subdivided into smaller parties.

The first was the aristocratic party, who were determined to support, in all events, and at all hazards, the ancient form and mode of proceeding, by a separation of the states into three chambers, and by each chamber retaining its respective *vetos*, or negative on the others. This party was considerable, whether considered with respect to number, or to the talents and ability of its leaders, in both orders of the nobles and of the clergy.

The second division was that of the middle or moderate party; who, though averse to continue the distinction of three separate orders, as too complicated and difficult a system for practice, yet wished for a constitution founded upon the British principle of reciprocal controul, such as we have already taken notice of. Though this party was not near so numerous as the former, yet it included names, both with respect to talents and integrity, which ranked high among the most eminent in the kingdom; and even among the commons, was supported by such men as Moanier, Bergasse, and Malouet.

The last, but the great and triumphant division, was that overwhelming democratic party which was destined to swallow up all others, and to level all distinctions, from the sceptre to the bare cross of St. Louis, in the dust. This party embraced the most violent and turbulent spirits of the nation in the third

estate, among whom the celebrated Mirabeau, finding himself rejected with contempt by his own order, obtained a seat, and soon became the most conspicuous of their leaders, which he continued to be, until he was unexpectedly arrested by death, in the midst of his turbulent and ambitious career. Nor were democratic principles confined entirely to the third estate; they were adopted with no less violence by the bishop of Autun, and the curate Gregoire, who headed a party among the clergy. The duke of Orleans, having been chosen a member of the states for his own bailliage of Cressy, in Valois, took care to provide a sanction for his future conduct, by employing the abbe Si-yes, who was particularly attached to him, and whose name stood high among the modern speculative philosophers and politicians, to draw up his *cahier* or instructions, in the name of that bailliwicke; which the abbe accomplished in a manner that could not but afford content to the most eager wishes of democracy.

But in this interval, between the first assemblage of the states at Versailles, and the day appointed for their formal opening, when it might have been imagined that all murmur and all turbulence would have been absorbed in the expectation and joy excited by so new and un-hoped-for an event, the profligate populace of the metropolis determined to exhibit to the collected representatives of every part of the kingdom, an early and notable specimen of the ferociousness of their manners, and of their incurable disposition to disorder and tumult.

The primary elections had for *some* days been carried on in the different



different districts of Paris; but as this is a term and subject little understood in this country, some short explanation may here be necessary. The inhabitants of every district in France, preparatory to the election of delegates, hold what is called a primary assembly, where they choose a prescribed number of electors, who are to act for the whole in the choice of a representative to the states. The primary assemblies have nothing farther to do with the final election of delegates, nor have they any knowledge who they are to be, but they leave their cahiers or instructions with the electors, which are by them communicated to the representative. By this course it is easily seen, that there is no immediate or near connection between the delegate and those whom he represents, he being a deputy chosen by other deputies, and owing nothing directly to the good will of the people at large.

These primary assemblies, in which custom, and the practice of descanting upon and stating grievances in their cahiers, necessarily produced much licence of speech, and afforded an opportunity to the meanest individuals, of publicly venting their discontents, could not but be liable to produce some disorders, even in well regulated societies; but in the present state of Paris, their effect was highly and justly dreaded by the sober, most respectable, and most opulent part of the citizens. Whether it was to obviate these apprehensions, or that the court thought it otherwise necessary, the French guards, who had for some time been stationed in that capital, now received orders to double their guards, and to be constantly ready at call to preserve order.

Things, however, went on quietly for some days; but it happened that M. Reveillon, a citizen of the first order in point of respectability and opulence, and who conducted a capital paper-manufactory, in which he gave constant employment to a great number of workmen, had presided, along with a M. Henriot, and some other of the most eminent citizens in that quarter, at the primary assembly held for the district of St. Antoine. It is farther said, that being astonished at the length and violence of the political harangues held forth by some of his own workmen, and at the strange doctrines which they advanced, Reveillon could not so far govern his temper, as not to shew some marks of disapprobation at their conduct.

This enraged them so much, that to draw the mob entirely to their side, and to render his destruction certain, his own workmen, whom he had so long employed and maintained, raised the malicious and false report against him, that he was at the head of a combination of manufacturers and masters, who had agreed to reduce the wages of all the journeymen and working people in Paris; and that he had himself publicly declared, that their wages was not only far beyond their deserts, but much more than was necessary for the maintenance of them and their families.

Such a report, without regard to its falsehood, might have been productive of some mischief in any manufacturing and populous place, but in the tumultuous Fauxbourg, or suburb of St. Antoine, ever prone to ungoverned riot and disorder, and where the population was immense, it was like the application of wild-fire to gun-powder. The rabble,

however, not having yet arrived at the height of their fury, amused themselves the first day by burning M. Reveillon, and some others, in effigy; and a detachment of guards, who were sent to suppress the tumult, being too weak for the purpose, their failure served to increase the audacity of the mob.

The intoxication and mutual communication produced in the night were sufficient to prepare them for any pitch of enormity on the succeeding day. They accordingly proceeded to demolish the houses of April 28. M. Reveillon, and M. Henriot, which they effectually accomplished with great dispatch. A strong body of the guards having arrived before they could proceed any farther in the accomplishment of their designs, were immediately saluted with a violent shower of stones and tiles, which they bore for some time with great temper; but perceiving that their forbearance only served to render the mob more daring and violent in their attack, the guards at length threw in a close and heavy fire, which made a miserable slaughter among the rabble. A great number were killed; the hospitals crowded with the wounded; and terror immediately succeeding to insolence, the rest dispersed as fast as they could.

It was strongly asserted at the time, that this riot was not accidental, and did not arise from the assigned causes, nor from any sudden impulse of the populace, but had been instigated by some of the leaders of the contending factions, as an experiment to try the temper both of the mob and of the soldiers, and therefrom to draw conclusions which

might hereafter be applicable to certain cases. Thus far is certain, that the court and the popular party charged each the other with being the authors of it; that each pointed out a great leader on the opposite side as being the immediate instigator; and that both parties asserted, with the utmost positiveness, that wretches who were dying of their wounds in the hospitals, confessed they had been hired, but either would not or could not declare by whom.—If either charge be founded, what means can hereafter be deemed too execrable for the purposes of faction?

Though peace was thus apparently restored to the capital, yet the fermentation among the mob was so great, that it was easily seen to be of a very doubtful and precarious nature; a stronger proof of which needs not to be given, than that the whole body of French guards in Paris were obliged to be drawn out, with loaded arms, bayonets fixed, and artillery planted in different places, in order to insure the execution of two ruffians who had been taken in the very act of plunder. It was in this insurrection that women were first seen to forget all the timidity natural to their sex, with all the restraints fixed by habit and opinion, and to mix with more than masculine fury in scenes of blood and destruction. It was here too that men were taught to disguise themselves in the dress of women, thereby to evade the punishment due to their crimes.

Such were the sad auspices under which the first assemblage of the states general of France, after a long lapse of 175 years, was destined to commence its proceedings.

## C H A P. X.

*Solemn and august opening of the assembly of the states general at Versailles. Short speech by the king. Keeper of the seals speech. Long harangue by M. Neckar disappoints all parties. Inexplicable conduct of the ministers, in leaving the question of consolidation, and those relative to the manner of deliberating and voting, still undecided. All the legal authority in the kingdom then possessed by the king. Fatal consequences of that omission of the ministers. Scheme thence formed by the third estate to render the other orders entirely dependent upon them. Explanation of the phrase Verification of Powers. Commons invite the clergy and nobles to come to their hall, in order to proceed in common with them, in the verification of their respective writs of return. Invitation refused, as being contrary to established form, and subversive of the rights of the other orders. Commons pass a resolution, that no writs could be valid that were not verified in their chamber and presence; and that, without going through that form, the other two chambers would be illegal assemblies. Nobles blamed for their obstinacy in refusing to comply with the demand of the commons. Clergy wavering. Privileged orders weakened by their internal dissensions. Meetings of the commons tumultuous and disorderly. Admission of the populace causes shameful disorders, and produces in time great evils. Nobles proceed with their separate verifications, and declare themselves duly constituted. This proceeding treated with the utmost contempt by the commons. Commissioners appointed to settle the differences between the nobles and commons, and the clergy act as mediators; but the disputants can agree in nothing. Ministers alarmed, now persuade the king to interfere, when it is too late. Nobles pass an arret, declaring the deliberation by orders to be essential to the monarchical constitution; and that they would ever persevere in this principle, as being equally necessary both to monarchy and freedom. Conferences between the orders renewed in compliance with the king's request. M. Neckar brings forward his conciliatory plan, supported by a message from the king to all the orders; accepted, in fact, only by the clergy. While the other orders seem to deliberate on it, they clog it with conditions which they know will be inadmissible. Commons alarm the nobles, by declaring that they will constitute themselves into an active assembly, and proceed to business. Nobles continue obstinate, notwithstanding the endeavours of the temperate few among them. Commons indirectly endeavour to render them more inflexible. Nobles and commons jointly address the king. Party of the commons continually gaining ground among the clergy. Three curates of Paris bring their writs of return for verification to the commons, and are received with acclamations of the highest joy and triumph. Third estate assume the title of National Assembly. Signalize their new title by a strong and popular act of sovereignty. Spectators interrupt the debates, hoot and menace the members, and publish lists of the voters, stigmatising those as enemies to their country who vote contrary to their liking. King and ministers, greatly alarmed, determine upon holding a royal*

royal session. Preparations for carrying that measure into execution conducted with such imprudence and rashness, as to excite the greatest public alarm. National assembly shut out from their hall by guards and workmen, without any previous notice or knowledge of the intention. Commons, apprehensive of immediate dissolution, hurry through a violent storm of rain to an old tennis-court, where they bind themselves by a solemn oath, never to part until the constitution was completed. Extreme odium, as well as other evil consequences, which the bad conduct of the ministers in this transaction drew upon the king. Majority of the clergy join the commons. Great joy and triumph upon this occasion. Commons, upon this junction, are confident in their strength. Royal session. Plan of a new constitution or system of government laid down by the king. Various causes which operate to its rejection. Commons refuse to adjourn or interrupt their session. Issue a decree, declaring the persons of their members inviolable. Outrages at Versailles and in Paris. Poissardes, and another order of women, become highly notorious. Extraordinary scenes in the gardens of the palais royal. Parisians so prone to revolt, that M. Neckar is obliged to send a letter to allay the ferment. Commons treat the king's system with silent contempt. Archbishop of Paris terrified by the dangers to which he had been exposed by the rabble, comes, with the minority of the clergy, to the hall of the commons, where they withdraw their protest. Count de Clermont Tonnerre, and M. de Lally, use the most strenuous endeavours to bring the nobles to an union with the commons, but the majority continue inflexible. Minor party of that order desert the same evening, and join the third estate. Majority, at length, after a message from the king, and violent debates, unite with the commons. Great hopes formed of the happy consequences which would ensue from this union of the states. New and alarming councils and measures adopted by the court. Troops drawn from different parts of the kingdom towards the capital. Causes or motives of this extraordinary change of measures not yet clearly developed. Contending parties charge each other with evil designs, which are mutually denied. National assembly had not, since the late union of the states, afforded any visible cause for jealousy or violence. Successful means used in Paris to seduce the French guards from their duty. Parisians force the prison, and rescue the mutinous soldiers of that body who were confined for disobedience of orders, and other acts of contumacy. National assembly present a spirited remonstrance to the king on the near approach of the troops. King answers, that the disorders in Paris afford the only motive for this measure, and proposes to transfer their sitting to Noyon or Soissons, in which case he would remove the court and follow them. Democratic leaders reject the proposal. Horrid designs attributed to the court by the opposite party in this change of system. Opinions of more moderate men on the subject, so far as they can be collected. M. Neckar ordered to resign his place, and to quit the kingdom. Other ministers resign. M. de Breteuil placed at the head of the new ministry, and Marshal Broglio appointed to command the army. Disorders in Paris commence on Sunday morning, on the arrival of this intelligence. Prince de Lambesc, in an ill-judged attempt, with his regiment of cavalry, to disperse the riotous populace in the gardens of the Tuilleries, shamefully repulsed. All government being at an end in Paris, a day of fury  
and

and rage is succeeded by a night of the most dreadful panic. On Monday morning above 100,000 people assemble, and seem animated by one common soul. Temporary bodies of electors appointed to the government of their respective districts. Army of 30,000 men suddenly formed. Joined by the French guards. New cockade. Appearances not only of defence but of active war. Plunderers, detected in the fact by the populace, instantly hanged by the lantern ropes. Thus commenced the dreadful precedent of the populace becoming in the same instant both the judges and the executioners of the law. On Tuesday morning the new army complete their preparations by seizing the arms in the public repositories. Attack the Bastille. Contradictory accounts of several circumstances relative to the attacking and taking of that fortress. M. de Launay, the governor, dragged to the Place de Greve, and miserably murdered. M. de Lofme, his major, a man of great humanity, and who had treated the prisoners with unusual tenderness, meets the same fate. This day introduced the savage custom of mutilating the bodies of the victims, and of exhibiting their bleeding heads in the streets on pikes. The lives of a handful of invalids, who garrisoned the Bastille, saved by the French guards. The mayor of Paris, being detected in a correspondence with the court, is turned out of office, and ordered to prison for trial, by the committee of electors; but is forced from the guard by the rabble, who murder him on the spot, and exhibit his head in the streets like the others. Only seven prisoners found in the Bastille. On the Sunday and Monday the king's ministers and generals seemed asleep, or in a trance; but on Tuesday, the former found themselves suddenly overwhelmed by a deluge of misfortunes from every quarter; and could find no other resource than that of concealing from the sovereign the dismal and dangerous situation in which he was involved. National assembly, with the terrors of dissolution and imprisonment before their eyes, resolved, with the firmness of a Roman senate, not to relinquish a single point. Pass a celebrated resolution. Solicit the king to withdraw his troops. King's answer. Assembly resolve on Tuesday not to separate, but to sit up all night in their hall. System of concealment still pursued. Duke de Liancourt forces his way to the king's bedside at midnight, and acquaints him with the true state of his affairs. King resigns himself next morning into the hands of the assembly. His speech received with loud acclamations, and the whole assembly accompany him back to the palace. Paris now to be considered as a great republic. M. la Fayette appointed to the command of the army. M. Bailly chosen mayor. National assembly send a deputation of 84 members to Paris. King persuaded to the humiliating and dangerous measure of visiting the capital. Met at Seven by 25 000 national guards, who escort him to the town house. Returns safe to Versailles. Inhuman and barbarous songs popular in Paris. Cruel murders of Foulon and Berthier. Speedy dispersion of the late ministers, courtiers, generals, and favourites, who, with the Count d'Artois, his two sons, and the Princes of Conde and Conti, escape to foreign countries. Attempts made by the moderate party in the assembly for adopting effectual means to restrain that sanguinary spirit which was now becoming so dreadfully general. Excessive joy at M. Neckar's return. Triumphant entry into Paris.

*Paris.* His hopes unexpectedly blasted by the refusal of the Parisians to order the release of M. Bezonval, or to grant a general amnesty. Dreadful state of disorder and cruelty which prevails through the country in general.

May 4th, 1789. **N**OTHING could be more solemn or august than the opening of the states general of France at Versailles: it seemed, indeed, a glorious sight, to behold all the wisdom and ability of a numerous and mighty nation, concentrated under one roof, and under the eye of a common father, preparing to modify the government of the whole; and by affixing such barriers to the excesses of power, such checks upon licentiousness, and establishing such securities to rights as could not be overthrown or shaken, are thereby expected to do every thing that human foresight was capable of, towards transmitting to posterity a fair prospect of tranquillity and happiness through a long course of succeeding ages. It was, however, an unpleasing circumstance, that many of the most moderate men in all the orders, and among those the best informed in every thing that related to the present state of affairs, could enjoy no part of this flattering prospect; but that, on the contrary, already terrified by the scenes of intrigue and faction, which were either opening before their eyes, or which they knew to be in embryo, and still more by the audacity and violence of character which marked several of the factious leaders, they could augur nothing but evil and mischief as the result of such combinations, and trembled at the thoughts of those crimes and miseries, which they imagined must of necessity precede

the establishment of peace and of rational liberty.

The king delivered a short speech from the throne, in which, after declaring the satisfaction he felt at being surrounded by the representatives of his people, and of hearing that the two first orders were disposed to renounce their pecuniary privileges, he expressed his uneasiness at the general restlessness which prevailed, and the excessive desire of innovation which had seized the minds of his people. He afterwards declared his resolution to support the principles of monarchy; while the following kind expressions, with which he concluded, indicated of what nature he intended that government to be, viz.—“but  
“all that can be expected from the  
“most tender attachment to public  
“happiness, all that can be asked  
“from a sovereign, the friend of  
“his people, you may and ought to  
“expect from my sentiments.—  
“May a happy union reign in this  
“assembly, and this epoch become  
“for ever memorable from the hap-  
“piness and prosperity of my sub-  
“jects!”

Mr. Barentin, the keeper of the seals, succeeded the king in a speech of no extraordinary length, nor overloaded with matter. He enlarged upon the idea of a limited middle state of government, equally removed from absolute monarchy on the one hand, and secured against the inroads of anarchy and republicanism on the other. In other respects he seemed confined or guarded; and particularly

larly with regard to the formidable question of three chambers or one, he touched it so lightly, as to leave it in the same state of ambiguity which the financial minister had hitherto done; not venturing to hazard an opinion, or to enter into any discussion whatever upon the subject. He did not, however, neglect displaying the attention which the king paid to the public voice in granting a double representation in favour of the most numerous of the three orders, and that on which the burden of taxation principally lay; but he observed, that in complying with this desire, his majesty had not changed the ancient form of deliberation; and, that though the deliberation by heads, in giving one general result, appeared to have the advantage of better displaying the general wish, or opinion, yet the king had not willed that this form should take place without the free consent of the states general, confirmed by his own approbation.

The expectations of all parties were now raised to the highest pitch, to hear the long oration which was read by M. Neckar; all expected a wonderful fund of information, public affairs to be placed in a new light, and a series of practical conclusions to be drawn so clearly from established premises, as scarcely to leave room for doubt or controversy. It happened, however, unfortunately, that all parties were equally disappointed in their expectations. Loose and declamatory in its texture, interlarded with moral maxims and sentimental apostrophes, the speech kept wide of all the great points of political discussion or decision which seemed to be its only proper objects; and, in fact,

was universally considered as much better calculated for an academical harangue, than for expressing the sentiments of a great monarch to the representatives of a powerful, a haughty, and convulsed nation, and that at a crisis which already exhibited the most novel and dangerous appearances.

In touching on rather than treating of the great and essential question of the separate chambers, that question on which hung the fate of the nation, the minister departed not from his former ambiguity, and left his hearers totally unable to comprehend what his real opinion was on the subject. He, however, shewed some signs of apprehension of the schism that might arise, if the commons should immediately insist on the system of voting by heads; and threw out a wish or recommendation, that the two first orders should have the honour of renouncing freely of their own accord, and consequently by a separate deliberation, all their obnoxious pecuniary exemptions.

It was impossible for the third estate, until the business of this day was over, to form any certain conclusion as to the success of those designs which they had so much at heart, of obliging the other orders to coalesce with them in one body, and consequently of voting by heads, instead of the old form, ever hitherto practised, of voting by orders. For the king possessed at this instant, as he had done since the cessation of the parliaments, all the legal authority of the kingdom; as, though the states were assembled, they were not yet constituted, and could possess no legal powers whatever until the verification of their writs of election, a business which

in any event, must have taken up several days. Thus the king might, to the last moment, have instituted such regulations with respect to their sitting, deliberating, and voting, as he thought proper, provided only that they were conformable to the ancient precedents and mode of acting. Nor would it have been much, if any thing, short of formal rebellion, in any of the orders, to refuse a compliance with regulations so established. This renders the conduct of his ministers still more inexplicable. That they should thus periere to the last moment in so fatal a blindness or negligence, as to leave questions on which every thing depended open and undecided, is so little reconcileable with the common conduct of common men in matters of business, that it seems under the present appearance of things totally incomprehensible.

But this season and opportunity being irrecoverably lost, the commons now saw a fair opening for drawing all authority to themselves, and by a proper application of the weight drawn from their double representation, of the popularity which they possessed, and of the advantage offered them by the negligence of the ministers, to render the other two orders so entirely dependent upon them as to become mere nominal cyphers in the state. Nor did they want able leaders to seize and improve these advantages to the utmost. These were quickened in their action, by the hint or advice thrown out by the financial minister in his speech, to induce the privileged orders to make a gratuitous surrender of their pecuniary exemptions, than which nothing could be more contrary to the views

of the opposite party, as they dreaded these orders might thereby recover some share of their former popularity; and the hint was the more alarming, as they knew that a disposition to adopt the measure with a good grace was already prevalent. To counteract this intention, and all others of a similar tendency, was deemed of sufficient moment to require the joint ability of the most skilful and experienced leaders of the democratical party; and instead of trifling with expedients, and losing time in waiting the result of contingent events, it was determined, by a bold and unexpected stroke, to disable at once the privileged orders from acting, at least for the present, in their peculiar and respective functions.

The means for this bold and comprehensive measure were sought for in the speech made by the keeper of the seals, and from an established form of words, which are supposed to have been always used upon similar occasions, but which had never before been wrested to their present application. The passage was thus:—"Gentlemen, it is the king's intention that you should assemble to-morrow to proceed to the *verification* of your powers, and finish it as soon as possible, that you may employ yourselves in the important objects which his majesty has intimated to you."

As the phrase, *verification of powers*, in the sense here used, is unknown in this country, it may not be unnecessary to observe, that on the election of delegates to the states general of France, the writs of return, instead of being sent to the crown-office, as in England, are immediately deposited by the returning



turning officers in the hands of the elected members, whatever orders they may belong to. These writs are called *pouvoirs*, or powers; and before any business could be legally transacted by any of the orders, each member was obliged, in a certain ceremonious form, to present his writ of election upon the table of the chamber to which he belonged. Commissaries were then appointed by each order to examine the authenticity of all the writs immediately belonging to itself; and until this business was finished, which usually took up several days, the states general were destitute of all legal authority whatever. The sanction of these commissaries to the authenticity of the writs afforded what was called the *verification of powers*.

The democratical leaders having settled their plan, May 11th. a very civil message was dispatched from the third estate, inviting the clergy and nobles (as if it had been a matter of course, or merely in conformity with the king's recommendation) to unite with them, in order that they might proceed to verify in common their writs of return. This invitation not being accepted, and being considered as a manœuvre contrived merely for the purpose of prejudging the great question as to their sitting in one or in three chambers, the commons instead of relaxing rose higher in their pretensions, and growing hourly more confident in their strength, and in the goodness of the ground they had taken, they seemed no longer to think it necessary to temporize, but laying by the mask, openly to avow no small part of their designs. They held out as incontrovertible

axioms, that no writs could be verified but in their chamber, and in their presence; and that, until the nobles and clergy had submitted to go through this form of verification, they were not to be considered as legal assemblies, but merely as a collection of individuals, who could only speak, as such, in their own unauthorized name, but who were totally incapable of acting for or of assuming the voice of their constituents.

Thus were the nobles and clergy stopped short in the very outset of their proceedings, and a bar, which seemed insuperable, thrown in the way of their ever acting, excepting they were to submit to the degradation of passing under the yoke prepared for them by the commons, and to a dereliction of rights or privileges, which they had possessed for a course of ages before a third estate had been even thought of. But the privileged orders were weakened by internal factions, and still more perhaps by the want of any bond of common concert and union. A great majority of the nobility were, however, determined, at all hazards, and in all events, to resist this innovation to the last.

The nobility have been blamed for their obstinacy on this occasion, though the justness of the censure may perhaps admit of a question. It has been said that the question was not of sufficient importance to warrant a breach, especially at this critical season, between the orders; that it did not directly militate against the cahiers or instructions which they had received from their constituents; that their compliance might have been the means of inducing harmony between the orders, and consequently of their carrying

rying on business smoothly in concert afterwards; and that a submission to act in common in the mere point of verification, would not be conclusive with respect to other matters, nor at all preclude the privileged orders from a separation, and from resuming their distinct privileges whenever they found it convenient. But it is to be remembered, that the power of determining on the validity of its own returns was the grand privilege and the most essential right of each order; that in giving up that it would give up every thing; that it would not be more monstrous in common life, for one man to require another to give up his house or his wife, than it was for one order of a state, in which each had its defined limits, to propose to another a surrender of its peculiar privileges and rights; that it was not a question of mere form nor of temporary moment; that a compliance would establish a precedent which probably could never be overruled, and would consequently not only be an act of immediate treachery to their respective orders, but a perpetual treachery, involving their posterity and successors through future ages. Besides, it became now every hour more evident, that the great object of the third estate was to deprive their brethren in legislation of all weight and power, either by compelling them to mix in the common mass, where their votes and opinions could be of no avail, or under this or some other pretence to preclude them from acting in any manner.

In the great contest now between the orders, the commons possessed the signal advantage of being united among themselves, or at least of be-

ing apparently so; which produced the same effect for the present as if it had been real. On the other hand the clergy and nobility were each torn by internal dissention; and a regular majority and minority were formed in each. In the first order, the curates being nearly all attached to the popular side of the question, the number disposed to an union with the commons was so near being on an equality with the opposite party, that it was easily seen any small change of circumstance or situation might turn the balance to that side. Even among the nobles there was a minority, which seemed to acquire some consequence from its being headed by the duke of Orleans; but a great majority of that order seemed firm in their determination of preserving and supporting its distinct privileges.

The meetings of the commons, notwithstanding their apparent unanimity, were from the beginning disorderly and tumultuous in the extreme. It seemed in many instances, as if the peculiar temper of the nation rendered them incapable of acting together in public bodies, with that coolness, seriousness, and gravity which are so necessary in discussing great and important subjects, and in forming those wise determinations, which may be supposed to stand the test of future dispassionate examination. The vanity of the orators, their rage for popularity, along with the general wish of the commons to secure the populace entirely in their interest, were among the causes which at this time gave rise to inconveniences and evils, which no time nor opportunity have yet afforded the means of removing. For thus early began that indefinite liberty of ad-

mission, that disregard of form and order, in admitting the spectators to be confounded with the members, and that unbridled licence of noise and clamour to the crowd, which would have been deemed intolerable in a theatre, and which have since, by a continued increase of enormity, produced so many disgraceful and scandalous scenes in that assembly.

The clergy, who we have before seen were wavering, agreed to name commissaries to treat with those of the nobles and of the third estate, on the subject of verification; but the nobility rejecting any thing that tended to a compromise went on with their separate verification, and declared themselves legally constituted. This was treated with the most unsufferable contempt by the commons, and some violent motions were made against that order, but means were used to evade putting them to the question.

May 19th. Commissaries were at length named by the third estate to confer with those who should be appointed by the clergy and nobles, on the verification of writs; but these commissaries were bound by a strict restriction, never to depart from the principle of *voting by heads*. On the same day the clergy voted unanimously, with great acclamation, that they renounced all exemption from taxes; but added a declaration, that they were not yet constituted as a legal chamber; and they appointed their commissaries to assist at the conference, in the character of mediators between the nobles and the third estate. The commissaries met, and the conferences ended as public disputations generally do; each party continued wedded to its own opi-

nions, and each boasted that the arguments on its own side were irrefragable.

The turn that was taking place in the disposition or conduct of the clergy could not escape any observation; but it was singular, that the profligate Mirabeau should have been the proposer of inviting that body, *in the name of the God of peace*, to unite with the commons. His motion was immediately adopted, and a deputation accordingly sent, inviting them in that awful name, as well as for the interest of the nation, to unite with the commons in the hall of the general assembly, in order to consult together on the means of restoring peace and concord.

Some feelings of alarm began now to break through that stupor, in which the ministers had apparently been involved. It was thought necessary that the king should personally interfere, in the vain hope of his now being able to cure those evils, which he should in time, and might without difficulty, have prevented. Letters were sent in his name to the nobles and clergy, expressing his sorrow that the difficulties which had arisen on the verification of writs should have retarded the measures which ought to have been taken for the happiness of his people, and desiring that the commissaries should resume their conferences, with a view to a speedy accommodation. But the severities produced by the contest between the parties had already risen their mutual obstinacy and animosity to so great a height, that little moderation could be expected on either side. The nobles, however, agreed to comply with the king's requisition with regard to the con-

ferences; but passed a solemn *arret*, or resolution, that the deliberation by orders was essential to the monarchical constitution; and that the nobles would constantly persevere in this principle, as being equally necessary both to monarchy and freedom.—If all the former unpopularity of that order had been worn off, this resolution would have renewed it with fresh vigour.

The conferences were again renewed; all the old records that could be produced, tortured into all the contradictory interpretations which the contending parties were disposed to fix upon them; and the questions on the verification of June 4th. writs left as uncertain as ever. In this state of things M. Neckar came forward with a conciliatory plan which he read to the commissaries, and which amounted in substance to what follows:

That the three orders, by an act of free and voluntary confidence, should trust each other with regard to the verification of those writs on which no difficulties shall be raised, but shall communicate to each other their acts of verification to be speedily examined. If any contests arise on the validity of an election, they shall be carried, first before a commission chosen out of all the orders; and if any order refuse to ratify the commissioners sentence, the dispute shall finally be referred to the king.

This plan was supported by a formal message from the king to each of the three orders; but was, in effect, only accepted by the clergy. While the commons seemed to take it into consideration, and the nobles declared themselves ready to accept it, the latter, however, clog-

ged their acceptance with the restriction of never departing from their recent resolution with respect to the separation of the orders; along with some other modifications; and these, altogether, afforded plausible ground to the third estate for rejecting a scheme which they would not in any case have adopted. Having signified this rejection to the nobles, they declared at the same time, that they should proceed to that sort of measure which is understood in England by a *call of the house*; that the names of the clergy and nobles should be called over as well as the commons; that they would then constitute themselves into an *active assembly*, and proceed on public business without them.

Though this menace greatly alarmed the nobles, yet their passions and obstinacy were so prevalent, that the great majority would not listen to the advice of the wise and temperate few, who used all means to persuade them to revoke their modifications, and not by an ill-timed inflexibility to afford a pretence to the commons for carrying things to the last extremity. The leaders of the commons were so much afraid of their relaxing, which would prove a bar to the prosecution of their designs, that they played upon their passions to provoke and confirm them in their obstinacy, holding out, that it was impossible the nobles could be guilty of such a meanness as to retract their own resolutions. Their address was successful, and the nobles played exactly the game which their enemies wished.

In this state of things, the nobles and the commons thought it necessary severally to address the king, each appealing

appealing to the constitution, and each endeavouring to draw him to their side. The king, in his letter to the nobles, gave them a gentle reprimand "for their want of that confidence in him, which," he said, "might have prevented the present situation of affairs."

In the mean time the party of the commons was every day gaining ground amongst the clergy; and at the moment that the deputies of Poictou were called over in the hall of the assembly, three curates of that province presented themselves before the third estate with the writs of return in their hands. The joy and triumph occasioned by this circumstance could scarcely be described. The curates were received with loud acclamations; they were embraced, and hailed as the saviours of France; and an account of the transaction was immediately dispatched to Paris, with all the triumph which could have attended a gazette extraordinary, conveying intelligence of a glorious victory over a foreign enemy. The object in this conveyance was not entirely confined to the union which it was thought necessary to cement with that city; the leaders of the commons looked besides to the importance of such an example, and were well aware that these early converts would soon be followed by a number of other curates.

Thus every thing was tending fast to that consummation, in which one branch of the legislature was to swallow up all the other powers of the state. The commons were already certain of victory; they made sure of the clergy, or at least of drawing over such a number of their deputies as would answer

the purpose, by rendering the remainder totally inefficient, who had, indeed, already disqualified themselves, by acknowledging that they were not legally constituted; and the nobles, being then left alone, must of necessity submit to whatever terms were prescribed to them.

Five weeks had now elapsed since the meeting of the states general, and not one step had yet been taken, tending to promote the national prosperity, which was the object of their being called together. All this delay and inaction were charged to the obstinacy of the nobles, while the public universally swallowed the charge without examination. It was never considered that the commons had commenced the attack, by attempting to strip them of the privilege of verifying their own writs; that they still persisted in this claim with the most unconquerable obstinacy, as well as in another equally novel, and unsupported by any sufficient precedent, that of compelling them to sit and vote in one common assembly. We use the terms *sufficient precedent*, because it is said, that in early and obscure times, before the third estate was formed, a few of the kings, upon some particular occasions, had called in a few deputies from the great towns to sit in the assembly of the states, and as these had no chamber of their own, and were too few in number to form a separate body, it may be taken for granted, though it probably could not be positively proved, that they sat with one of the other orders. But these circumstances being of no avail, where the judges, determined to condemn, would listen neither to argument or evidence, the former

unpopularity of the nobles was now changed throughout the kingdom to absolute detestation and abhorrence.

Besides the irritation excited by a sense of this odium, which they supposed they undeservedly laboured under, and that arising from their daily contests with the commons, they were still farther provoked, and more sensibly touched, by the number of pamphlets which were now already published, and circulated with incredible diligence through every part of the kingdom, proposing to the people (a doctrine always highly captivating to the multitude) a total abolition of all distinctions of blood and rank. The most celebrated of these pamphlets was that written by Mirabeau, in answer to the bishop of Langres, who had proposed the formation of two assemblies, upon the same principle with the houses of lords and commons of England, to preserve the equilibrium of the constitution, and to act as a mutual controul upon each other. Under all these circumstances of irritation and alarm, and continually pressed by the artful scheme of suppressed hostility, which was regularly conducted by their enemies, it would have been no wonder that the nobility (even if they had been members of a more temperate nation) should have been driven into hasty measures, nor even, under the influence of passion, that they should have mistaken, as they did, the proper means of defence, by ill timing the seasons of concession or firmness.

The commons having finished the verification of their own writs, as well as of those appertaining to the great body of curates who came into them, they were so sensible of

their strength, that they determined to constitute themselves into what, according to the idiom of that language, may be called an *active assembly*. Great debates then arose upon the new and comprehensive title which it would be proper for them to assume. Several were proposed, and among them the following long but moderate one by M. Mounier, "The majority of the deputies deliberating in the absence of the minority duly invited."—This would not answer the design; many others were proposed and rejected; at length the lucky hit of *Assemblée Nationale*, was made by M. le Grand, and received with great applause, as a title the most calculated of any that was thought of to convey an idea, that all the powers of the nation were concentrated in that single body.

The question of adopting this title was, June 7th. ever, formally put to the vote, and carried by a vast majority. A profound silence reigned during the time the votes were collecting; but as soon as the majority was declared, the air resounded with an universal shout of "Long live the king! Long live the national assembly!"

Having now voted and acclaimed themselves sovereigns; they began their reign with a strong, but very popular act of sovereignty, relative to the existing public taxes. On this subject they issued a decree, in which, after stating that difficulties might be raised upon the payment of taxes, "the more serious, as they would be founded upon a principle constitutional and sacred, acknowledged by the king, and solemnly proclaimed by all the assemblies of the nation, a principle

“ principle which forbid all levying  
 “ of contributions, without the formal  
 “ consent of the representatives  
 “ of the nation; and considering,  
 “ that the contributions, as they are  
 “ now levied in the kingdom, not  
 “ having been consented to by the  
 “ nation, are all *illegal*, and conse-  
 “ quently *null*, in their creation,  
 “ extension, or prolongation; the  
 “ national assembly declares that it  
 “ consents provisorily, for the na-  
 “ tion, that the taxes and contri-  
 “ butions, though illegally esta-  
 “ blished and levied, shall continue  
 “ to be levied in the same manner  
 “ that they have hitherto been, un-  
 “ til the day only of the separation  
 “ of this assembly.” After that  
 day, it is added, that the taxes  
 were to cease, if not re-granted by  
 the assembly.—In another part of  
 this decree is the following extra-  
 ordinary passage: “ We put the  
 “ creditors of the state under the  
 “ guard of the honour and loyalty  
 “ of the French nation.”

It is curious to observe, that no  
 statute or law had ever been passed  
 in France, to render those contri-  
 butions null and illegal, which were  
 now declared to be so; that on the  
 contrary, contributions had been  
 imposed and levied by the crown in  
 the same manner in all ages, without  
 its authority being questioned; so  
 that this decree was in every sense  
 an *ex post facto* law, and that deci-  
 sively passed by only a part of the  
 legislature.

The democratic party within the  
 assembly were now unceasing in their  
 zeal to infuse that tumultuous spi-  
 rit, which operated with great vio-  
 lence upon themselves, into the  
 public mind at large. The vicini-  
 ty of Paris, and the disposition of  
 the inhabitants, afforded them the

fairest possible ground of action;  
 and the success of their operations  
 was accordingly so great, as in some  
 instances, perhaps, to exceed their  
 own wishes. The spectators now  
 not only filled the galleries and all  
 open places in the assembly every  
 day, but bidding defiance to every  
 appearance of decorum and order,  
 intermingled with the members,  
 crowded and disturbed them on their  
 seats, and began to take an open  
 share in the debates. Those mem-  
 bers who were moderate, or less  
 violent than they wished, whether  
 this was shewn by their speeches,  
 motions, or votes, were hooted,  
 hissed, reviled, and menaced, in the  
 grossest terms and most outrageous  
 manner. Lists of the voters were  
 openly taken upon every question,  
 in which those who voted contrary  
 to the liking of the spectators were  
 stigmatized with the title of ene-  
 mies to their country; and these  
 lists being transmitted with the ut-  
 most dispatch to Paris, were there  
 printed and circulated with unequal-  
 led celerity. Among those branded  
 with this odious and dangerous cha-  
 racter, and whose names were thus  
 held out to the public, and transmit-  
 ted to posterity with infamy, were all  
 the members who voted for a title  
 less assumptive of sovereignty than  
 that of *national assembly*. Perhaps  
 a stroke more fatal to the freedom  
 of debating and voting was never  
 offered with respect to any public  
 assembly.

The nobles were now nearly in  
 agonies of despair, and yet could  
 not bring themselves to descend  
 from their inflexible haughtiness.  
 M. de Montesquieu moved, that  
 they should invite the clergy to join  
 them, and constitute themselves into  
 an *upper house*. Though this, how-

[\*P] ;

ever

ever hopeless, seemed almost the only resort that was now left, yet it was rejected by such an exclamation of angry voices, that the proposer's speech could scarcely be heard. A striking proof, among many others, of the aversion which both sides entertained for the peculiar principles of the British con-

stitution. — The nobles June 19th. before they separated voted a strong address to the king, justifying their own conduct, accusing the commons, and strongly animadverting on that unlimited assumption of authority in the late decree, of declaring all the taxes to be illegal.

The clergy were in a very different temper. The party who sided with the commons had nearly attained a majority; and that final decision was only retarded by the influence of the archbishop of Paris, who, when it at length took place, joined in a strong protest against it: the consequence was, that though he was a prelate of respectable character, and his charities to the poor were so extensive as to pass beyond all customary limits, he was, some days after, pursued with all the violence of popular fury, attacked, insulted, and his life endangered. He was rescued with some difficulty; and it was on this occasion that the troops first refused to act, as they termed it, against their *fellow citizens*. Such was the first fruit of that terrible power assumed by the French troops, of judging for themselves on all public questions, as well as on all cases of military subordination.

The king, who hitherto trusting to M. Neckar's promises of an easy and happy reign, had granted every thing that was required in favour

of the third estate, and who seemed in himself rather more disposed to them than to the nobles, finding himself now disappointed in all his hopes, and being besides alarmed at the hasty strides towards supreme power which the commons were making, began to hesitate in his proceedings, and perhaps to call in question the wisdom and propriety of his past conduct. This change of sentiment could not escape the observation of those about him, and he was soon surrounded by the party of the princes, who were those alone who wished to preserve the power of the crown undiminished; by the discontented nobles, who only sided occasionally with the court, they being as much disposed to prescribe limits to the royal authority as the commons themselves, though not in an equal degree; and by all those of the different orders, who were dissatisfied with the present state of things, and wished to preserve the ancient system of separate chambers, and voting by orders; these likewise holding, in general, the same principles with respect to the crown, that the nobles at large did.

All these coalesced in endeavouring to profit by the present change in the king's disposition; nor did they want strong grounds of argument to confirm his new sentiments, and increase his alarm. They desired him to observe, that those leaders of faction, not content with taking the power of future taxation into their own hands, boldly decide, without one positive law to support them, that all the existing taxes are illegal; a position which tends directly to set up the indefinite rights of nature above all the positive laws of the land. May you not then well



well expect, that their next declaration will hold out, as a sacred and constitutional principle, that legislation as well as taxation belongs by inherent right to the people, and, therefore, that every law now obeyed by the French is *null and illegal*, and, to make it otherwise, must be re-voted by these self-constituted sovereigns?

Council after council was held in the king's palace, but the natural effects of weakness, disorder, and faction, were so predominant, that they could not agree in any thing. Mr. Neckar at length thought it advisable that the king should recur to the ancient method of holding what they call a *seance royale*, or *royal session*. This was agreed to; but the minister, as usual, still persevered in wanting the result to be more in favour of the commons than the rest of the council approved. Some modification, however, took place; the plan was fixed, and the day appointed.

It would seem that some overruling fatality was at this time to counteract and frustrate all the measures and designs of the court and ministers; as if wisdom itself would be immediately perverted into folly under their treatment, and the most wholesome nourishment instantly become a poison in their hands. Nothing could have been more innocent, simply in itself, than this measure, and it might possibly have been of some use. But through the unaccountable and unexampled blindness, folly, rashness, and violence with which it was conducted, it was rendered an immediate, and no inefficient instrument, in the ruin of the monarchy and the subversion of government.

It is to be observed, that the

hall in which the king usually held their assemblies being far larger than either of the other chambers, he had from the beginning built a place where the king met and arranged the states. Without the smallest communication to that assembly of what was done or intended; without letter or notice of any sort to their president; without the smallest preparatory address or management, a party of guards took possession in the morning of their hall. Workmen were sent in to erect a throne for the king, the royal session was formally proclaimed by the heralds, and M. Bailly, the president, with other members of the commons, were repulsed, without ceremony or explanation, from their own door.

The commons apprehending nothing less than an immediate dissolution, and seeing at once all the dangers to which the more obnoxious part of them might then be exposed, were naturally inflamed with resentment, and in that passion hurried on foot, through a violent storm of rain, to an old tennis-court, where, with equal spirit and firmness they bound themselves by a solemn oath *never to part until the constitution was completed*. The affecting spectacle of six hundred representatives of the nation being driven to the extremity of encountering such weather, in such a manner, and of standing bareheaded, under all its inclemency, while they were taking this awful oath, could not but excite the greatest, and indeed the most universal indignation against the court. Had the united talents and genius of all the ministers been combined, in contriving a scheme to render the king incurably odious, and to bind the people more

indissolubly to the commons, it is more than probable they could not have found one more effectual for either purpose; while the smallest portion of prudence or discretion would have prevented any ill consequence whatever.

M. Mounier (one of the most virtuous men in the assembly, and who had exerted himself from the first with the greatest ability in his endeavours to procure a moderate reform of government, but whose integrity induced him afterwards to quit them, when he perceived the course which the violent leaders were pursuing) was the proposer and framer of this oath. He hath since declared, that he proposed it in order to prevent that most dangerous of all measures, the assembly's transferring itself to Paris.

The following day produced a scene of a different nature, but of no small importance in the present state of things. The majority of the clergy flew off from the court at this most critical moment, and determined to join the commons. The clergy met in the choir of the church of St. Louis, and the commons in the body of the church. After some messages to adjust ceremonies, the separating doors flew open, the clergy, with their president the archbishop of Vienne at their head, advanced, while the commons rose to receive them, and yielded the upper hand; the two presidents embraced, and sat down by each other; the loudest shouts of applause, and the most pathetic effusions of eloquence, celebrated, what was then deemed, the happy reconciliation of two of the discordant orders of citizens.—The clergy could little apprehend or imagine, at that time, how soon the fraternal embraces

with which they were now received, and the praises with which they were loaded, as a band of patriots who were come in a moment of the most imminent danger to save their country, would be followed by hatred, prescription, and ruin!

The commons, emboldened by the junction of those new allies, whom they so lately considered as enemies, waited with confidence and redoubled courage for the opening of the 23d. royal session. On the day appointed the king ascended that throne, which he never was again to ascend in any equal apparent degree of greatness and power, where he produced the plan of a new constitution or system of government, which was read to the assembled orders.

This was a piece of great length, and formed in different parts; one being declaratory, another enacting, and a third provisional, as containing proposals which were recommended to the farther consideration of the states. It contained much excellent matter, and, though it required correction, and was capable of considerable improvements, it was, perhaps, less faulty than might have been well expected, its length and the shortness of time allotted for its preparation being considered. Its great fault was its being too dictatorial, and the "king's will" being too frequently brought forward, and applied, without management, in too harsh and absolute a manner, in enforcing the injunctions. It, however, upon the whole, certainly laid down at least a foundation on which might have been, without much difficulty, raised a rational and equitable system of government; and even in its present state, along with security, it held

held out as great a portion of liberty to the people as experience has hitherto afforded any cause for supposing they were yet capable of receiving.

The king bound himself from establishing any new tax, or prolonging any old one beyond the term assigned by the laws, without the consent of the representatives of the nation; that no taxes should be established or continued for any longer term, than that which elapsed during the periods of time allotted between the meetings of the successive states general; and the king renounced the right of borrowing money without the consent of the states, reserving, however, to himself, the power of borrowing a hundred millions of livres in cases of sudden emergency, such as unexpected war, or immediate national danger.

This declaration proceeded to offer the states all the information and instruction that could enlighten them on the situation of the finances, and to submit to their inspection and disposal the expences of each department, and even of the king's own family.—It likewise declared the king's intention, that there should be no kind of distinctions nor privileges whatever, with respect to the different orders in the payment of taxes, and that the odious and partial land tax, known by the name of *la taille*, should be entirely abolished, and replaced by others.—But it declared too openly, for the temper and disposition of the times, that all property should be sacred, and that tythes and feudal rents should be considered as property.

With respect to personal security, it goes on thus: "The king, willing to secure the personal liberty of all citizens on a solid and perma-

nent footing, invites the states general to seek and propose to him the best means to conciliate the abolition of those orders known by the name of *lettres de cachet*, consistently with the maintenance of public safety, and the precautions necessary to be taken at some times with regard to the honour of families, and sometimes to repress quickly the beginnings of sedition, or to save the state from the effects of a criminal correspondence with foreign powers."

This was censured as too narrow, and not sufficiently explicit in the cause of liberty; but surely, if the states could condescend to be beholden to England for any improvement, they had it in their power to demand the most effective *habeas corpus act* that could be framed; and if the king refused to comply (which did not even admit of a supposition) not to grant a single subsidy until he did.

There was likewise an article recommending to the states to provide for the liberty of the press, so far as it could be done consistently with public decency and tranquillity. It also settled the organization and forms of the provincial assemblies, and granted the same advantage to the commons of a double representation in them, which they possessed in the present general assembly. But a number of articles were left unprovided for in this plan of government, and referred entirely to the consideration and judgment of the states. Of these was the abolition of the salt tax, of the *droit de main morte*, and a number of other specified grievances, all of which had been long complained of, and were more or less oppressive. I conclude

concluded with an extraordinary and most flattering clause in favour of the public representation, and which put it out of the power of the crown ever to encroach upon its rights, or to break through its acts. This was, that none of the laws that should be established in the present states general could ever be altered, but by the free consent of future states general, and that they should be considered as equally sacred with all other *national properties*.

Whatever imperfections this scheme of government possessed, whatever objections some of the parts were perhaps liable to, and whatever deficiencies certainly remained to be supplied in others, what human sagacity could at any time for two centuries have reached to the conception, that such a constitution, and such securities to their freedom, would have been offered by a French king to his subjects? and how much less still, that the offer should be rejected with contempt by that nation?

We have, however, hitherto omitted taking notice of those obnoxious articles, which served more particularly to poison the minds of the commons against this constitution. These reached to some regulation of the relative distinct limits of the respective orders, to a declaration what the representative body ought to be, and to a condemnation of the late decree of the commons. The purport of this clause may be collected from the following words:—“The king wills, that the ancient distinction of the three orders should be preserved entire, as essentially connected with the constitution; and that the deputies freely elected by each of the three orders, form-

ing three chambers, deliberating by orders, but having a right, with the sovereign's approbation, to agree on deliberations in common, can alone be considered as the representative body of the nation; consequently the king declares *null* the deliberations taken by the deputies of the third estate on the 17th of this month, as well as all others that may have followed it, as *illegal* and *unconstitutional*.”

Another article condemned and annulled all restrictions expressed in their writs of return, which, depriving the deputies of their free agency, tied them down from conforming to such modes of deliberation as the three orders should approve or determine. This article was farther confirmed by an enacting clause, that in all future states general, the constituents should only give *instructions*, but not *commands*.

This article affected the nobles principally, and was chiefly directed to them, for that order, much more than either of the others, had gone into the practice of binding their deputies.

Another article prohibited, for the sake of good order, of decency, and of the freedom of deliberating and voting, that any speculators should in future be permitted to assist at the deliberations of the states.

No restriction was ever more absolutely necessary, nor none more exceedingly unpopular, than this; the clamorous, scandalous and daring behaviour of the spectators, had from the beginning gone beyond all bounds of order and decorum; and the enormity continued every day to increase, until at length no member could venture to speak or vote according to his opinion, if in that he differed from the crowd with whom

whom he was surrounded, without enduring the grossest abuse and most daring menace upon the spot, and encountering imminent danger to his person and life afterwards. But the popular leaders of the commons knew too well the benefits to be derived from having such a crowded seminary of faction immediately at their call and command, as well as their usefulness in immediately disseminating through the capital all the novel and bold assertions and doctrines, which they either gathered from the most violent harangues in the assembly, or which sprung from their own factious and turbulent disposition, to risque, on any account, the loss of such faithful auxiliaries, who immediately directed the sentiments of near a million of people, but the influence of whose opinions and conduct extended to every part of the kingdom.

The king exhorted the states in strong and pathetic terms, that, for the *salvation* of the state, the three orders should unite during the present states general, and deliberate in common upon affairs of general utility, but excepting from these common deliberations the distinct rights of the three orders, the feudal properties, the honorary prerogatives of each order, and all such regulations as affected religion or the discipline of the clergy; that, on these points, the respective separate consent of the nobles and clergy should still be necessary.

But the procrastination of the king's ministers, and the divisions in his councils, had suffered that season to elapse, in which any plan of government sanctioned by him could meet with a temperate discussion. The folly and violence which accompanied the introduction

of the royal session had likewise soured the minds of men in such a degree, that they could not now think favourably of any proposal coming from the sovereign. Some of the expressions used in enforcing the different articles were, besides, in a more harsh and arbitrary tone than the present temper would admit, and afforded occasion for a sarcasm, that the king wanted to convert the states general into a *bet of justice*. Nor could any body at all acquainted with mankind now expect, that the commons, in their present plenitude of power, would relinquish the sweets of that self-constituted sovereignty which they had so newly begun to exercise, and in a few days consent to rescind their first great and public display of it.

The commons listened in fullen silence while the plan was reading; and as soon as the king departed absolutely refused to break up their session. Mirabeau, who through some acts and some suspicions had nearly lost his popularity, had the fortune upon this occasion to recover it with increase, by the impetuosity with which he told the king's attendants, that nothing but the points of bayonets should force them out of their chamber. The commons passed a decree before they parted, declaring the persons of all their members inviolable.

The populace of Versailles became so outrageous on behalf of the common, that the presence of M. Neckar could alone restrain the fury of their sedition. He had not assisted at the royal session; it was known that the plan of government proposed was not in all things suited to his liking; and it was easy to suppose that it might not in

any;

any; to these was added a rumour that he intended to retire from administration, which was attributed to that inflexible integrity which would not permit him to participate in measures that were inimical to the interests of the people. All these circumstances concurred in rendering him more than ever the idol of the populace; they surrounded, embraced, and followed him in crowds, while he, overpowered by the vain incense of popular applause, exclaimed, in a mixed rapture of gratitude and self-approbation, that he never would forsake them! while the king perceived that he could not be in safety, without finding means to persuade the mob that he had not quarrelled with his minister. But the time was fast approaching, which would render this only a trivial mortification.

The ferment at Versailles was nothing compared with that which prevailed at Paris, which had been increasing, with more or less rapidity, ever since the beginning of May, in proportion as the nobles, and afterwards the court, attempted in any degree to oppose or controul the pretensions of the commons. The people were far from being left to their free agency in this respect; for the pains were infinite, and the industry unceasing, which were used to prejudice and inflame them, and to operate with the fullest effect upon their most dangerous passions. The fish-women of Paris, (called *les pissardes*, and sometimes *les dames de la balle*) had from time immemorial assumed the privilege of being the leaders of all political mobs; on which occasions their sex, however disguised or degraded, screened them from many mischiefs, punishments, and dangers, to which their

fellow rioters of the masculine gender, if they had acted an equal part, must have been inevitably exposed. It was impossible that these women, turbulent, violent and ferocious by nature and habit, and ever accustomed to wade through all the lowest sinks of profligacy, could pass so glorious an opening to mischief as was now presented.

The sex likewise afforded another body of auxiliaries, more insinuating, and less savage in appearance, but not less effective, and scarcely, in act, less bloody and ferocious than the former. These were the courtizans, whose numbers in that capital, notwithstanding its known and long-established profligacy, exceeded all bounds of credibility. But as these ladies were hired, and their service paid for in money, they were rather to be considered as a body of useful light mercenary troops, than as faithful disinterested allies, like the *dames du balle*, who acted purely from principle, through their innate passion for confusion and mischief. The former were not, however, by any means slack in displaying their zeal and their talents; and, independent of the services peculiar to their vocation, were highly distinguished in some of the most active and trying scenes of violence, blood, and horror that succeeded.

The garden of the palais royal, belonging to the duke of Orleans, which we have before observed to have been a scene of great and constant enormity, was now become the grand theatre of popular, or, as it may be called, mob politics. The duke's enemies said, that after long being the scene of all the crimes of licentiousness, it was now become the theatre of all the crimes of ferocity. Hired orators were here employed

employed to inflame the multitude to every act of the most atrocious violence. Each of these, exalted upon a stool, chair, or table, was surrounded by a groupe as considerable as could come within a reasonable distance for hearing; and was obliged to act as moderator, or president, to prevent the tumultuous interference of the eager voices, which all wished to be heard at the same time. In these groupes all the forms of parliamentary debates were imitated or mocked; violent resolutions of censure, intermixed with menaces of direct outrage, were passed against the princes, the courtiers, the nobles, and the clergy; nor did the queen always escape. These groups were fed, and still more inflamed, by the frequent arrival of *bulletins*, or notes, bringing an account of the proceedings at Versailles, and of the speeches or expressions used by the most violent leaders of the commons. These were instantly read to the crowd, and heard with the most eager enthusiasm; but if any man was so foolish or unfortunate enough to say any thing in defence of the court or the nobles, or to express any disapprobation of the conduct of the commons, nothing less than the swiftness of his heels, or his instantly submitting to make a formal *amende honorable*, by crying aloud, *Vive le tiers état!* could save him from immediate corporal ill treatment.

As it is not easy to form any conception of the scenes which were exhibited at this time in these gardens, and by these orators, it may not perhaps be thought entirely incurious to relate the particulars of one of them, which was distinguish-

ed by some peculiarities from the general class. We have heretofore shewn that M. d'Espresmenil, by his vigorous opposition in the parliament of Paris to the designs of the late minister, and by his consequent imprisonment, had become the idol of the populace. He had since been elected by the nobility of Paris one of their deputies to the states, and being charged as one of the great promoters of the obstinacy shewn by that order in their conflict with the commons, not only lost his former popularity, but became one of the most odious men in the kingdom, particularly with the Parisians. One of the orators in the palais royal made a motion one day, that as they could not reach his person, *they should burn his house in Paris, and murder his wife and children.* This horrid proposal was received with such marks of approbation as seemed to insure its adoption; but another orator thinking that this proposal went too far, and knowing that no appeal to justice or humanity could be of the smallest use, mounted the stool in turn, and harangued the mob in the following terms: "Gentlemen, you may assure yourselves that the scheme of revenge now proposed would be no punishment to the offender; for his house and furniture belong to the landlord; his wife belongs to the public; and his children may, perhaps, belong to some of yourselves."

This scandalous and brutal jest, and as false in every sense as it was brutal, was, however, so well calculated to suit the capacity and taste of his auditors, that it produced the effect intended by the orator: the mob laughed, their rage evaporated

in the clamfy jeft, and M. d'Efpreffion's houfe and family were

They were the Parisians gradually inclined to defy all laws, to laugh at all authority, and to contemplate the moft inhuman cruelties without horror. It was at the fame time alarming to all who considered the natural temper of the nation, to behold the patience and inflexible perfeverance with which their groups of politicians in the parliament, endured all the rigours of a burning fun, and refifted all the calls of nature from morning till night, partly in listening to their orators, and partly in displaying their own knowledge and ability in affairs of government.

Their general difpofition to revolt was now become fo open and evident, that M. Neckar found it neceffary to write a letter to M. du Croifne, giving an affurance from himfelf, that the court had no intention to difolve the ftates general. For though Neckar was little liked by the leaders of any of the parties, he continued as dear as ever to the Parisians, who ftill trusted fomething to his word, though not the leaft to their king's.

The commons found themfelves now fo ftrong in the public fupport, that they affected to treat the king's fentence and declaration with that moft contempt which ufually attends propofals of fuch infignificance as merit neither confideration or anfwer. The nobles, however, declared that they would adhere to it; but their adherence came too late, and a plan of concord, which, if propofed in time, might have been attended with happy effects, was now ftigmatized as a plan of dif-

guifed flavery. At the fame time all things were fubmitting to the powers in being; and the arch-bifhop of Paris, terrified by the dangers he had already undergone, and ftill more by thofe which he had yet to apprehend from the dreadful ferocity of the populace, appeared in the national affembly, accompanied by the minority of the clergy, where they jointly withdrew their common proteft.

On the 24th of June, the count de Clermont Tonnere moved, that the nobles fhould unite with the commons; and was ably feconded by M. de Lally Tollendal. They both difplayed no common knowledge of government, and fhewed the moft ardent defire for the eftablifhment of one free and happy, which none could be, unlefs it was at the fame time rational and moderate. But however powerful or unanswerable their arguments might have been, or however cogent the apparent motives, or even the abfolute neceffity of an immediate union, the majority could not bend to the humiliating meafure of going to the hall of the commons. They were, however, ready to vote a general adherence to the king's plan; and if an equal conformity prevailed on the other fide, to unite for the prefent (according to its terms) with the other orders, and to conduct the public bufinefs with them in common.

But the minority being tired out by this fruitlefs obftinacy of their more numerous brethren, and having likewife diftinct objects in view, and holding from the beginning principles congenial with thofe held by the all-conquering party, formed a determination on that  
very



very evening to unite with the commons. This they performed 25th. on the succeeding day, having previously sent a letter to their president, the duke of Luxemburgh, expressing concern at the step which necessity and duty compelled them to take.

But in two days after the king sent a pressing exhortation to the solitary majority of the nobles to unite with the other orders, and thereby hasten the accomplishment of his paternal views. A long and violent debate took place, in which the duke of Luxemburgh read a letter from the count d'Artois, intimating that the king's person might be exposed to immediate danger, if the popular fury was roused by their refusal. It was singular upon this occasion, that M. de Cazales, who has since been one of the most constant, strenuous, and determined, as well as the most able opposers of the violent measures pursued by the commons, yet at this time cried out with a most energetic voice, that, "The constitution of the monarchy is more sacred than the monarch." A striking instance how little the nobility were inclined to support or renew the former despotic government. The vote of union 27th. was, however carried, and at four o'clock in the afternoon the commons were acquainted that the nobles were coming into their hall. — They were accompanied by the remaining dissidents of the clergy, headed by the Cardinal de la Rochefoucault. The commons used their victory with moderation, and did not insult the vanquished by any marks of triumph, or disconcert them by ill-timed applause. Both the duke of Luxemburgh and

the cardinal were nice in their speeches, in endeavouring to preserve the point of honour, by declaring that respect to the king was the principal cause which induced them to this measure.

Public rejoicings and illuminations took place upon this union of the orders, and the people fondly thought that the happiness of the nation was now complete. Indeed there seemed now at least a possibility that the violence of the contending factions might have been considerably allayed only by a very moderate degree of temper and condescension on both sides; and if concord and harmony once began to generate, however weak their first appearance might be, yet the pleasure and advantages which they afforded, being immediately perceived and felt by men of every party, their growth might have been rapid and extensive. This was the more to be hoped, as all the parties and orders were agreed as to the one main and great object, that of restraining and curing the despotism of the ancient government, the only apparent differences between them relating to the means which were to be adopted, and the extent to which it might be proper to carry the reform. This concord was the more to be hoped, as it was reasonably to be expected that the presence of so great a body of the principal, most experienced, and most learned gentlemen and clergy in the kingdom, would have produced no small effect in restraining the intemperate sallies of the violent republicans and democrats, who it was well to be supposed might feel themselves somewhat over-awed in such company, or at least more guarded

guarded in their expressions and conduct in the presence of such judges of both.

This flattering view of things was, however, obscured by the reflection, that a forced reconciliation is as seldom lasting as sincere! Clouds were still gathering in the horizon: concord would have limited the views, and consequently could not have been the object of the factious leaders of the commons; the malcontents in all the orders were disposed to consider their present union merely as a temporary expedient, but as no fixed and permanent constitution of the state; while some, perhaps, questioned the validity of their acts under such a form. Many of the nobles, who thought themselves bound by the rash oath they had taken, assisted at the debates without voting; the more scrupulous among them holding, that no authority could release them from that oath, less than that of their constituents who imposed it. And some meetings of the lesser nobility, or *gentilhommes* in the provinces, either excited, or were pretended to excite, some alarm in the commons.

These causes might, it is true, have soon ceased to operate, or their effect have been so far mitigated as to prevent any violent disorder, if that fatality, which seemed, blindfolded and uncontrouled, to govern all things in France, had not destined the court to the pursuit of those imprudent, dangerous, rash, and ill-conducted measures, which, if they did not absolutely give birth to, at least afforded occasion for all the unparalleled scenes that followed. Troops from all parts of the kingdom began to move to-

wards the capital, as to a common center; all parties were perhaps equally alarmed; but the alarm having revived their former animosities and distrusts, and their minds being mutually soured, they beheld each other with suspicion and hatred.

It is difficult, if not impossible, in many cases, to discover the exact truth, amid the violence of contending factions. Experience too sadly shews, that even the sacred bonds of oaths, though sanctified by an appeal to the Almighty Author of all things, are far from affording security against error and imposition in such cases. The present extraordinary movements of the court, and its sudden and unexpected adoption of violent measures, after so long a course, checquered with hesitation, weakness, and timidity, have as yet afforded no means of developing the secret causes which led to so immediate a change of system. The popular party assert, that the triumvirate of princes, with all the ministers who were under their direction, and the court in general, had from the beginning determined, at a certain period or crisis of affairs, to dissolve the states by the assistance of the army, (which they said had been long preparing for the purpose) and then to re-establish the monarchy, not only in its former, but in a state of more absolute despotism than it had ever before possessed.—On the other side, the friends of the court assert, with a positiveness not to be shaken, that the democrats had formed and digested a regular plan for overturning the monarchy by force, and the establishment of a republican government, unless the states would take the

the trouble off their hands by doing both for them; that the court being well informed of their intentions, and in possession of their whole plan of operation, were of necessity obliged, in conformity with all laws, human and divine, to have recourse to such means of self-defence and preservation as Providence had placed in their hands.

However these matters were, it is certain that the states-general, since their late union, had not been guilty of any act, nor had not even afforded any indication of designs or dispositions, which could at all justify the king in dissolving them, much less in his proceeding to that last extremity of forcing their dissolution by an armed force; a measure which, in the present state of affairs, and temper of the nation, must, with all the certainty of any mathematical axiom, have produced a most furious, general, and bloody civil war. On the contrary, affairs began to go on more smoothly in the united assembly of the states than could have been yet well expected. They had already appointed a committee to prepare materials for the new constitution; and Monsrs. Lally Tolendal, and Mounier, two of the most able and temperate leaders of the moderate party, were of this committee. It is true, they have since owned that they had heard with great uneasiness some of its members develop to abstract and metaphysical a system of liberty, that it appeared more calculated to confound and distract society than to render the social state easy or happy; they said they were particularly shocked at hearing one man say, "That the king's sanction was not necessary to laws;" but notwithstanding this

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peiversity of sentiment, which they observed in some individuals, they had conceived strong hopes that they should bring over the majority of the committee to their own way of thinking.—In the same smooth course of action, upon the committee of verification having pronounced M. Malouet's election for Auvergne to be void, and people generally considering it to be merely an act of party violence, and that the mild invitation which he had proposed to the clergy and nobles, on the 16th of May, was the only flaw in his writ, the assembly took up the business with such temper, that although Malouette was equally obnoxious to the republican leaders, and to the violent aristocrates, they over-ruled, by a great majority, the vote of the committee, and confirmed his election; a decision which afforded the greatest joy to good and temperate men, who hailed it as a happy omen of returning moderation and temper.

It was not, however, to be expected, considering the licence which had already prevailed among the commons, but that some of the rash and fiery spirits among them would, in the warmth of debate, still use intemperate, disrespectful, or even violent language, with respect to the crown, its functions, or the exercise of them; nor will it be any surprize that persons were never wanting to convey such tales, with aggravation, to the ears of the sovereign, and thereby contribute to keep him in a constant state of doubt and alarm. But the transactions in Paris only, where the ferment of the people was drawing fast to a crisis, which every common observer saw must be attended with dangerous consequences, were fully

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sufficient

ufficient to agitate and unsettle a mind of a firmer texture and less irresolute nature than that possessed by the sovereign seems to be, and could not but dispose him to listen, on principles of self-preservation, to the violent councils which were now administered.

The French guards had been so long stationed to preserve order in Paris, that by degrees their intimacy with the inhabitants became so close, that it led them to imbibe all their political opinions. Among these was the new doctrine, which was taught with unceasing application and energy, that soldiers being citizens like other men, were to consider their duties as such to be paramount to all others; that having an equal interest with their brethren in whatever related to the public, they were to judge for themselves on all questions of government; and, above all things, that nothing could be a greater or more parricidal crime, than to obey any orders for firing upon their fellow citizens, in the exercise or support of their rights. These guards had a little before been highly unpopular, on account of some executions which we had seen they made in some cases of former riots; but things were now so totally changed on both sides, that the populace seemed to adore the soldiers, and the latter seemed ready to go even beyond them in any act of violence.

This conversion was not, however, entirely trusted to arguments or doctrines; more effectual means were employed. Wine, women, and gold, the three most powerful agents for debauching a soldiery, were unsparingly applied for the purpose by the factious citizens. The conduct of the soldiers became

so licentious and daring, that their commanders found it necessary to confine them in their barracks; but all sense of subordination and of military discipline was so totally eradicated, that on the 25th and 26th of June they left their barracks by hundreds at a time, came to the palais royal, where they were received with the greatest joy by the multitude; and while they were feasted and entertained with plenty of wine, money, and even bank notes (*billets de caisse*) were profusely distributed amongst them. In the meantime the streets and garden resounded with popular ballads, made on purpose to encourage and inflame the soldiery. It will be thought no wonder then that on this occasion they should join the crowd, and even enter into a competition with them, in the loudness and eagerness of their huzzaaing for the third estate.

For these and similar acts of disobedience and contempt of orders, eleven of the most daring and refractory soldiers were committed to the prisons of the Abbaye de St. Germain, preparatory to their trial by a court martial. On the 30th of June, a letter was read aloud in the garden of the palais royal, inviting the people to the deliverance of these brave men, who were suffering in their cause. This produced its immediate effect. The people flew in crowds to the prison, forced the gates, removed the prisoners to the Hotel de Geneve; where, along with being well lodged and entertained, they were loaded with presents. The next day a deputation of young Parisians waited on the national assembly, requiring from them the free discharge of the prisoners; and this demand was made

made in terms which shewed that they considered the claim rather as a matter of right than of favour. The assembly felt their embarrassed situation, and endeavoured to extricate themselves by a kind of moderate temporizing vote, exhorting the Parisians to tranquillity, and in-treating the king to clemency with the delinquents. The king could do nothing but comply; and thus was an end put to military discipline, as well as to civil government in Paris.

But there were other matters at this time; which reached more immediately both to his sovereignty and to his personal safety than even the commotions in Paris, sufficient to embarrass and distract the mind of the sovereign, and to drive him headlong, without leisure for consideration, or for choosing his means, into the arms of whoever would propose any measures, however violent, that could tend to his deliverance. It is charged upon Mirabeau by two members of the assembly, whose characters stood so high as to give no common weight to their testimony \*, that, though they were of different parties, he talked familiarly, and without reserve, with them about their having a *Louis the XVIIth*, in the place of a *Louis the XVIth*, as king, or at least as lieutenant general of the kingdom; thereby alluding directly, and by name, to the first prince of the blood, with whom he likewise said he had conversed upon the subject, and that the prince had received the communication in the most pleasing manner.

\* M. M. Bergasse and Duport.

† The term *Bambin*, which Mirabeau used, may be understood either as a child or an idiot.

Mounier (a man, whose integrity was never questioned by any party in all the violence of their contentions) has likewise recorded, that having mentioned to Mirabeau his being excessively alarmed at the manœuvres which were continually practised in Paris to seduce the troops from their officers, and observing farther how easily an ambitious prince, appearing at the head of a discontented army, distributing money with one hand and libels with the other, might usurp the throne, Mirabeau (treating his apprehensions with ridicule) answered, “Why, you good simple man, I am as much attached as you to royalty; but what signifies whether we have *Louis the XVIIth* or *Louis the XVIth*, and why need we have a child † to govern us?” —Mounier does not deny the temptation he felt to plunge a dagger in the heart of the man who could conceive so wicked a scheme.

It may not be difficult to conceive some part of the astonishment and terror with which the king must have been struck, when expressions, proposals, and designs of this nature were communicated to him; and it will be still more easily perceived, what strong ground they afforded to his brothers, to the other princes of the blood, and to all those who wished to support the monarchy in his person, to state the danger he was in, and to represent in the strongest terms that nothing but a total change of measures and government, supported by a course of the most spirited exertions, could prevent the crown being torn from

his head by his perfidious relation.

In the beginning of the month of July, several regiments began to approach nearer and nearer to Paris and Versailles; the assembly, not July 10th. without reason, grew jealous at these movements, and accordingly presented a very spirited remonstrance (in which all parties joined) to the king on the subject. The king gave for answer, that he had no other motive for his conduct, than the necessity of establishing and maintaining good order in Paris; a necessity which was obvious to every body. He then proposed to transfer the assembly to Noyon or Soissons; in which case he would remove the court, and follow them himself to Compeigne. Several leading members of the more moderate parties were satisfied with this proposal, and willing to agree to it; but the determined leaders of the popular side, whose views extended farther, were too well aware of the strength and support which they derived from the vicinity of the capital, to listen to it. Mirabeau condemned it with his usual intemperance, and the proposal was rejected.

Although an entire change of measures was now visibly determined on by the court, yet it has never been clearly developed what system they had adopted, nor to what extent the change of measures was intended to be carried. Here, as in other cases, the violence of party throws every thing into obscurity. The popular writers and declaimers describe it as one of the most perfidious and bloody plots that ever was formed; and which, if carried into execution, would have

rivalled and renewed all the horrors of the massacre on St. Bartholomew's day. They represent, that 50,000 men, 100 pieces of cannon, an army of banditti, and six princes, were to have pulled down the sanctuary of liberty on its ministers heads, and to have overturned the French empire; that the national assembly would have been dispersed, its resolutions declared seditious, its members proscribed, the palais royal, and the houses of all patriots, given up to plunder, while the electors and their deputies were given up to execution. The glaring inconsistencies in these several punishments are so obvious, as scarcely to require observation. Some difficulty might appear in dispersing a body of men who were buried under the weight of an enormous building; and, on the supposition of a resurrection, it might appear entirely needless to proscribe men who were given up to execution.

The historian of the revolution, however, finishes his picture in the following manner: "This is the horrible tissue of crimes and assassinations, which a troop of *villains* and *infamous women*, meditated with barbarous joy in the tumult of their execrable orgies." —It is surely curious to observe, that none of the enormities here described ever took place, even in a single instance, on the side of the court; and that all the crimes and assassinations here charged upon troops of villains and infamous women, were not only fully realized, but brought into daily and continual practice on the popular side, by the two numerous orders thus specified, with both of whom it is probable that Paris at this period abounded far beyond

beyond any other city in the universe. Indeed the indifference, and in some cases the complacency, with which the national assembly received and heard details of the horrid cruelties and murders committed by these two orders, afford too much room for supposing that they considered them as very necessary and essential arms of their power.

It may not now be unnecessary to shew what effect this sudden change of system in the court had upon moderate men of different parties, and what consequences they expected or apprehended from it, so far as these can be drawn from their subsequent writings or declarations; which, perhaps, may be the more worthy of reliance, as some of them had previously entirely quitted the scene of action, and retired from all participation in public affairs:—They generally regretted that the king's confidence should have been surprized, by hasty and rash councils, into a departure from those sentiments of moderation and equanimity, which were the leading traits of his character; and they condemned this departure the more, as they did not think the present state of things required any assumption of violence. They were not, however, without apprehensions, that the banishment of M. Neckar, the minister who was the avowed friend of liberty, augured some designs hostile to liberty itself. On that idea they conceived that the troops had been assembled, partly to prevent the explosion which the departure of that popular minister was likely to occasion, and partly to enable the king to carry into execution the new constitution held out in his declaration of the 23d of June.

Under this persuasion, they expected that the king in person would require the states to ratify that declaration; that if they consented (which was not probable) the king would be satisfied, nothing farther attempted on his side, and every thing go on in its usual way; but if the states did not consent, they doubted not but the king would be persuaded, under the influence of his present councils, to proceed to the extremity of attempting to dissolve the assembly. As men of all parties were equally determined not to submit to a dissolution, on the strong ground of the constitution, which was the object of their assembling, not being yet established, and that the right to dissolve them could only exist in that constitution, they imagined they foresaw, in the discussion of that subject, all the evils or dangers which they apprehended from the present designs of the court, or movement of the troops; for they did not hold it improbable, or at least they dreaded, that the king might then be induced to attempt dissolving them by his own authority; and that the military might then be called in to suppress those tumults, which, in the present temper of the people, their forced separation must inevitably occasion.

These were the greatest evils or dangers which moderate men apprehended from the present change of system in the court. But even in this worst state of things, and supposing the forced dissolution to take place, although they trembled at the idea of an act of power and violence so disgraceful both to the government and country, yet they consoled themselves under the certainty they fully possessed, that the king

could then have no other refuge but that of immediately summoning another meeting of the states, as it would be otherwise impossible for him to manage or settle the disorders of the nation, or to conduct the government in any manner. As to the pretended plots which were said to be discovered, and the details of them propagated with so much industry, such as the blockade of the city of Paris, the starving or massacre of the inhabitants, the overturning that capital from its foundations, with the long lists of deputies to the states who were to be seized or executed; all these, with others of the same character, would have been treated by such men only with ridicule, if the wickedness of the designs which they saw they covered had not excited their utmost indignation. They declared their firm opinion, that no persons in the assembly were more thoroughly convinced of their falsehood, than the very men who took the greatest pains to propagate them abroad as undoubted facts.

It is, however, but justice to say, that the heterogeneous mass of courtiers, of discontented nobles, of the followers and retainers of the different princes, and of the outcasts of different parties, who now possessed the king's councils, were so discordant in every thing, so split into petty cabals and factions, so shamefully and selfishly led away by their respective private views and interests, and, withal, held so little regard for the prosperity or honour of the sovereign, any farther than they might be necessary to their own designs, that it seems difficult to suppose that they had any common or regular object of policy in view, but that being equally destitute of any comprehensive plan of action, as of

any bond of union founded on honesty or principle among themselves, it seems as if there could be no scheme, however wild, extravagant, absurd, or dangerous, which some among them might not have been capable of framing or adopting.

On Saturday the 11th of July, M. Neckar received the king's orders to give up his place, and to quit the kingdom as soon as possible. Luzerne, St. Priest, Montmorin, and the other ministers, were either turned out, or resigned, the next day; M. de Breteuil was placed at the head of the ministry, and marshal Broglie, who had been very popular under all the misfortunes of the German war of 1757, now accepted the very important, but dangerous and most unpopular place of commander in chief.

When this news reached Paris on the morning of Sunday the 12th, the mixed conflict of fury and despair, which agitated every mind and countenance, exceeded all the powers of description. The people, considering Neckar as their only pledge of liberty, refounded his name on every side, and the numerous faction of the palais royal thought this a favourable opportunity for bringing forward the name of the duke of Orleans, and by joining it in the same acclamation with Neckar's, thereby to attribute to the duke some part of that popularity which belonged only to the minister. With this view, both their busts were taken from the sculptor's, and carried about in triumph. But the scheme by no means succeeded. The vast largesses which the duke bestowed to acquire popularity only affected the lowest and most profligate orders of the people, of whom he was indeed the unlimited sovereign; but the sober and independent



dependent part of the citizens had long conceived too unfavourable an opinion of that prince's conduct and character, ever to wish to see him, not only upon the throne, but in any public situation, which could at all place him near the head of affairs. A few voices were heard in the crowd to cry out, " Shall this prince be your king, and shall Neckar be his minister ?" but they were so faintly supported, that it came to nothing.

On the same day the prince of Lambesc, who commanded the regiment of Royal Allemand (horse) which were stationed just without Paris, in a vain gasconade, made a fruitless and most ill-judged attempt to disperse the populace who were very riotous and numerous in the gardens of the Thuilleries, as they were in all other open parts of the city. Two or three persons, said to be merely spectators, and guiltless of any riot, were in the beginning wounded, one of them by the prince's own hand: this exasperated the crowd in such a degree, that they returned the attack with unparalleled fury; brick-bats, stones, and such other missile weapons as they could suddenly find, with clubs and spits, supplied the want of arms; the troops, led into a service for which they were totally unqualified, and their horses as well as themselves thrown into the greatest disorder and confusion by this new mode of combat, were almost instantly routed, and driven shamefully, with loud shouts, hootings, and execrations, out of town. A very few of the troopers, probably not above three, being knocked off their horses, were killed, and their horses, arms, and accoutrements, carried about as trophies by the victors.

The ill consequences which must proceed from the flight of regular troops before a mob, at the opening of such commotions as were now to take place, are too obvious to require any observation.

It appears that the transient ministers of the time, however faulty they might have been in other respects, were totally innocent of any share in, and free from any previous knowledge of, this unlucky transaction, which seems to have proceeded entirely from the wanton impetuosity and rashness of the commander; for there were several regiments of foot at the time stationed close to Paris, not one of which made the smallest movement to assist or support the horse; and this want of concert among the commanders must be considered as a clear proof that no orders had been issued by government on the subject. The total inaction of the troops, both on that night and the succeeding day and night, during all which time, critical as the season was, and notwithstanding the alterations and preparations which they saw and knew were taking place in Paris, they never once made the smallest attempt to enter that city, seems likewise to exculpate the court and ministers from the bloody designs and cruel intended massacres which were attributed to them; for this would have been the season, and the Sunday night particularly, when nothing but terror and confusion reigned in that city, and no regular scheme of resistance or defence was yet thought of, to have carried them with full effect into execution, if any such had been formed; and the state of things was such, that it would have been very difficult, if not impossible, to prevent their completion,

if such wicked plans could be wisely laid and promptly executed, which, through the goodness of Providence, is not often permitted. It seems then, upon the whole, that weakness and inanity, rather than wickedness, was the characteristic at that time of the French government; that the ministers ridiculously imagined, that the approach and fight of a few regiments would have terrified such a vast, turbulent, and rebellious capital as Paris into immediate submission; and that they were at the same time so short-sighted, so improvident, and so narrow in their conceptions, as not to provide a remedy for any disappointment, which a failure in their principal expectation, or any unforeseen change of circumstances, otherwise might occasion.

All regal, all judicial, all municipal government being now at an end in the city of Paris, an universal panic was, on the Sunday night, spread throughout all its quarters; while the dread of slaughter from the army, and of general plunder from thieves and banditti, affected every class of the people in all that was dear and precious to them. But the day which succeeded to this night of terror and confusion produced a very different and a very extraordinary scene. Above one hundred thousand individuals seemed at the same instant to be animated by one common soul, and to prepare, with courage and constancy, the means of internal order and government, as well as of preservation and defence against external enemies. The temporary bodies of the electors, who had returned representatives to the states, assembled and took the command in their respective districts, and were more implicitly obeyed than Louis the XIVth had

been in the zenith of his power and victories. Thirty thousand citizens, totally unaccustomed to arms, were soon seen armed at all points, and in a few hours training assumed some appearance of order and discipline. The French guards now shewed the benefits of their late education and improvements; they came in a body to tender their services to the people, which we scarcely need say were joyfully accepted. A new peculiar cockade was formed for the new army; and every appearance, not only of defence but of active war, every where prevailed.

Such were some of the changes which one day produced in the city of Paris. Some plunder and mischief took place in different parts of the town, particularly at the house of the congregation of St. Lazarus, who being suspected of having corn concealed in their granaries, that charge or suspicion exposed them to a pretence for being plundered; this was the more pitiable, as it is said to have been a truly pious and charitable institution; but such matters were soon to be lost in the glare of greater enormities. Many slighter robberies were committed on the same day; but as these were directed against individuals, and executed by small gangs of thieves on their own account, without any popular pretence, when they were seized in the fact they were instantly dragged to the *Greve*, the common place of execution, and hanged by the ropes which were used to fasten the lanterns. From hence originated that most horrid practice of the mob's constituting themselves judges and executioners in the same instant, without the smallest regard to rank, to laws, or to justice; nor has all the time that since elapsed been able in any

any degree to wear out that villainous custom which the French populace were only a few hours in acquiring. From hence of course originated that horrid and barbarous cry, *a la lanterne*, the last sounds that vibrated in the ears of so many unhappy victims as have thus cruelly perished.

The next day, which was the famous Tuesday the 14th of July, will be long remembered in the history of mankind. On that morning the newly formed army completed their means for offensive and defensive operations, by stripping the *garde meuble* and the invalids of their arms, and likewise by seizing a very considerable deposit or magazine of arms and ammunition, which were lodged in the hotel of the latter; all which they performed without meeting the smallest resistance. Thus provided, the idea of attacking the Bastille was instantly adopted, and De Launay, the governor, summoned to lay down his arms, and surrender the fortrefs. The difficulty of discovering the truth in such extraordinary cases, where every man's testimony on either side is liable to be warped by his prejudices and passions, was never more clearly shewn than upon this occasion. The general report was, that De Launay held out deceitful hopes of compliance; that a number of Parisians came to the gates to demand arms and ammunition; that they were received within an outer court, then treacherously fired upon, and a cruel slaughter made. It is not easy to reconcile the parts of this story, nor to give an air of probability to the whole. It is notwithstanding asserted and believed by the bulk of the Parisians, with the same firmness as if it was an article of religious faith,

and was published as a fact through every part of Europe. But, on the other hand, the inconsistency and improbability of the story have not only been shewn, but the fact denied by positive evidence. It seems very probable, that the story might have been invented at the time to increase the animosity of the crowds who were pressing from all quarters upon the Bastille, and who could have no opportunity, either then or after, of ascertaining its truth or falsehood, supposing the possibility that in the heat and tumult of so new and dreadful a scene they could have attended to such an inquiry. In this case, the endeavour to support and give authenticity to the story afterwards will be easily accounted for; in the first place, to keep up and inflame the passions of the people, and in the next, with a view of palliating, in some degree, the scenes of blood and cruelty that followed.

However that was, the enthusiasm and fury of the people was so great, that, to the astonishment of all military men (who did not yet know the weakness of its garrison) the Bastille, the citadel of Paris, with its seemingly impassable ditches, and its inaccessible towers and ramparts, covered with a powerful artillery, was, after an attack of two hours, carried by storm. De Launay was immediately dragged to the Place de Greve, and miserably murdered. M. de Lofme, the major of the Bastille, met with an equal fate and equal cruelty; although it has since been generally acknowledged, even by the democratic writers, that he was a man of great humanity, whose tenderness to the prisoners deserved far different treatment. This was indeed strongly confirmed by a remarkable

markable circumstance which occurred at his death; for the marquis of Pelleport, a young man whose fashion and figure, independent of his rank and generosity, entitled him to respect, was so deeply impressed with the kindness which he had experienced from the major, when he was himself a prisoner, that eagerly clasping him in his arms, in the midst of all this terror and danger, he most pathetically intreated the people to spare the life of his friend, to whom he owed so much. His intreaties were in vain; the major's head was cut off, and his grateful and generous friend with difficulty escaped the same fate.

On this day it was that the savage custom of insulting and mutilating the remains of the dead, and of exhibiting their heads to public view upon pikes, which had so long been the opprobrium of the governments and people in Constantinople, Fez, and Morocco, was first introduced into the polished city of Paris; and, like other evil habits, has since taken so deep a root, that it may seem a question whether it can ever be eradicated, except by some convulsion similar in violence to that from which it derived its origin.

The garrison of the Bastille, excepting only a few gunners and artillery-men, who held a sort of sinecure places, consisted only of a handful of old invalids, amounting to something about fifty in number. On taking the place, the new-formed soldiers loudly exclaimed, "*Let us hang the whole garrison!*" but the French guards, who still retained some share of their old monarchical and military notions, could not endure that old soldiers, who had once served under the same banners with

themselves, should be thus sacrificed in cold blood; they accordingly pleaded so effectually for them, that they preserved the trembling wretches from that fate which they instantly expected.

In the midst of these disorders, M. de Fleffelles, the *prevot des marchands*, or mayor of Paris, had been detected in a correspondence with the court; he was accordingly turned out of his office by the committee of electors, and ordered to be conveyed to prison until his trial; but he had scarcely reached the bottom of the steps at the hotel de ville, or town-house, when the new executors of summary justice forced him from the guard, shot him instantly without trial or enquiry, dismembered his body, and carried his bleeding head about the streets on a pike in triumph, like the others they had cut off.

After more than two hours had passed speedily away, under the double intoxication of joy and revenge, some humane persons reminded the populace, that the prisoners in the Bastille ought to be delivered; their cells were accordingly broke open, and they were led in triumph round the gardens of the palais royal. But how great was the surprise, if not disappointment, when it was found, that these dreary dungeons, which were supposed to be crowded with the victims of despotism, contained only seven prisoners; that of these the greatest number were confined on accusations of forgery; and that either two or three, who had continued there since the reign of Louis the XVth, were the only objects of compassion among them. For these unhappy persons, having lost the use of their reason before the commencement

ment of the present reign, or at least before there was leisure to enquire into the state of the prisons, they had since been detained, because the officers did not know in what manner otherwise to dispose of them. A stronger proof of which need not be given, than that the municipality of Paris found it necessary a few days after to send them to the public mad-house at Charenton.

It should not be forgotten, that the present sovereign, through his natural clemency and humanity, and in conformity with the moderate system of government which he intended to pursue, had early cleared the state prisons of most of their wretched inhabitants, none being retained but those who had been guilty of notorious crimes against society, or concerned in dangerous offences against the state. It is likewise worthy of observation, that with all the odium and detestation under which the queen and the count d'Artois laboured, and with all the libels which were hourly written and spoken against them, yet that a single victim to their resentment or justice was not found in all the prisons of the kingdom. Nor is it in curious to contrast with this fact the state of things under the influence, or it may be called government, of Madame Pompadour, who filled all the prisons of France with the unfortunate victims to her private malice and personal resentments; yet Pompadour was idolized by Voltaire, and by all the poets, wits, and philosophers of the kingdom in her day, and was even at times a favourite with the people.

During the Sunday and the Monday, those two critical days, on which their own fate and that of

their sovereign seemed depending, and on the first of which the scale seemed to vibrate so much, that it was evident a vigorous exertion might have fixed its bias, the ministers at Versailles, and the commanders of the army, seemed either asleep or in a trance; the former indeed, when unwillingly roused to hear the accounts from Paris, treated them with the utmost contempt and ridicule, as matters not worthy of consideration; but on the fatal Tuesday, the 14th of July, evil tidings crowded to fast from every quarter, that they were overwhelmed with consternation and terror, and rendered totally incapable, if it had not even been too late, to adopt any measures which required decision or vigour, either with respect to orders or execution. It now appeared that the defection of the French guards had, with other pre-disposing causes and motives, produced a most unfortunate effect upon the national troops in the army; that they were no longer to be depended on; and that they openly asserted the unlawfulness of fighting their fellow citizens. Before they had yet time to reflect on the consequences of this deplorable news, or to consider what measures were proper to be pursued, they were farther confounded by the intelligence, that the foreign regiments were little more to be depended on than the national troops. The former had ever been unpopular in France, chiefly upon the idea (exclusive of national pique and vanity) that being entirely dependent on the crown, and having no interest in the country, they would be found, upon any occasion that offered, the ready and cruel instruments of despotism; but now, to the astonishment

astonishment of every body, they showed themselves very little inclined to engage in national disputes, and seemed very cold and indifferent with respect to the cause they were called to support. In this dismal state of things, the only policy which the genius of the ministers was capable of reaching, was the short-lived, miserable, and cowardly expedient of concealment, in keeping the king ignorant of the misfortunes and dangers with which he was surrounded.

The national assembly, who upon the disgrace of Neckar thought their own ruin determined, met on Monday the 13th, and with all the terrors of dissolution and imprisonment before their eyes, resolved, with the firmness of a Roman senate, not to give up a single point which they had been pre-determined to maintain. The moderate party took the lead on this day, and shewed themselves as little disposed to submit in any degree to the despotism of the crown as the most furious of those who were called patriots. Mounier opened the debate with an eloquent speech, in which, after stating the great and immutable line which must be drawn between the legislative and the executive power, (a line which was acknowledged and confirmed by the assembly) he then proceeded to state, that though the assembly had no legal right to direct the king's choice of ministers, yet as the choice he had now made led to the most dangerous consequences, it was necessary to vote their solemn and grateful thanks to M. Neckar, and to declare, that the present ministers had not the confidence of the nation. Lally Tolendal seconded his motion, and this and other similar

votes were carried with the greatest unanimity.

The assembly then passed a famous resolution, by which they declared, "That the actual counselors of the king were personally responsible for the present misfortunes, and for all that might ensue." This resolution, which bore the character of an *ex post facto* law, was justified on the ground of necessity, and the desperate situation of the assembly. They likewise solicited the king to recal his troops, and to entrust Paris to the guard of its own citizens.—The king returned a general answer, "That he was deeply afflicted with the melancholy situation of Paris; that it was impossible the troops he had sent for could be the real cause of it; that they were indispensably necessary for the preservation of peace and order; and that he invited the assembly to go on with its labours."

But when, on the Tuesday evening or night, the news arrived at Versailles of the taking of the Bastille, of a powerful army being in an instant formed in Paris, and of the deplorable fate of Launay, Flesselles, and Lofme, the ministers, all aghast, seemed as if stricken by a thunderbolt, while each thinking he read his own fate in that of Launay, all their presumptuous hopes, their schemes and intrigues, were at once levelled in the dust. Whether any of those sanguinary designs which have been so peremptorily and repeatedly charged by the other side to the courtiers and ministers were at this time or any other in their meditation, remains still an entire secret, and must continue so, until time or occasion throw future light upon the subject. No proof whatever

ever has yet been brought to support the loose and wild charges of their enemies; nor does the evident want of energy in their councils, or the fatal slowness of their proceedings, by any means justify the presumption.

In the course of that day, the national assembly, dreading every hour the greatest evils, which appeared the more terrible from the impossibility of foreseeing their nature or kind, passed the spirited resolution not to break up their session, but to pass the night in their hall. The ministers still adhered to their only refuge of concealment, by keeping the king in the dark as to his situation. It is said that about midnight the duke de Liancourt forced his way into his apartment, when in bed, and told him the whole truth; and farther informed the count d'Artois, that the Parisians had publicly set a large price upon his head: this last information was irresistible in its effect; the count sunk under it, and no longer endeavoured to keep up his brother's courage. The most unconditional submission was accordingly resolved upon; and the king went early on Wednesday morning, the 15th, without guards, to resign himself entirely into the hands and power of the assembly.

The king took particular notice in his speech of the falsehood which some had dared to publish, that the persons of the deputies were not secure; he asked, if it was necessary for him to contradict in terms such criminal reports, which were belied equally by his well-known character, and by every part of his conduct through life? He told them, that he entrusted himself in their hands; and called earnestly upon

them to save the state; and concluded by giving them the pleasing information, that he had ordered all the troops to quit the neighbourhood of Paris and Versailles.

This speech was received with loud acclamations, and all the members rising, as by a general impulse, accompanied the king back to the palace.—From that instant he had, in effect, resigned the sovereignty into their hands, with little prospect of his ever again recovering it. From that time also the middle, or moderate party, led by Mounier, Lally, Mallouette, &c. were reconciled to him, and seem to have relied cordially upon his faith; but the friends and patronizers of extreme democracy either were or affected to be afraid that his known irresolution would afford the means for throwing him back into the hands of their enemies, and therefore determined to exert their power to its utmost extent, in order to fetter him as closely as possible.

The terror of sieges and blockades had got such possession of the minds of the Parisians, that they could think of nothing else, and they were incessant in their preparations for defence. M. La Fayette, with whom we were acquainted during the American war, when he served under Washington, was now elected to the command of the new army with the title of general. The old office or title of *prevot des marchands* was either suppressed or changed; and M. Bailly, formerly known by his astronomical writings, was appointed chief magistrate, under the name of mayor of Paris.

That capital was now to be considered as a great republic, and it soon was so sensible of its power, as

to give the law, not only to the unfortunate sovereign, but to the national assembly, and to the kingdom at large. The national assembly, even now, seemed to acknowledge its matters, by sending a deputation of eighty-four of its members to the city of Paris, rather to implore than to propose, much less to order or command peace. This may be considered as one of the many evil consequences which resulted from the ill-adviced and ruinous measure of assembling the states at Versailles; for it is not probable that the assembly would have submitted to this humiliation if they had been out of the reach of that turbulent capital; neither would the factious part of them, in such a situation, have had an opportunity of becoming, as they did, parties in their cabals and factions; until at length, alternately acting and being acted upon, they became by turns the instruments of each other's purposes, though the faction in the assembly was not seldom obliged to give way, contrary to its own liking, to the dreaded power of those in the city. The Parisians were, however, too sensible in the present instance of the importance which they derived from this singular deputation, not to receive the deputies with every mark of applause and respect.

But their suspicions, and the terrors of soldiers and massacres, which they had already so strongly imbibed, operated still so powerfully upon them, although all power and all the means of supporting it were now in their own hands, that the king was advised and persuaded, in the hope of removing their jealousies, and thereby of reducing them to a state of good order and temper, to visit himself the city of

Paris. This humiliating and desperate measure he carried into execution on Friday the 17th of July, under a full conviction, in his own mind, that he thereby encountered the peril of instant assassination. He was received at Seve by a body of 25,000 *national guards*, (the term now assigned to the new army) and was thus led in melancholy procession to Paris, his ears being stunned the whole way by the loud and continual acclamations of "*Vive la nation!*" while the ancient favourite cry of "*Vive le roy!*" was not once heard. The king was conducted to the *Hotel de Ville*, where, after submitting to the disgrace of accepting and wearing the new Parisian cockade, and after he had made a speech, in which he declared in the strongest terms his unvaried and invariable affection for the people, he was condemned to hear a speech from a M. de St. Merry, which strongly insinuated, if it did not directly charge, those flagitious and cruel designs against the city of Paris, which had been so industriously imputed to the court, as a means of exciting the present troubles. It is said, that a denial so involuntary, so unembarrassed, and so positive, burst from the king's lips upon this imputation, that it was impossible for the by-standers to avoid feeling a conviction that it was the language of conscious innocence in an indignant resistance to false accusation. The king's behaviour at the town house recalled the old cry of "*Vive le roy!*" in the mouths of the populace, though it was generally coupled with the new and fashionable one. He returned safely in the evening to Versailles, and was received with transport by the courtiers, many of whom never expected to see him again.



In the mean time the most barbarous and inhuman popular songs, but set to no unpleasent tunes, were fabricated for the people of Paris, in order, if possible, to increase their native ferocity and cruelty. One of these, the verses of which ended with the pious wish that all the aristocrates might be hanged at the lantern, was to be heard from morning till night, in every street and almost every house, sung by all classes and orders, the fairer part of the softer sex degrading themselves in this respect to the same level with the most profligate and abandoned. These barbarous words, like the *war whoop* of the savages in North America, became afterwards the *death signal* in every part of France.

The seeds of revenge and murder, thus industriously sown, soon shewed their fruits in the horrible deaths of Foulon and Berthier. The first of these was an old rich financier, a man of bad character, and was suspected of having accepted a place, though he had not time to occupy it, under the late administration. Berthier was intendant of Paris, a man of a totally different character, and who seems to have been neither accused nor suspected of any crime, unless his being married to Foulon's daughter could have constituted one. These unhappy men having some intelligence of their danger, had attempted to escape, but July 21st. were pursued, seized, and dragged back to Paris, where they were murdered with every circumstance of refined insult and cruelty which could have been exhibited by a tribe of cannibals. We shall not enter into the shocking detail, which

has been published in every part of Europe, and every where received with the utmost horror. La Fayette, and Bailly the mayor, exerted themselves greatly to preserve these miserable victims, at least till due examination and trial could take place; but they soon discovered, to their amazement, how weak the power, and how precarious the security, afforded by popularity, was amongst an ungoverned and furious populace, and that if they did not resign the victims to their fate, they must inevitably become partakers of it. Fayette expressed his indignation in the strongest terms, and threatened to resign the command of the Parisian army; but he was persuaded to retain it by the better and more sober part of the citizens, hoping that he might be the means of preventing still more dreadful mischiefs.

The safe return of the king from Paris did not inspire the vanquished party with the smallest hope of mercy from their all triumphant enemies. In the course of a few days, Marshal Broglio, the Polignacs, the Luxemburghs, with all who were suspected of having accepted, or even intending to accept, places under the late short-lived administration, disappeared one after another. These were speedily followed by the princes of Conde and Conti, with the count d'Artois and his two sons, though the family next in succession to the crown. Numbers of others, whose names are of less importance, were included in the general rout; most fortunately for the fugitives, they were a good deal protected in their flight by the small divisions and scattered parts of the retreating army

iny which had been commanded by Broglio; and after a series of romantic adventures, dangers, and "hair breth" scapes, they reached England, Germany, or Italy, as fortune or chance directed, while the princes of the blood royal of France were obliged to procure from foreigners a precarious and inglorious refuge. And it might be said the king and queen, with respect to friends, favourites, known servants and relations, were almost literally left alone.

All the refractory nobles now hastened to renounce their former protest, and held themselves absolved by necessity from the oath which they had taken to their constituents. It was agreed to bury the name of *states general* in oblivion, and the name of *national assembly* was henceforth adopted by all parties. Some reverence seemed still to be paid to the word *royalty*, although the substance to which it related had entirely lost its essence. It was thought that the term royalists, applied to those who were devoted to proscription and popular fury, would yet be too wounding to the ears of Frenchmen to be endured; the term aristocrat was therefore upon all occasions substituted in its place.

As the scarcity of corn still continued, some scenes of horrid murder had already taken place at St. Germain, Pontoise, and Poilly, on the charge or suspicion of monopoly, while other attempts of the same nature were with great difficulty prevented. Doubly alarmed at the savage spirit which was exhibited by the Parisians, and at this sanguinary disposition, which was spreading with such terrific symptoms in the country, the moderate party in the assembly used their

utmost endeavours to procure the timely interference of that body, in restraining those enormities. Lally Tolendal took the lead, and was well seconded by Mounier and others in shewing the general dangers and the horrible mischiefs that would ensue from the progress of this sanguinary disposition; they accordingly proposed a proclamation, to warn the people from thus constituting themselves judges and executioners of the law.

But the powerful democratic party held sentiments widely different on this subject, and did not wish by any means to restrain the hands, or to confine the authority of their over-ruling allies. One set answered, "that the business of the assembly was to make laws, and not to attend to a few particular disorders."—Another told the operative motive for rejecting the proposal openly, by saying, "that their interference might induce the town of Paris to declare against the assembly"—While a third cried out, "If it was not for these Parisians, whom you blame, we should not now be sitting here." And when Lally enforced his arguments, by describing the horrid deaths of Berthier and Foslon, the celebrated patriot Barnave ironically asked, "*If the blood he lamented was so very pure?*" whilst Mirabeau told him, "It was a time to think rather than to feel."

A sense of shame on one side, and unceasing perseverance on the other, produced at length in some degree their effect, and on the 23d of July a proclamation was issued, inviting all Frenchmen to peace, order, and tranquillity; but being stripped of all the cogent expressions proposed by Lally, such as the following sentences,

tences, that " whoever excited troubles was a bad citizen, and that the punishment of a crime was itself a crime when not commanded by the law ;" these retrenchments, with others of the same sort, rendered it so tame, so spiritless a performance, as to make it an object much more liable to contempt than to the production of respect to the laws, or obedience to the dictates which its title and publication seemed to imply.

Neckar had been recalled by the king's letters of the 16th or 17th of July, and on his way back he heard of the horrid deaths of Berthier and Foulon, as well as the imminent danger of M. de Bezenval, commander of the Swiss troops, who had been seized at Villenaux, and threatened with the same fate, on account of an intercepted letter, in which he had ordered M. de Launay to defend the Bastille to the last. Neckar immediately wrote a letter of intercession from Nogent to the magistrates of Villenaux in his favour, and received in answer, that they had sent to Paris for orders concerning him. Neckar was welcomed at Versailles with such demonstrations of general and excessive joy, that the democratic writers could compare it to nothing less expressive, than the transports of the Romans when Cicero was recalled from exile. He presented himself to the national assembly, complimented them highly, and was no less complimented and flattered in return.

July 30th. A few days after he made his triumphal entry into Paris, and the gratifications of vanity were never more amply dispensed to any conqueror in ancient Rome, than they were upon

this occasion to M. Neckar. Those voices which a few days before found the greatest difficulty in pronouncing *vive le roy*, now filled the air with the universal shout of *vive M. Neckar*. He endeavoured to convert this moment of popular applause and enthusiasm to an excellent purpose, by attempting, in an eloquent speech, to persuade the Parisians to send orders for the release of M. Bezenval, and at the same time to set the example of a general amnesty, as the means of restoring peace to the distracted kingdom. But M. Neckar was yet to learn the difficulty of managing a factious and outrageous populace, who having already kicked off every degree of subordination, abominated every thing that bore any relation to peace, order, humanity, or justice. The refusal to comply with a request which he had taken the utmost pains to enforce, and which he, to a certainty, thought he might have commanded, tarnished all the glories of the triumph, and rendered the overwhelming flatteries of the day disgusting and nauseous.

It was peculiarly unlucky that in this attempt, so truly consonant to virtue and humanity, he should have fallen into two political errors of such importance that they served much to weaken the enthusiasm of his admirers, and to lessen the general opinion conceived of his abilities. The first of these related to the national assembly, and the second to the Parisians. The former, and by much the greater, was his applying to the city of Paris for the liberty or life of an accused criminal, and at the same time for a general pardon, knowing, that as the national assembly now supplied the places both of the sovereign and

parliament, there was no other power existing which could lawfully grant either. This was accordingly, in a very great degree, distasteful to that assembly. It was indeed but too true, that Paris was fast assuming the shape of an independent republic, and making alarming strides towards the possession of power; and it was no less true, that the national assembly, though fully aware and apprehensive of the danger, yet, whether through want of spirit, or through whatever other cause, did not venture to attempt confining that turbulent capital within due bounds of subjection; but they were by no means pleased or satisfied that her independence or power should be formally acknowledged by a minister of state.

The second fault was his addressing the electors of Paris as a legal body, when their proper functions extended no farther than to the choosing of representatives; and the new command with which they were entrusted by the people on the 13th proceeded merely from there being no other body of men in whom they could immediately confide; but that refractory populace, who abhorred every degree of subordination, were already heartily tired of the government exercised by the electors, and were besides become much dissatisfied with, and extremely jealous of them on the very grounds of Neckar's speech; so that when he probably thought he was highly flattering and pleasing the people by the compliments he paid, and the powers which he attributed to their council at the Hotel de Ville, his eloquent harangue was producing a directly contrary effect, and exciting the utmost disgust and aversion in the

minds of the crowd. For the council having already given a promise that Bezenval should have his liberty, and having likewise sent a proclamation for general pardon and peace round to the different municipalities for their approbation, the people considered this as a flagrant invasion of their most sacred rights, and restriction upon their new powers of determination on the questions of peace or war, as well as on their favourite exercise of administering summary justice; and being now further irritated by this direct and public appeal to an authority which was become in the highest degree odious, they grew outrageous, and a second general tumult was expected and threatened.

The council at the Hotel de Ville soon perceived their danger, and having immediately retracted the two obnoxious measures, the committee of electors, finding that they were considered and to be treated as usurpers, endeavoured to save themselves by as speedy a resignation of their seats. The whole government of the tumultuous capital was then placed in a body which was called the representative assembly of the commons of Paris, with the mayor, M. Bailly, at its head.

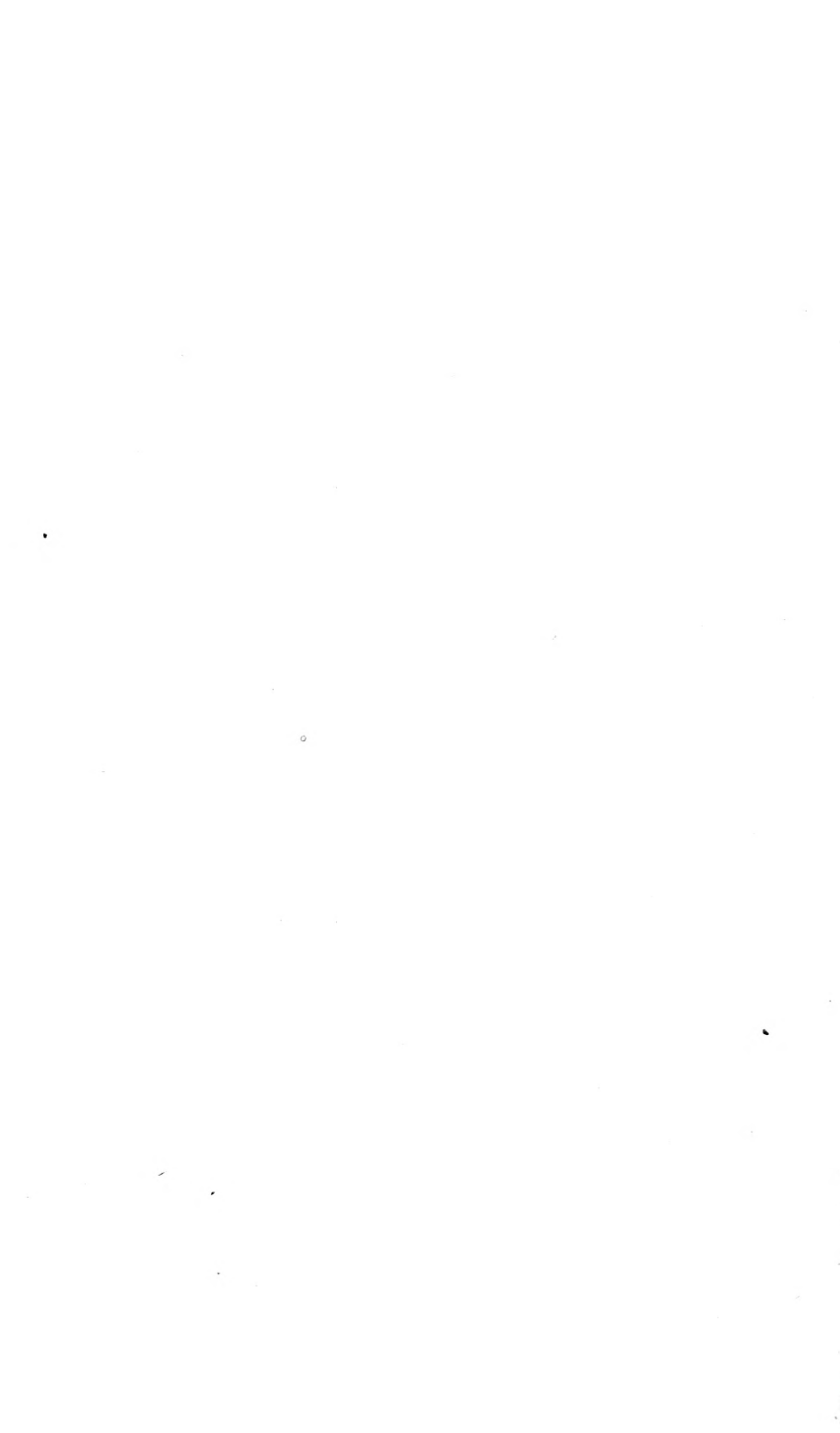
The more violent of the malcontent districts in Paris were so inflamed at the very mention or thought of an amnesty, that they sent a deputation to the national assembly, partly to complain of the attempt, and partly to warn them against adopting or giving a sanction to such a measure. The assembly, who were not much more disposed than themselves to approve of it, declared that a tribunal should

soon be appointed to try the late ministers, and other delinquents, and a committee appointed in the mean time to examine into the accusations against them. The assembly likewise decreed, that Bezenval should be kept under safe guard at Brie Comte Robert, the town where he was then confined. This was to him the most fortunate clause that ever was or could be penned; for the writers on both sides acknowledge or declare, that no human power could have prevented another public murder if he had been brought to Paris. This opinion was indeed fully confirmed by the following fact, that thirty thousand frantic Parisians waited for him a whole day at the Place de Greve, and had, with savage pleasure, all the instruments of insult and death prepared for his reception.

Indeed it was evident that things were now arrived at such a pitch,

that no security for liberty, property, or life could be found in the country, unless some effectual curb was speedily placed upon the revengeful and cruel spirit of the people; for it had already spread with dreadful display into the provinces, where they had generally taken up arms as soon as they heard of the revolution at Paris. Every bad man (and that order was at least as numerous as usual) made the public good a pretence for wreaking his malice upon his private enemies. The tenants thought this a happy opportunity for shaking off all dependance on their landlords, and converting their farms into estates; and petty wars were thus generated in various parts between the former and the landed proprietors. Numerous other sources of discord were invented or found, and details of crimes and cruelties were echoed from every quarter.

[The extraordinary length of our History, which has this year gone far beyond its prescribed limits, and all past example, compels us, unwillingly, to defer the completion of this singular revolution to our next volume.]



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

J A N U A R Y.

*Halifax, November 11, 1778.*

**O**N Saturday the 1st of this month, the Academy at Windsor was opened by the bishop of Nova Scotia; the magistrates and principal gentlemen of the county of Hants attended, which added much to the solemnity that was observed on an occasion so truly pleasing as the opening of the first public seminary in this province.

The bishop began with prayers, and then delivered a Latin oration, in which he pointed out the many advantages the public would derive from the institution, and severally addressed the magistrates, the tutors, and the students.

He next read over the regulations that were established by the gentleman appointed to undertake the general government of the academy. These regulations are well calculated to preserve order, to enforce diligence in the tutors, and to promote application and improvement in the students. The business of the academy being finished, the magistrates and gentlemen of the county of Hants presented an excellent address to the bishop, to which he returned a suitable answer.

Mrs. Helen Betteson, of Sevenoaks, in Kent, an opulent maiden lady, lately deceased, among many legacies, has left to the Rev. Mr. Hetherington's charity for blind persons 10,000 l. three per cent. consolidated annuities; to St. Luke's Hospital, the same; to Bromley College, the same; to St. George's

Hospital, 5000 l. to Mr. Gregory of Clifford's Inn, 2000 l.; to his wife 1000 l. and 200 l. per annum more, in consideration of taking care of her Italian greyhound; to all her servants 100 l. a year for life; to her executors 10000 l. to erect a monument in Westminster Abbey, with a suitable inscription (which is to be read and approved at a meeting of the Royal Society), for the late Martin Folkes, esq; who was president of the Royal Society; all the residue of her estate to earl Stanhope, lord Anherst, and Multon Lambard, esq; share and share alike, whom she appoints the executors and trustees of her will.

*December.* History, says a French meteorologist, does not afford us an example of so long and cold a winter as the present. The frost began on the 24th of November, with a N. E. wind, and continued increasing night and day till the 24th of December, when a temporary thaw came on, which lasted only two days, after which the frost returned, and continued till the second of January. The Seine was frozen over entirely.

*Lower Rhine, Dec. 27.* Sad accounts are received from all parts of Germany concerning the sudden and severe frost. Many persons and animals have been found frozen to death in the roads, which the great fall of snow has rendered impassable. This age affords no example of so extreme a frost as there was in many places on the 17th instant; in the morning of that day Fahrenheit's Thermom-

ter at Leipfick was 27 degrees below 0, which is from five to seven degrees lower than it was in the famous winters of 1709 and 1740. In the south part of Germany the cold has not been so severe; the Rhine is frozen over at Cologne, and in many places waggons and carriages pass over it loaded.

On the 23d of this month in the morning, at about two o'clock, and again in the evening at seven o'clock, a severe shock of an earthquake, accompanied by a loud subterraneous noise, was felt at Frankfort. On the following day there was a severe storm, with a great fall of snow.

At Bremen, Fahrenheit's Thermometer on the 13th stood at 4 degrees under 0, on the 15th it was the like, but on the 16th in the morning, at half past seven, it was at 12 degrees, and at half past ten at  $14\frac{1}{2}$  degrees under 0. In 1740, there was a continuation of cold at 4 degrees below 0; and in 1784, the strongest cold was on the 31st of Dec. at 8 degrees below 0, but it only lasted till ten o'clock.

On the 21st of December, the noble palace of the duke of Courland, at Mittau in Poland, took fire by some accident, and was in a great part destroyed, with its magnificent furniture.

*Edinburgh, Dec. 24.* This day James Falconar and Peter Bruce, late merchants in Dundee, were executed agreeable to a sentence of the High Court of Justiciary, pronounced against them on the 14th of August last, for breaking into the Banking-Office of Dundee, which sentence had been respited two different times, the last

of which respites expired yesterday. With their last breath, and during the whole time of their confinement, they have uniformly denied their accession to, or any knowledge of the intention of perpetrating the crime for which they suffered.

*Dublin, Jan. 13.* During the tempestuous wind this morning, a heavy and most tremendous sea rolled into our harbour, and did considerable damage to the new wall, where it displaced stones of an enormous weight, and beat in the parapet wall at the foot of the Lighthouse. The waves rose to the iron ballustrade, against which, as well as the other parts of the tower, the billows dashed with such fury as made the watchmen almost despair of their lives for some hours.

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE.

*Madrid, Jan. 20.* The king of Spain was proclaimed in this capital on Saturday the 17th instant, with all customary ceremonies. The Conde de Altemira, as Alférez-Major of Madrid, bore the Royal Standard, and was accompanied in the procession by a great number of grandees on horses very richly caparisoned, and also by the Corregidor, Alguazils, Heralds, and others. The proclamation was repeated in different parts of the city; and silver and gold coins, prepared for the occasion, were thrown by the Heralds among the people. The first proclamation was made in the great square, in front of the palace. Their Catholic Majesties were present, seated in a balcony, and attended by the ambassadors and other foreign ministers, and by the principal officers of state. The acclamations of the people were great,



and expressive of much loyalty and affection to their sovereign. The publick mourning was suspended for three days, a very large list of promotions was published, various entertainments and balls were given, and there was a general illumination on each of the three evenings.

*Oxford, Jan. 3.* On Tuesday last the mercury in a thermometer exposed to a North-East aspect in the open air, in this city, was observed to be so low as 13 degrees of Fahrenheit's scale, at seven in the morning, which is the lowest degree it has been seen at here this season, and is exactly the same as the greatest cold observed in the hard frost 1739-40; but the thermometer has been noticed lower than this in England at different periods since that time.

*Feb. 12, 1771,* at Cambridge, Fahrenheit's thermometer stood at six degrees above 0, and at Lyndon, in the county of Rutland, on the same day, at four degrees: once during the frost in 1776 at 9; and on January 18, 1767, at Derby, even so low as nearly one degree below 0.

Last Sunday quicksilver was reduced here to the state of a perfectly solid metal, by the usual means for generating artificial cold, which is presumed to be the first instance of this kind upon record in Britain: and on Tuesday following some quicksilver was again completely frozen (which is still more extraordinary) in a frigorific mixture composed of powdered salts (used in the stead of snow) dissolved in a diluted mixture of mineral acids.

2d. A lady sent to the prisoners in Newgate 10l. to buy coals, with an offer of three guineas to any debtor confined for

10l. to 15l. if his discharge can be obtained for that sum. From that sum to 20l. and upwards, four and five guineas upon the same condition. in consequence of which, a list of those prisoners who can be entitled to this benefit has been made out, and the different sums annexed to each, agreeably to the intention of the benevolent donor.

A draft of 1000l. was received in the Chamber of London, inclosed in the following letter from the Prince of Wales's Treasurer, addressed to the Chamberlain of London, at his office, Guildhall:

“ Sir, his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, apprehending that the poor of the City of London might sustain some hardship and inconvenience, in this inclement season, from the delay of the king's annual bounty, arising from the present unfortunate state of his Majesty's health, has commanded me to pay 1000l. into the Chamber of London, to be applied to the relief of the poor, in the same manner that his Majesty's bounty has usually been. I have the honour to be, &c.

HENRY LYTE.”

His Royal Highness sent also 200l. to Edinburgh, to be applied to the relief of the poor of that city.

The Thames at Irongate to the opposite shore is frozen over, numbers of persons having walked across yesterday. At Shadwell, the Thames is likewise frozen over, several booths are fixed on the ice, and yesterday an ox was roasted whole, and sold to the people who were skating and sliding.

Letters from Limerick mention, that the river Shannon is frozen

up beyond what has been remembered. The thermometer has been at 21 and half degrees below freezing point, which is the very extreme cold in Europe.

The scene on the Thames is very entertaining; from Putney bridge upwards, the river is completely frozen over, and people walk to and from the different villages on the face of the deep. Opposite to Windsor street, booths have been erected since Friday last, and a fair is kept on the river. Multitudes of people are continually passing and repassing; puppet shows, roundabouts, and all the various amusements of Bartholomew fair are exhibited. In short, Putney and Fulham, from the morning dawn till the dusk of returning evening, is a scene of festivity and gaiety.

12th. A young bear was baited on the ice, opposite to Redriff, which drew multitudes together, and fortunately no accident happened to interrupt their sport.

13th. This day the sessions at the Old Bailey, which began on Wednesday last, ended, when 18 convicts received sentence of death; among them were two most atrocious villains, William Woodcock, and Cornelius Carty; the first, for the premeditated murder of his wife, which he perpetrated by fracturing her skull, and beating off her ears with a bludgeon; the other, after having robbed a Mr. Williams on the highway, stabbed him in the groin with a knife, of which wound he languished a few days in the most extreme misery, and then died, leaving a family unprovided for. These two have since been executed.

31st. Lately the question which has long been debated between the public and the farmers of the post

horse duties, was finally determined in the Court of King's-bench, before Lord Kenyon, and the other Judges of that Court, when it was solemnly adjudged, "That the hiring a horse for any distance, and returning the same day, is not subject to the duty."

Advices have been received that Oczakow was taken by storm on the 17th of last month. The assault was given in consequence of the powder magazines of the fortress having been blown up by a shell. Six thousand Turks are said to have been killed, and three thousand made prisoners. The loss of the Russians is estimated at 4000.

The following is an authentic copy of the account lately sent to Prince Gallitzin, Ambassador from Russia, at Vienna:

"Oczakow was carried by assault on the 17th of December. The number of the besiegers were 14,000 men, that of the garrison 12,000. There were 7400 killed on the field, without reckoning those sabred in the houses.

"There were found in the place 300 metal cannon and mortars. The grand magazine blew up, but a great quantity of ammunition of every species was taken.

"The number of inhabitants are 25,000, amongst whom are 4000 very fine women.

"The Russians have lost 1000 men, including 180 officers. The Pacha who commanded the fortress has been made a prisoner with the garrison; but the Aga who led the troops was cut to pieces, as he refused to surrender."

They write from Constantinople, that the Divan, to excite the greater courage in the soldiers, have had a new coin struck, with the following inscription in Arabick:

"There

“ There is one God; there is one prophet, Mahomet is his name. The true victories come from God, who is our king, and with whom Mahomet is our advocate: he teaches us to pray, to believe, and conquer. The God of Mahomet is our God; the prophets of God are Mahomet, Abuhekir, Omar, and Ali. O Mahomet, sole master of riches and victory, let the blood spilt in battles against miscreants be dear and sacred to thee !”

DIED.—At his house at Walcot-place, Lambeth, in his 85th year, the celebrated Jn. Broughton, whose skill in boxing is well known, and will ever be recorded in the annals of that science. He was originally bred a waterman. His patron, the late duke of Cumberland, got him appointed one of the yeomen of the guards, which place he enjoyed till his death. He was buried in Lambeth church, on the 21st instant; and his funeral procession was adorned with the presence of the several capital professors of boxing. He is supposed to have died worth 7000*l*.

At Antwerp, aged 104, Philip Coets. He was a soldier from his youth, and served in all the campaigns of Prince Eugene against the Turks. In 1717 he was at the capture of Belgrade; at 40 years old he married, and lived with his first wife 12 years, by whom he had six children and ten grandchildren. At sixty years of age he married again, and had eight children, from whom sprang 30 grandchildren. He was so strong, that, at 73 years of age, he lifted a butt of beer from a cart without the least trouble. Having lost his second wife, at 92 he married again, but had no children. He was always in health, and pre-

served all his senses, except his hearing, till his death.

F E B R U A R Y.

On the fifth of December last, Admiral Greig was interred with great funeral pomp at Revel, by order of her Imperial Majesty of Russia. Some days before the procession took place, the body lay in state, dressed in the Admiral's grand uniform, having a crown of laurel on its head. The coffin, placed on six massy silver feet, was covered with black velvet, lined with white fatten, and handles, fringes, and galons, all made of silver. The pillows for his head, and for the state-bed, were of white fatten, trimmed with rich blond lace. On each side of the bed were three tabourets (stools), covered with white fatten, richly trimmed with fringe and tufts of gold. On these stools were placed the Admiral's staff, and the five different orders of knighthood which had been conferred upon him. (The enamel of one of the points of the cross of St. George had been carried away, and the point bent, by a ball he received in the fight in the Archipelago with the Turks last war.) On twelve stands covered with black, and ornamented with white crape and flowers, were placed twelve large silver candlesticks, with funeral wax tapers. The three flags of the deceased were hung at the head of the bed; two officers of the State Major, and six Captains of the marine, who were alternately relieved, attended at the sides of the bed, and two Lieutenants guarded the door of the hall, and sub-officers from thence quite to the door of the court; also a number of private centinels.

The procession was answerable, in every respect, to the grandeur of the above solemnity. The body was drawn by six horses, properly decorated and attended, and placed in a tomb prepared on purpose in the cathedral of Revel, amidst a triple discharge of all the troops and cannon from the ramparts, together with those of the fleet.—Such honours were never before paid to any naval commander in Russia.

Advices are received from Jamaica, that on Saturday the 15th of November arrived in Port-Royal Harbour, from St. John's, in the Bay of Fundy, his Majesty's frigate *Andromeda*, of 32 guns, commanded by his Royal Highness Prince William Henry. Immediately on his arrival his Royal Highness was saluted by the forts, and his Majesty's ships in Port-Royal Harbour.

On Tuesday the whole House of Assembly waited on his Royal Highness with their congratulations.

On the 2d of December the House voted 1000 guineas, to be laid out in the purchase of an elegant star, ornamented with diamonds, to be presented to his Royal Highness Prince William Henry, his Majesty's third son, as "an humble testimony of the very high respect and esteem that island entertains for his eminent virtues, and the happiness they feel in seeing him amongst them; as well as of the grateful sense they have of the particular attention which his Royal Highness pays to the duties of a profession which is the support and defence of the British Empire in general, and of that island in particular."

His Royal Highness received

that mark of the Assembly's regard in a manner that gave general satisfaction.

*Dundee, Feb. 4.* Last week a boy, about 14 years of age, was imprisoned here, for abstracting a bill of 22l. sterling value from a letter which he took from the letter-hole of the post-office, by fixing some paste or pitch, or some such article, in the hole, and by that means the letters stuck before they reached the box below. He resorted to the hole at night, and carried away all the letters that stuck, and afterwards opened them.

A question of the greatest importance to the merchants' 5th. service, in respect to the Captain's legal right to enforce good discipline on board of his ship, and to punish the breach of it, was determined in an action against a Captain of an East India ship, at the suit of his Boatswain, which was tried at Westminster Hall, before Mr. Justice Heath, and a special jury. This action was brought in consequence of the Captain having caused the boatswain to be flogged on board his ship. The Captain, resolved to have this point settled, which has lately given rise to that mutinous kind of conduct, (the effect of which has been too severely felt in the loss of several valuable ships) justified his having given this flogging as a punishment for the boatswain's mutinous behaviour, in refusing and neglecting to do his duty on board. The trial lasted three hours; and the jury, under the direction of the learned Judge, gave a verdict for the defendant, without retiring out of Court.

This evening sailed Commodore Cornwallis, with the 9th. following

following ships for India, viz. Crown, of 64 guns, Capt. Cornwallis; Phoenix, of 36, Capt. Byron; Perseverance, of 36, Capt. Smith; Atalanta, of 14, Capt. Delgarno; and Ariel, of 14, Lieut. Moorfom.

The long-expected battle 11th. between Johnson and Ryan, took place in a gravel-pit, within a quarter of a mile of the town of Rickmansworth, in Hertfordshire, and after a contest of 32 minutes and a half, victory was declared in favour of Johnson.

The spot on which the stage was erected, was certainly the best calculated of any ever known, as although upwards of 6000 spectators were present, yet no one person could claim a superiority of situation.—The seat of contest was in a gravel-pit of great depth, sloping gradually, and in the bottom of it, the stage of 21 feet square was erected.

The door money, which was to be divided equally between Johnson and Ryan, amounted to five hundred and twelve pounds.—The report was given out, that the contest was to take place in the yard of the Bell Inn; but when about four thousand people had subscribed guineas, half guineas, and crowns, the stage, which had been deposited in the yard, was carried to the spot above mentioned, where all ranks might equally be gratified.

At half past two o'clock, Johnson mounted the stage, with Humphreys as his second, and in about two minutes after Ryan appeared, with a master baker as his second—As soon as they were on the stage, Major Hanger appeared, and presented a hat to those who had not subscribed.—When he had collected

about thirty guineas, the stage was cleared.

When the combatants stripped, the odds were two to one in favour of Johnson, though Ryan certainly appeared the largest man.

The set-to was prodigiously fine, and after a few feints on each side, Ryan put in the first blow on the chest of his opponent, and brought him down. When the time was up, and each were on their guard, Johnson returned the compliment, by a severe blow on the left eye of Ryan, who before the end of the battle was nearly blind of that eye. Although there were about thirty rounds, yet excepting three times, they were always in favour of Johnson. One time in particular Johnson was beat round the stage, and Ryan placed a blow on his eye, but when they closed, Ryan always fell undermost. And at one time Humphreys offered to lay ten to one; the odds fluctuated from two to one to that enormous bett.

A remarkable instance of the power of conscience lately occurred. The secretary of the Sun Fire-office received a letter, written in a foreign hand, inclosing a bank note of 100l. which the writer of the letter desired should be carried to the account of the office, and acknowledged in a morning paper some day the first week in January; which was accordingly done.

Thirteen men brought a 12th. waggon with a ton of coals from Loughborough in Leicestershire, to Carleton-house, as a present to the prince of Wales. As soon as they were emptied into the cellar, Mr. Weltjie, clerk of the cellars, gave them four guineas, and as soon as the prince was informed of it, his Royal Highness sent them twenty guineas.

guineas. They performed their journey, which is 111 miles, in 11 days, and drew it all the way without any relief.

This evening a young 14th. French gentleman of a most elegant form, and genteely dressed, put the desperate resolution, which he seems, by a letter found in his pocket, to have some time formed, in execution, by clapping a brace of pistols to his head, and putting himself to death. On Thursday he came to Greenwich with a lady of the town, as was supposed, and a servant, both of whom he dismissed on the morning previous to his committing the suicide; giving his servant his trunk, his wearing apparel, and other valuable contents, and likewise two valuable watches. The rest of the day he passed in sauntering about the town, and waiting upon some officers of rank at Greenwich; among others Sir Hugh Palliser, to whom it is said he offered money to be distributed among the pensioners, which was politely received. He then seemed to think his money a burden to him, and distributed it, without any view to charity, as objects presented. To the woman who keeps the park gate he is said to have given some gold and a bank note, the gold she accepted; the bank note she returned to him, as perhaps not knowing its value. Meeting the young gentlemen of Dr. Egan's Academy, as they walked, he threw amongst them eight guineas and a half. This circumstance being reported to the Doctor, he was struck with suspicion of the intended fact, and the Gentleman being seen to enter the Park, he dispatched one of his assistants, together with a young

Gentleman, after him. They accordingly crossed him as he walked, and entering into conversation, and invited him to take tea at the Doctor's. He seemed happy to meet with those who could converse with him, and, acknowledging the politeness of their invitation, pulled forth a watch he had still remaining, and forced it on the young gentleman, requesting him to wear it for his sake, observing he himself should have no further occasion for it.

The Coroner's Jury sat on the body of the above unfortunate gentleman, and brought in their verdict lunacy. 19th.

The king pronounced perfectly free from complaint 26th.

*St. James's, Feb. 27.* By his majesty's command, the physicians report is to be discontinued from this day.

*Feb. 28th.* Died at Canons, aged 25, the noted horse *Eclipse*, who had made the fortune of his master Count O'Kelly, and survived him about a twelvemonth. His heart weighed 13lb. which enabled him to do what he did in speed and exercise. He won more matches, and covered more mares, than any horse of the race-breed was ever known to have done, and his skeleton is to be preserved. He was at last so worn out, as to be unable to stand, and was conveyed, in a machine constructed on purpose, from Epsom to Canons, about Midsummer last.

*Naples, Feb. —.* Our court is plunged into the greatest grief. The small pox seems particularly fatal to the house of Bourbon. Since the death of young Prince Charles Janvier, their Majesties have had another loss in that of the

the young Prince Lewis, who died last night of the small-pox, aged five months and six days. He had been inoculated; and had got over eleven days from the operation very well, but the disorder took a turn, and his weak constitution yielded to it. Their Majesties are very much afflicted, and to add to their grief, one of the Royal Princesses is attacked with that disorder in the natural way.

*Venice, Feb. 14.* The most Serene Polo Renier, Doge of Venice, died last night, aged seventy-nine years. He was elected to that dignity on the 10th of February, 1779.

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### M A R C H.

2d. The Court of Delegates, pursuant to adjournment, assembled at Serjeant's-Inn Hall, to hear the arguments of Counsel, and pronounce judgment in the long-pending cause instituted by Lady Strathmore against Mr. Bowes, for a divorce.

After Messrs. Erskine and Chambers, as Counsel for Mr. Bowes, had inadverted upon the voluminous body of evidence in the cause, the Delegates consulted for half an hour; after which, sentence of divorce was pronounced, the substance of which was as follows:

“That Andrew Robinson Bowes, being unmindful of his conjugal vow, and not having the fear of God before his eyes, did, on the several days and times mentioned in the pleadings of this cause, commit the several acts of cruelty therein mentioned, and did also, on the days therein set forth, commit the heinous crime of adultery.

“The Court do therefore order and decree, that the said Andrew Robinson Bowes and Lady Strathmore be divorced, and live separate from each other: but that neither of the parties marry during the natural life of the other of them.”

The re-hearing of the cause between the same parties, respecting the right of Lady Strathmore to the estates of her ancestors, under a private deed of settlement made previous to her marriage with Mr. Bowes, came on, and was determined by the Lord Chancellor at Lincoln's Inn Hall.

The Counsel for Lady Strathmore, with infinite ability, supported the former decree pronounced in favour of her Ladyship by Mr. Justice Buller.

The Chancellor pronounced this deed to be valid, and that Lady Strathmore was consequently entitled under it to the possession of her estates. His Lordship, therefore, ordered the former decree made by Mr. Justice Buller to be affirmed.

*Copenhagen, March 3.* Last Wednesday was a day destined for a tragical event. Some traitors had resolved on that day to set fire to the Russian fleet, which is here at this time; they would at the same time have ruined our fleet, if the plot had not previously been discovered.

A stranger, who has resided in this capital for a considerable time, had bought of a Scotchman, for 12,000 six-dollars, a ship with its whole cargo, that was anchored near the citadel; he gave him for the price agreed on, a second bill of exchange, omitting that of the first date. This vessel was loaded with pitch, resin, gunpowder, and rum. It had been settled, that the owner

ner was to set fire to the above vessel, on the appointed day, and to steer it towards the Russian Squadron, with a promise that he should have 5000 rix-dollars for every ship that he should destroy. The owner, suspecting some cheat in the bill of exchange, betrayed the plot. He was seized, and on Saturday night went through an interrogatory, which lasted till three o'clock. Notwithstanding all the search and the enquiries that have been made, the stranger is not yet discovered. In the mean while, the vessel is detained.

31. This evening, as a very genteel woman was walking along the Strand, a man, seemingly in great agitation, ran after her, and pulling a razor out of his pocket, drew her back and cut her throat. He was instantly apprehended, and after a short examination committed to prison.

5th. The Sessions, which began at the Old Bailey on Wednesday the 25th of February, ended, when eight convicts received sentence of death; 33 were ordered to be transported; 8 to be imprisoned in Newgate; 9 to be whipt and discharged; and 24 to be discharged by proclamation.

Previous to passing sentence, George Steevens, who received sentence of death in July, 1782, and who had made his escape, and been at large, was brought into Court to be identified. Mr. Akerman and his servants were all positive to his person, and he was remanded on his former sentence.

6th. The two gold medals, of 15 guineas each, given annually by his Grace the Duke of Grafton, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, for the encouragement of classical learning,

were adjudged to Mr. Hey, of Trinity-College, and Mr. Evans, of Pembroke-Hall, junior Bachelors of Arts.

Being the day appointed for the King's message to Parliament, and an official declaration of the complete restoration of his Majesty's health, in the morning the bells rang in most of the churches; at noon the Park and Tower guns were fired; the standard was hoisted on the White Tower, and the soldiers in garrison were entertained at the expence of their colonel, the duke of Gloucester.

During the day the river below bridge displayed the colours of various nations; France, Spain, Holland, Prussia, Russia, Portugal, Denmark, Sweden, Ireland, and even America, gave their tokens of joy, some with devices on their streamers, and the words *Long live the King* in large capitals, either at the mast-head, or on the bowsprit.

Of the illuminations it is impossible to give a description. They were literally general. All the inhabitants seemed to vie with each other who should give the most beautiful and picturelike devices on the occasion, and who should testify their loyalty in the most conspicuous manner. In short, so general was the tribute of affection to our beloved Monarch; that, could his royal eye have surveyed the splendour, and witnessed every accompanying demonstration of gladness, he would have retired with as proud feelings as ever animated the bosom of a King; it was a trophy that reflected as much true dignity on the Sovereign as it did honour to the feelings of the nation.

This day the foreign ministers hereafter mentioned had private audiences of his Majesty. His

10th.

11th.

His



His Excellency the Marquis del Campo, Ambaffador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary from the Court of Spain, to deliver his Credentials; the Count de Lusi, Envoy Extraordinary from the King of Prussia, to take leave of his Majesty; and the Chevalier d'Alventleben, his successor in the same character, to deliver his Credentials. And they had afterwards in the like manner private audience of her Majesty.

13th. The workmen employed in new paving the choir of St. George's chapel at Windsor discovered a decay in the stones which closed up the entrance into the vault where Edward IV. had been deposited. Two of the canons and the surveyor entering the vault, viewed the royal body inclosed in a leaden and a wooden coffin, reduced to a skeleton which measured six feet three inches: the skull reclined to the left or north side, with a quantity of long brown hair which had fallen off it, but no traces of envelope or cerecloth, nor any rings or other insignia. A liquor covered the bottom of the inner coffin to the depth of about four inches, which on examination was found to be only the moisture which had drained from the body. On the King's coffin lay another of wood, only much decayed, which contained the skeleton of a woman: who, from the marks of age about the skull, was supposed to be that of his Queen, Elizabeth Widville, who died three years after him in confinement at Bermondsey Abbey, and was probably buried with less pomp. The body of his fifth daughter Mary, who died the year before him, and was the only person of his family buried at Windsor, was not in this vault, which from various circumstances appeared to

have been opened and plundered at some former period. On the walls of the vault was written in chalk, in abbreviated characters of the time, *Edward* or *Edwardus* IV. and several names of workmen or assistants at the funeral.

Edward IV. died April 9, 1482, and was buried the 18th following in this chapel, whose foundation himself had laid.

The nine following male-factors were executed before 18th. the debtors door at Newgate, pursuant to their sentence, viz. Hugh Murphy and Christian Murphy, alias Bowman, for coining; Charles Messenger and Tredway Pockock, William Collard, and John Norrington, for burglary; James Grace and Joseph Walker, for coining, and William Craddick, for a robbery. They were brought upon the scaffold about half an hour after seven, and turned off about a quarter past eight. They behaved in a decent manner, and seemed fully sensible of their unhappy situation. The woman for coining was brought out after the rest were turned off, and fixed to a stake and burnt, being first strangled by the stool being taken from under her.

DIED.—Lately, at Newburgh, aged 106, Thomas Houlcroft.

At Manheim, in his 44th year, Charles Prince Palatine, of Birkenfeld, Duke of Bavaria, major-general in the service of his Imperial Majesty.

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#### A P R I L.

*Bologne.* There has lately been committed in this city a most atrocious and cruel murder. There were in Bologne a beautiful young dancer and her husband—  
within

within these few days an Italian, who arrived there by the Florence coach, waited immediately on the beautiful dancer, and, after a minute's conversation, plunged his stileto in her breast. Whilst she was expiring, he attempted to blow his own brains out, but his hand trembling, he fractured his skull in a most horrid manner, and after lingering for some hours, this suicide and murderer died in the most excruciating tortures.

2d. A most outrageous tumult has happened at Barcelona, in consequence of the high price of bread. On the first ult. a very numerous mob began to set fire to the town magazines, where the corn is deposited. Having finished here, they burnt two houses belonging to the principal corn-dealers, besides some others.

During these outrages, the commandant of the town, Count del Affato, shewed the utmost moderation, not wishing to carry things to extremities. Had he acted with greater severity, the destruction would have been less, and the riot quelled in the first instance, being composed merely of the rabble. His Excellency, however, capitulated with the rioters, and made them every concession, but the more he seemed disposed to be lenient, the more they persisted in further demands.

Emboldened by his lenity, they demanded a reduction in the price of wine and oil. This was likewise allowed them. The mob then assailed the Governor's house, but was kept off by the military. They afterwards got into the large cathedral, and began sounding the bells, which drew together a number of the country people, who joined the rioters. In this extremity, the Governor ordered the military to oppose, which immediately put an

end to the riot, and the mob dispersed.

*Barcelona, April 3.* About 40 persons (among them, no doubt, some innocent) taken up after the late sedition on account of the high price of bread, are put on board a frigate for Carthagena, where they must all indiscriminately suffer slavery.

By a number of private accounts received in town from Sweden, we learn, that the whole plot by which the Danish navy was to be destroyed, has been discovered by the confession of one of the parties concerned.

Was issued, by the King in council, a proclamation for the 3d. suppression of riots and tumults committed by colliers and others in the counties of Northumberland and Durham; and for apprehending and bringing to justice the persons who have committed, or shall commit, the same. At Long Bruton colliery a number of pitmen assembled on the 10th of March, and maliciously damaged and destroyed several engines for drawing coals, and set fire to a pit belonging to the same colliery, which continued on fire two whole days, to the immense damage of the proprietors. The rioters proceeded likewise on the same day to damage and destroy the engines, &c. of other collieries. Now this proclamation strictly enjoins all justices of the peace, sheriffs, and all other civil officers whatsoever, to use their utmost endeavours for discovering and apprehending the persons concerned in the said outrages; and promises further, that if any person, concerned in the said outrages, shall discover any other person guilty of the same offences, on or before the 3d of June next, so that he may be convicted thereof, such discoverer shall receive his Majesty's pardon, and a reward of Fifty Pounds, to be paid

paid by the commissioners of the Treasury, without any further warrant in that behalf.

On the same day a proclamation was issued for a general thanksgiving throughout England and Wales, and the town of Berwick upon Tweed, for his Majesty's recovery; and a like proclamation for Scotland, to take place on the 23d instant\*. An order was sent to Ireland for the same purpose.

On the 15th instant, the beautiful and much-admired wood, known by the name of Brayton Barff, near Selby, in Yorkshire, was discovered to be on fire, and, notwithstanding the assistance of the fire-engines from Selby, and the whole force of the country, it is said to have been burnt down. The trees were valued at 5000l. It was set on fire by the carelessness of a farmer in burning weeds close to it.

15th. In the evening her Majesty, accompanied by the Princesses Augusta and Elizabeth, went to Covent Garden Theatre. On her Majesty's entering the box, the theatre thundered applause. Her Majesty sensibly felt the congratulations. When seated, the ordinary curtain was drawn up, and discovered a splendid drop-cloth, displaying his Majesty's arms superbly emblazoned, having a scroll over it, with the words LONG LIVE THE KING, and another underneath, MAY THE KING LIVE FOR EVER. Two cherubs supported the lower scroll, waving wreaths of laurel over it. The whole painting was decorated with a rich foliage of roses and myrtle surrounding it. Its unexpected display added considerably to the effect.

Mr. Bannister, with the principal singers belonging to the theatre, then came forwards, who were joined in the song of *God save the King* by the whole audience, and encored a first, second, and third time; with which her Majesty was so impressed, that she shed tears of joy.

This evening Gen. Conway's elegant comedy of False Appearances was presented to the public, and received with the warmest applause. The epilogue, written by Gen. Burgoyne, was much admired.

A general and splendid illumination took place throughout all London and Westminster; of which, though nearly all the public buildings, and many private houses, well deserve to be recorded, the Bank of England was the most conspicuous.

DIED near 100 years of age, John Hammond, gardener, the oldest freeman and inhabitant of Maidstone.

At Galswhey, near Rippon, co. York, in his 109th year, Wm. Preit, who worked as a labourer at Studley-park till within these ten years. He has left a widow and eight children, the eldest of which is in her 88th year, and the youngest 16.

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M A Y.

Letters from Fort St. George, dated the 25th of October, relate the death of the Ameer ul Omrah, second son and Minister of his Highness the Nabob of Arcot.

The Ameer having for many years past acted a principal part

\* For a particular account of his Majesty's visit then to St. Paul's, on that day, see the Appendix to the Chronicle.

in the politics of the Durbar, many changes will probably be occasioned by this event. The Amier was about 40 years of age, Captain General of his father's army, and Prime Minister.

*Venice, May 1.* On Wednesday evening a courier arrived here with dispatches from the Bailo at Constantinople to the Senate, acquainting them with the sudden death of Abdul Hamid, the Ottoman Emperor, which happened on the 7th of April, without any visible previous illness. He was born the 20th of March, 1725, and ascended the Ottoman throne on the 21st of January, 1774, by the name of Achmet the Fourth. He is succeeded by his nephew Selim the third.

*Dublin-Castle, May 5.* Letters Patent have been passed under the Great Seal of this Kingdom, in pursuance of his Majesty's commands, constituting and appointing the Most Rev. Father in God, Robert Lord Archbishop of Dublin, the Right Hon. Hugh Carleton, Chief Justice of the Court of Common-Pleas, and Sir Samuel Bladstreet, bart. one of the justices of the Court of King's Bench, to be commissioners for the keeping of the Great Seal of Ireland.

6th. The long-expected battle between Humphreys and Mendoza took place on Wednesday at Stilton. A spacious amphitheatre was erected, for the purpose of seeing this contest, in the park of Mr. Thornton. It consisted of an erection of seats round a space of forty-eight feet in circumference, raised one above another, and capable of holding between two and three thousand persons. About that number of

spectators were present; the highest seat was removed at the distance of eighteen feet from the ground, and every man could see the combat clearly and distinctly.

Between one and two o'clock Humphreys appeared on the turf, accompanied with Johnson as his second, and a person, whose name we did not learn, as his bottle-holder, and Mr. Coombs as his umpire. Mendoza soon afterwards entered the field of action, attended by his second Captain Brown, his bottle-holder Ryan, and his umpire Sir Thomas Appryce. They stripped, and setting to, the seconds retired to the separate corners of the inclosure, according to the previous agreement of both parties. After a contest of an hour and a quarter, Mendoza was declared conqueror.

As Ward the boxer, with others of the fraternity, was travelling on the Lincoln stage to assist at the boxing-match between Humphreys and Mendoza at Stilton; while the coach baited at the Black Horse, Enfield-highway, he was challenged by one Swain, a blacksmith of Enfield, who was always forward on such occasions. After several blows exchanged on both sides, Swain gave out, and retreated to the bar of the house. The other pursued him, and gave him two blows, which instantly dispatched him. Ward and his companions made the best of their way to London, but were stopt in a post-chaise, and committed to prison. The coroner's jury divided in their verdict, *nine* deeming it *manslaughter* and *seven* *murder*; on which Ward was not admitted to bail, and the parties were bound to attend at the Old Bailey.

*Paris,*

Paris, May 7. On Tuesday last, about twelve o'clock at noon, his Majesty opened the Assembly of the States General, by a speech from the Throne, which was received with loud acclamations. The Queen was seated near the King, on his left hand; Monsieur, and the Comte d'Artois, at a small distance on the right; Madame, and Madame Elizabeth, (his Majesty's sisters) together with Mesdames Viscountess and Adelaide, (his Majesty's aunts) on the left hand behind the Queen. The other Princes of the Blood, with some Dukes and Peers, were also on the right; the Marshals of France, with others of the same rank, were on the left: the Garde des Sceaux was also on the left, and the other great officers of state were on the right of the throne. The Duc d'Orleans, who is the only Prince of the Blood chosen Deputy to the States General, took his seat as such amongst the nobility. The Ministers were seated close under the platform on which the throne was placed. As soon as his Majesty had finished his speech, the Garde des Sceaux and Monsieur Necker addressed his Majesty and the Assembly; and at about four o'clock in the afternoon the King rose from his seat, and adjourned the meeting to the following day.

Came on to be heard before the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas, and a very respectable special jury of the county of Norfolk, the important cause respecting the right of the Citizens of London to an exemption of the payment of Exchange tolls, and all other customs, upon the exportation of goods from any town in England; and whether those Citizens possessed that privilege respecting goods

exported from the Port of Lynn, who were not resident therein. The Recorder of London opened the cause. He said, he should prove the right of the Citizens by prescription, by charters, and by the testimony of the witnesses. This it appears he did, to the satisfaction of the jury, as they found a verdict for the citizens of London.

The long-contested case respecting the Accommodation 8th. Notes, by which to many hundred thousand pounds have been locked up in the bankers' hands for several months past, was yesterday determined in the Court of King's Bench. It was introduced by a demurrer to evidence brought forward at the sitting in Guildhall.

The cause was that of Tatlock *versus* Harris. The former was the *bona fide* holder of an accommodation note. Harris was in this case both drawer and acceptor. It was made payable to Grigson and Co. who, as it now appears, are names merely fictitious. It bore their endorsement, and also that of Lewis and Potter; by the latter of whom it was paid to the plaintiff for a valuable consideration.

The question was, whether the plaintiff was not to derive his title by proving the hand writing of the first indorser.

The Judges were of opinion, that the *bona fide* holders of these notes, and who have taken them for a valuable consideration, are entitled to recover the amount, in all instances, from the persons from whom they were actually received.

Judgment was therefore given for the plaintiff.

14th. Was held the Anniversary meeting of the Sons of the Clergy, which was respectably and numerously attended. The collection at St. Paul's, at the rehearsal of the music, on the 12th, amounted to — £. 203 13 6  
 On the 14th - - - 275 5 0  
 At Merchant Tay-  
 lor's Hall - - - 624 11 1

Total - 1108 14 7

19th. The king has been pleased to grant to his most dearly beloved son, Prince William Henry, and to his heirs male, lawfully begotten, the dignities of Duke of the Kingdom of Great Britain, and of Earl in Ireland, by the names, styles, and titles of Duke of Clarence and of St. Andrew's in Great Britain, and Earl of Munster in Ireland. *Gaz.*

The Royal assent was given by commission to 36 public and private bills; among which were, an act for repealing the shop tax act; another for suspending the act of last sessions for the better securing the rights of persons qualified to vote at Elections; and a third to enable his Majesty to authorize the importation of provisions from the United States of America into the Province of Quebec; a fourth for defraying the charge of the Militia; the rest were acts for particular purposes of Roads, Churches, &c.

22d. This day James Robinson, William Robinson, and Richard Frooke, Esquires, justices of the peace for the Tower Hamlets, were brought up for judgment, for discharging Charles Bannister, William Palmer, &c. who had been committed as rogues and vagabonds, for acting plays, &c. at the Royalty Theatre, and imprisoned

14 days. Mr. Justice Atharil pronounced the sentence of the Court, which was, that each of the defendants should pay a fine of 100l. and be imprisoned till it was paid.

A dispute lately happened between the duke of York, 27th. and colonel Lenox (nephew and heir to the duke of Richmond) which terminated yesterday in a duel. This dispute originated in an observation of his royal highness, namely, that 'colonel Lenox had heard words spoken to him at the club at Daubigny's, to which no gentleman ought to have submitted.' This observation being reported to the colonel, he took the opportunity, while his royal highness was on the parade, to address him, desiring to know, what were the words which he had submitted to hear, and by whom they were spoken. To this his royal highness gave no other answer then, than by ordering the colonel to his post. The parade being over, his royal highness went into the orderly room, and sending for the colonel, intimated to him, in the presence of all the officers, that he desired to derive no protection from his rank as a prince, and his station as commanding officer; but that, when not on duty, he wore a brown coat, and was ready, as a private gentleman, to give the colonel satisfaction. After this declaration, colonel Lenox wrote a circular letter to every member of the club at Daubigny's, requesting to know whether any such words had been used to him, and appointing last Monday for an answer from each: their silence to be considered as a declaration that no such words could be recollected. On the expiration of the term limited for

an answer to his circular letter, the colonel sent a written message to his royal highness, to this purport: "That not being able to recollect any occasion on which words had been spoken to him at Daubigny's to which a gentleman ought not to submit, he had taken the step which appeared to him the most likely to gain information of the words to which his royal highness had alluded, and of the person who had used them; that none of the members of the Club had given him information of any such insult being in their knowledge; and therefore he expected, in justice to his character, that his royal highness should contradict the report as publicly as he had asserted it." This letter was delivered to his royal highness on Monday by the earl of Winchelsea; when the answer returned not proving satisfactory, a message was sent to his royal highness desiring a meeting, and the time and place were settled that evening.

To preclude the unfounded representations which may be propagated respecting an affair that took place this day, the seconds think it necessary to give the following authenticated account:—

In consequence of a dispute of which much has been said in the public papers, his Royal Highness the Duke of York, attended by Lord Rawdon,—and Lieutenant-Colonel Lenox, accompanied by the Earl of Winchelsea, met at Wimbledon common. The ground was measured at twelve paces, and both parties were to fire upon a signal agreed upon. The signal being given, Lieutenant-Colonel Lenox fired, and the ball grazed his Royal Highness's curl. The Duke of York did not fire. Lord Raw-

don then interfered, and said, "That he thought enough had been done." Lieutenant-Colonel Lenox observed, "That his Royal Highness had not fired." Lord Rawdon said, "It was not the Duke's intention to fire; his Royal Highness had come out upon Lieutenant-Colonel Lenox's desire, to give him satisfaction, and had no animosity against him." Lieutenant-Colonel Lenox pressed that the Duke of York should fire, which was declined upon a repetition of the reason. Lord Winchelsea then went up to the Duke of York, and expressed his hope, "that his Royal Highness could have no objection to say, he considered Lieutenant Colonel Lenox as a man of honour and courage;" his Royal Highness replied, "that he should say nothing; he had come out to give Lieutenant-Colonel Lenox satisfaction, and did not mean to fire at him; if Lieutenant-Colonel Lenox was not satisfied, he might fire again." Lieutenant-Colonel Lenox said, "he could not possibly fire again at the Duke, as his Royal Highness did not mean to fire at him."

On this, both parties left the ground. The seconds think it proper to add, that both parties behaved with the most perfect coolness and intrepidity.

(Signed) RAWDON.  
WINCHELSEA.

*Tuesday Evening, May 26, 1789.*

A meeting of the officers of the Coldstream regiment, 50th on the requisition of Colonel Lenox, to deliberate on a question which he had submitted, "Whether he had behaved in the late dispute as became a gentleman and an officer?" took place yesterday morning; and, after

a considerable discussion, adjourned to this day; when, having renewed the subject, they came to the following Resolution:

“It is the opinion of the Coldstream Regiment, that *subsequent* to the 15th of May, the day of the meeting at the Orderly Room, Lieutenant Colonel Lenox has behaved with courage; but, from the peculiar difficulty of his situation, not with judgment.”

**DIED.**—Lately, at Corbally, in Ireland, aged 102, John Flannagan.

At Stockholm, of an apoplectic fit, in his 78th year, Senator Count Hopken.—He had been prime Minister from 1752 to 1761; and to him is owing the establishment of the Academy of Sciences in that capital.

At Paris, the Count de Sarsfield, great grandson of the gallant Gen. S. who so greatly distinguished himself at the siege of Limerick, by intercepting the battering artillery and ammunition destined to support that siege.—From his sister is descended the present Lord Lucan, who, when he was raised to the peerage, made choice of that title. There is still in France a nobleman descended from the great Sarsfield, who bears the title of earl of Lucan.

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## J U N E.

On Monday the 1st of June, the monument at Kelbearn, to the memory of George Buchanan, the Scots Historian and Poet, was finished; and, though in height 107 feet, no accident whatever attended the erection.

Mr. Whaley arrived about this time in Dublin, from his journey

to the Holy land, considerably within the limited time of twelve months. The wager laid on the performance of that expedition was £. 20,000.

The above wager, however whimsical, is not without a precedent. Some years ago, a baronet of some fortune in the North laid a considerable wager that he would go to Lapland, bring home two females of that country, and two rein-deer, in a given time. He performed the journey, and effected his purpose in every respect. The Lapland women lived with him for about a year, but having a wish to go back to their own country, the baronet very generously furnished them with means and money.

*Oxford, June 10.* This day was agitated a proposition for reducing the time requisite for a Doctorate in the civil law to the standard of the sister university, by making it eleven instead of twelve years. This question, when brought forward on the 25th ult. was quashed by the single negative of the Vice Chancellor, not from any aversion to the principle, but to the form in which it was then proposed.

It was this day resumed in a form less objectionable; and, after one speech in support of it, and another on the opposite side of the question, a scrutiny (answering in substance to a parliamentary division) was demanded by the latter speaker: the consequence of which was a considerable majority in favour of the proposed reduction.

William Ward, the boxer, was tried at the Old Bailey, for 5th. the murder of Edwin Swaine, blacksmith, at Enfield (see p. 206), and found guilty of manslaughter only; to be fined one shilling, and imprisoned



prisoned 3 months: there being no evidence from whence to infer actual malice, or whether the death of the party happened from the blow that was actually given, or whether, from any extraordinary exertion, he might not have died of an apoplexy, or in a fit, or by breaking a blood-vessel.

June 9. A very curious experiment was tried, that of proving how far an entire copper vessel would answer the purpose of sailing. Mr. Williams, a joint proprietor of the great copper mines, was the projector—and a very numerous party attended the experiment.

It was launched at Deptford, and promises to answer every purpose for which it was designed. Should it do so entirely, it will prove a very singular advantage to the British navy.

*The following intelligence was brought by a gentleman who was in Cape Town, at the Cape of Good Hope, in April last.*

“ Last February, a drummer, who had deserted sixteen years from the Dutch service, surrendered himself to the governor of the Cape, soliciting his pardon on the truth of this story.—That he had seen two European ladies, who were then actually existing with the Hottentots in the interior parts of the country, and that, with a proper force, he would engage to recover them. The humanity of the Governor, which shone so conspicuously on a former unsuccessful search for the unfortunate persons that were missing by the wreck of the *Grosvenor*, was immediately excited. He instantly dispatched 400 soldiers, with 15 or 16 natives, who

were consequently perfectly acquainted with the manners and language of the Hottentots, in order to accomplish the release of these ladies from their wretched state of savage existence. These two ladies being described, are supposed to be some of the passengers who were cast on shore when the above ship was lost. The party had not returned when the *Kent* Indiaman left the Cape. The drummer is with the party, as a prisoner, and expects pardon on his proving the veracity of what he has advanced as above stated.”

June 18. Last night, betwixt the hours of ten and eleven, the Opera House was discovered to be on fire, which, before any assistance could be procured, was entirely consumed.

About ten o'clock on Wednesday evening, the dancers were practising a dance, when suddenly several globes of fire were seen to drop from the upper part of the building. The appearance was so terrific, that the women made their escape in the linen jackets which they wear in practising, and without waiting for their usual dresses.—Their speed was not too precipitate, for in a very few minutes the whole of the building was in one general blaze. The treasury chest, in which there were eight hundred pounds, was saved—so were the books—every thing else of value was totally destroyed. Five houses in Market-lane are entirely destroyed, as are the stables of the *White Horse Inn*.

The blaze, which, from the vast quantity of materials consumed, was an object of amazement to the metropolis, was increased, not only by a large room full of music

papers, but by a large quantity of wines deposited in the cellars by a friend of the manager. The latter, when the flame reached them, gave birth to a column of fire of particular brilliancy. Those who approached the conflagration from the eastern part of the city had a prospect tremendously beautiful. The night being perfectly calm, the flame rose in a spiral column to an extraordinary height, when it took a direction horizontal to the earth, and separated into a number of fiery clouds, that moved slowly through the atmosphere toward the south-east. St. Paul's cross reflected the light with the most resplendent brightness, and the whole western front of the cathedral was as minutely visible in every part as at noon day. At a distance St. Bride's spire had the appearance of a pyramid of livid fire; the effect was nearly the same on the spires of St. Clement's, the New Church, St. Martin's, and other churches.

*Manchester, June 19.* This morning betwixt twelve and one o'clock, a most terrible fire broke out in the Theatre Royal in this town, which spread with such amazing rapidity over the whole building, that by the time the engines were assembled, it was scarcely possible to oppose it with any prospect of success.

*Oxford, June 30.* About four o'clock in the morning, an uncommon shock, attended with a violent rushing noise, was felt at St. Mary Magdalen's college, and on the other side of the water, occasioned, as it afterwards appeared, by the falling of the venerable oak which stood at the entrance into the Wa-

ter-walk, and had for many ages, by its magnitude and antiquity, attracted the admiration of strangers. Its dimensions were as follow:

In girth — 21 feet 9 inches.

Height — 71 feet 8 inches.

Cubic contents 754 feet.

The capacious trunk, for more than nine feet from the ground, was reduced to a perfect shell; but upwards the tree seemed to be in full vigour of vegetation, though it had long been kept from falling by two or three roots, scarcely so large as a two-inch cable, and those at last reduced to dust. With such slender support, it is wonderful that it should so long have repelled the storms which at different times have torn up huge elms in the adjacent grove, many generations of which it has seen pass away. Dr. Stukeley, in 1724, speaking, in his *Itinerarium Curiosum*, of Magdalen college, says, "The old oak is yet left, nigh which he [the founder] ordered his college to be built." Now the college was founded in 1448; and we must conclude that a tree had something peculiar in its size or its age, to make it an object of attraction on such an occasion. The founder directed the boundary on the north to be near the *great oak*. But they, who are at all acquainted with our ancient forests, will not think it incredible, that an oak, of sufficient importance to attract William Waynflete's attention, should boast of receiving in its green old age a visit from George the Third. Its antiquity has indeed been ascertained with tolerable accuracy, by the usual method of counting the number of circular lines in the grain, each of which is a mark of annual

nual growth in all species of timber. Hence it appears, that this oak has been increasing for upwards of six centuries; and probably might have reared its romantic branches to distant ages, but that it evidently had been injured as far back as the reign of Charles II. when the present walks were laid out; "a scheme which," according to the prophetic witticism of Dan. Purcell, "consisted so much in *darning* and *finning*, that it must be productive of mischief."—Fortunately this old tree fell into the meadow; had it fallen towards the river and the walk, it must have occasioned much damage.

The altar-piece at New college is now restoring, under the direction of Sir J. Reynolds and Mr. Wyatt. It was well known, that the whole east end of the chapel was ordered by Horne bishop of Winchester, in the early part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, to be completely hid, by plaitering it up; and in the operation, where any parts projected beyond their proper level, they cut all even. A few years since a small opening was made, which presented such an elegant specimen, that the Society have now opened the whole, and purpose to have it restored. The colour is light-blue and gold. It is opened with great care. The images were all demolished. What remains is Gothic work, and up to the ceiling, with the niches empty. The bottom row has good sculpture of the nativity, &c.; the figures about a scale of nine inches.

The excessive heavy rains during several days, in the two last weeks of June, by accounts from various parts of the kingdom, seem to have fallen almost universally, and

in some places have done considerable damage.

On Sunday evening June 21, Dorothy Shuttlewood, a young woman of Sibley, Leicestershire, was unfortunately struck dead by a flash of lightning in her dwelling house, just at the time she was passing to a cupboard by the side of the fire-place to take out an hymn book.—An iron crane projecting from the chimney, close to which the poor girl passed, it is supposed, attracted the lightning.

On the 23d, William Snell of Sothorn, near Lincoln, had a cow struck dead by lightning. A cow, the property of Mr. Charles Beard, was killed by the lightning the same evening in the Monks Leare, near this city. She had taken shelter under a tree, to which circumstance the misfortune may be attributed.

During a violent storm of thunder and lightning on June 24, a large quantity of electric fluid entered the house of Mr. Holmes, Attorney at Law, in *East Retford*, by the chimney, and passing through the front attics, part burst through the staircase window, and shattered it all in pieces. Another part was attracted by the bells and bell-wires, and entered the chambers. The bed in Mr. Holmes's lodging room was shivered into splinters, from thence the fire descended through the floor into the common dining parlour, where three servants were sitting. It was there conducted by the bell-wire into the kitchen, and though it considerably broke and tore the windows and furniture, yet no person was in the least injured. The servants were all struck down, one of them having a child in her arms. In the

kitchen the fluid passed from the bell to the pewter-cale, and spent its force there, every piece of pewter which was in contact with another being melted, and adhering like solder to the other. In the front chamber it also shivered the bedstead into splinters, and from thence descended through the floor into the front parlour, where its force was spent. The bricks were driven to a considerable distance from the chimney upon the adjoining buildings, and did great mischief to the roofs. Mr. Holmes's gates were likewise injured, but providentially, though all the family (except Mr. Holmes) were in the house, no lives were lost.

At *Oundle*, on the 25th, a most remarkable whirlwind happened, whereby great numbers of trees were stripped of their branches, and broke in half, and even torn up by their roots. In the yard and orchard of Mr. Cutridge, fell-monger, five trees were torn up by the roots, a great number broke in the half; the sheep skins appeared in the air like paper, flying nearly out of sight, three cart-loads of which were gathered up at more than a quarter of a mile distance; three of the skins were lodged at the top of a very high tree, more than a hundred yards from the place; some cloth, which lay out bleaching, was torn from the ground and carried almost out of sight, it was found more than a quarter of a mile distant; and it is supposed to have done about 80*l*. damage on this estate; a short but very heavy bridge in the parish of *Barnwell* was torn up in a very remarkable manner; at *Barnwell*, two miles from *Oundle*, the spire steeple had the table stone cut in half, the south side of

which was took away; on the north side the lead was torn off the church, and the east window broken to pieces; some houses were stripped, and a barn blown down; a waggon and cart were taken from under a hovel and driven to a considerable distance, the waggon was broke to pieces; several people were took off their feet and drove to a great distance; some other trifling damage has been done to trees and hedges in its way; but what renders this most remarkable is, though it can be traced from south to north (which was the direction it took for near ten miles), it did not exceed two hundred yards in breadth.

*Liverpool*, June 25. The damage done by the lightning, that has come to our knowledge, are, a barn at *Eomby*, set on fire, but soon extinguished; a horse killed in a field near *Everton*; two gentlemen at a house in *St. Nicholas'* church-yard, while at dinner, were affected in their fingers as if electrified; and a cow killed at *May-place*, the seat of *Richard Savage, Esq.*

On the 27th, about one o'clock, they had at *Sheffield* several tremendous claps of thunder, accompanied by vivid and repeated flashes of lightning, one of which had the awful and instantaneous effect of killing a man and horse on the moor near this town. The lightning entered his head, and proceeding downwards penetrated through the saddle, making a hole about the size of a bullet.

At *Boddenden*, on the 21st of June, they had a most tremendous storm of rain, with thunder and lightning, remarkably vivid, by which the trunk of a large oak tree was rent from top to bottom, the

the branches broken, the bark entirely stripped off, and parts of the tree driven to the distance of more than an hundred yards. No lives were lost, but many people felt the effects of the electrical shock.

On June 27, *Liverpool* was again visited by a furious thunder-storm, by which many houses were damaged. At the Townside Mill the lightning shivered the upper shaft, and passing down the sack-chain, killed a girl of twelve years old. This storm, which lasted only a quarter of an hour, filled the whole town with terror.

The same day, about three in the afternoon, a similar storm came on at *Glasgow*, with repeated peals of thunder, and, what made it still more awful, an uncommon darkness obscured the atmosphere for more than half an hour. The storm abated soon after four, but in the evening it began again to rain, and so continued all night. The lightning fell on the farm house of *Kilmondenny*, singed some blankets on a bed there, but hurt nobody.

At *Whitehaven* heavy rains have fallen daily, more or less, for some time; and at *Birmingham* and its neighbourhood the inundations have considerably hurt the hay and corn.

In the neighbourhood of *Hereford* the constant rains about the middle of June not only spoiled the clover that was cut, but threatened more serious damages. The rivers *Wye* and *Lug* laid their low meadows under water, by which the neighbourhood of that city was principally supplied with hay.

On the 28th of June, in the county of *Armagh*, the most violent storm of hail came on ever re-

membered in Ireland. It proceeded in a N. W. direction from *Tynan* to *Newtown Hamilton*, accompanied by extremely vivid flashes of lightning and tremendous claps of thunder. The hail-stones were in fact large pieces of ice, several of which, being measured after the storm, proved three inches in circumference, and remained undissolved for many hours. This phenomenon, which extended about half a mile only in breadth, destroyed every thing within its compass, by which many farmers have been ruined.

DIED.—At the *Maefe* of *Killin*, in his 80th year, the Rev. Mr. James Stuart. He was the first who began the translation of the Bible into the Gaelic language, which has, in the succession, been continued by his son, the minister of *Lus*, and his son-in-law, the minister of *Blair* in *Athol*, as also by Dr. Smith, minister of *Campelton*.

The Rev. James Ramsay, M. A. vicar of *Teston*, in *Kent*, whose indefatigable labours have so eminently distinguished him among, and endeared him to, the friends of the Africans.

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J U L Y.

This evening, in consequence of some expressions reflecting on the character of Lieutenant Colonel Lenox, published in a pamphlet, with the name of Theophilus Swift, Esq; Colonel Lenox called on Mr. Swift, and demanded satisfaction:—They met at five o'clock yesterday afternoon, in a field near the *Uxbridge* road; attended by

Sir William Augustus Browne, and Lieutenant Colonel Phipps. A pistol was exchanged on each side. Ten paces were measured by the seconds, and it was agreed that Colonel Lenox should fire first. The parties having taken their ground, Colonel Lenox asked if Mr. Swift was ready?—On his answering that he was, Colonel Lenox fired, and the ball took place in the body of Mr. Swift, whose pistol, on his receiving the wound, went off without effect. The parties then quitted the ground.

It is but justice to add, that both gentlemen behaved with the utmost degree of coolness and intrepidity. Mr. Swift has since recovered from his wound.

2d. Several of the principal Corn Factors attended, by the desire of Mr. Pitt, in Downing-street, to state how far the application from France, for a supply of 20,000 sacks of flour, might be complied with, without injury to this country. These gentlemen were clearly of opinion, that though the demand did not exceed the consumption of one week in this metropolis, yet, the uncertainty of the season, and other circumstances considered, it must, if complied with, for a short time advance the price of grain.

In consequence of this report, Government have given the French Ambassador for answer, that they could not with prudence permit the exportation of 20,000 sacks of flour applied for, without injury to the country at large, and particularly to the farther burthen of the poorer part of the community.

The Earl of Massareene, who was liberated from the prison of the Chatelet by the riots of Paris in

the month of June last, and got safe to England, is a Peer of Ireland, and head of the noble family of Skeffington. His Lordship, in his early days, figured very conspicuously in the walks of fashion. When making the grand tour, soon after his coming into possession of his family titles and estates, his Lordship unfortunately at Paris became acquainted with a native of Tripoli in Syria, who, from his artful sophistry, prevailed upon the noble Lord to co-operate with him in a plan he had formed of supplying the kingdom of France with the article of salt, to be brought from the coasts of Syria; and held out such apparent advantages to be derived therefrom, as induced the credulous young nobleman to enter into engagements for the payment of such sums of money as might be necessary for the accomplishment of the object. In a very short time after, the Syrian adventurer set sail for Tripoli, and returned to Paris in due course of time, with such flattering accounts of the success of the expedition, as led Lord Massareene to plunge himself into those calamities which have proved the bane of the comforts which from his noble birth he had a just right to expect. After being some years confined in the Grand Chatelet at Paris, in a most unpleasant situation to a man of any rank in life, the natural love of liberty so far prevailed as to lead his Lordship to lay a plan for his escape to his native country; but the carriage which was waiting for his reception was kept so long hovering about the prison, that it caused suspicion among the gaol-keepers. His Lordship was apprehended as he was entering the carriage, and immediately sent into a dungeon

a dungeon many feet below the surface of the river Seine, upon which the Chatelet is built. He remained there in such a state of wretchedness, that his beard grew to a most immoderate length, and rendered him a most striking picture of the vicissitudes of human life.

John Ward, George Green, 1st. Thomas Denton, and John Jones, were executed, pursuant to their sentence.

Denton was a native of the northern part of Yorkshire; and though bred a tinman, from a taste for letters kept a bookseller's shop, about ten years since, in the city of York. He soon after returned to London, where seeing a speaking figure made by some foreigners, he completed another in a very short time, and by that means accumulated much money by exhibiting it in various parts of England. The speaking figure he afterwards sold to a printer in the city, and made a writing figure, which is still in the hands of a friend. His abilities in the chemical line were very conspicuous; and he afterwards translated Pinetti's book of Deceptions, with notes. From his knowledge of chemistry he obtained the art of plating coach harnesses, &c. which he carried on jointly with the business of a bookseller, in Holborn, for some time. In this business he unhappily formed a connexion with a person notorious for making plain shillings. Those powers that assisted him to make several mathematical instruments, as pentagraphs, &c. enabled him to imitate the current coin in a manner that deceived the best judges, and held the court seven hours upon his trial, and at last he was acquitted of coining; but convicted of having the imple-

ments for coining in his possession.

Lord Malmesbury, late ambassador to the States General in Holland, having obtained leave of his court to resign that employment, their High Mightinesses resolved, that a gold chain and medal, of the value of 6000 florins of Holland, be presented to Lord Malmesbury, as a token of their approbation and friendship; and that another, value 600 florins, be presented to his Secretary.

A man set off for a wager, 6th. to walk one hundred miles in twenty-four hours. The ground was measured on Blackheath. He walked in a circle, which was an exact mile, one hundred times round. He won the wager with ease in twenty-two hours and a half. He started at four o'clock in the afternoon, on Monday, walked all the night, and went the hundred miles by half past two o'clock on Tuesday. He did not appear much fatigued.

On Saturday last a public examination of such of the 15th. gentlemen cadets as were judged qualified for receiving commissions of second lieutenants in the royal regiment of artillery, was held at the royal military academy, at which his Grace the Duke of Richmond presided.

After the examination was over, Serjeant Bell's contrivance for blowing up the Royal George was tried upon a vessel built by his direction, upon a scale of one inch to fifty, thickness of the Royal George's side. This vessel was sunk in the river Thames, and with 50 pounds of powder, afterwards conducted to her magazine, was blown to pieces. The experiment took place at high water, and answered every expectation of the

the inventor of it, contrary to the opinion of several gentlemen possessed of great professional knowledge in the science of gunnery, and to whom the plan had been submitted.

*Extract of a letter from an officer on board the Sirius in Botany Bay, to his friend at Edinburgh, dated July 12, 1788.*

“The *Bouffole* and the *Astrolabe*, which sailed from France on discovery, came here two days ago, who gave the following account. As they were lying at one of the navigator islands, a group discovered by Monsieur Bougainville to the northward, where they had been on a very friendly footing, and had carried on a traffic with the natives for a long time with great success until the day they sailed; after they had got under way, Monsieur L’Angle, captain of the *Astrolabe*, requested of Monsieur Perouse, the commodore, to allow him to go ashore, and get one boat load more of water, which was all he wanted of being complete. The commodore wished to dissuade him from the design, by telling him, that as they had got under way, and would not be long at sea, there was no occasion for having so much water; but Monsieur L’Angle seeming very anxious to go, Monsieur Perouse followed him. He accordingly went ashore with two armed boats, and in all about thirty-six men. Whilst they were filling their water, the natives seemed to be on the same footing with them that they had always been formerly. Mean time the ships, which had hove too off the island, had drifted to leeward of one of the points which formed the bay in which they were lying. When, however, Monsieur L’Angle’s

people had filled their water, and were walking down to the boat, a great number of the natives came down, and surrounded them so suddenly, and so close, that they had not power to use their fire-arms, and killed Monsieur L’Angle and 31 of the men that were with him. The others swam off to the ships, some of them very dangerously wounded.”

DR. Mrs. Greville, authoress of the celebrated “*Ode to Indifference*.”

The Rev. John Rotherham, of Queen’s College, Oxford, where he was presented with the degree of M. A. by decree of convocation, Dec. 11, 1753, for writing an excellent piece, intitled, “*The Force of the Argument for the Truth of Christianity, drawn from a collective View of Prophecy, 1752*,” in answer to Dr. Middleton’s Examination of the Bishop of London’s Discourse on Prophecy. He next published “*A Sketch of the one great Argument, formed from the general concurring Evidences for the Truth of Christianity, 1754*”;—*An Essay on Faith, and its Connection with Works, 1766*;—“*An Apology for the Athanasian Creed, . . . .*”; a Sermon on the origin of Faith, 1761; another on the wisdom of Providence; an inauguration sermon, 1762; another on the influence of Religion on human laws, an assize sermon, 1763; another for the benefit of the Newcastle Infirmary, 1771; and one against Persecution, 1780. He was presented by Dr. Trevor, Bishop of Durham, in 1769, to the rich rectory of Houghton-le-Spring, and the vicarage of Seaham, co. Durham.

At his house near Caerphilly, co. Glamorgan, William Edward, architect and bridge-builder, or the



the Rev. William Edward, for he sustained both characters with equal assiduity and ability. The celebrated bridge on the river Taaff, called Pont y tu Pridd, by the English, New Bridge, was constructed by this extraordinary man. It is the segment of a circle, whose chord at the surface of the water is one hundred and forty-seven feet, and is the boldest and largest arch in Europe. He was then a common mason, and a methodist preacher.

At York, aged upwards of 80, Mr. Joseph Randall, formerly master of the academy at Heath, near Wakefield, author of the "Semivirgilian Husbandry," and other treatises on agriculture.

the youth fire the shot that killed the man. They were both tried for the murder, and both found guilty; but a point of law arising, their case was referred to the Twelve Judges, who confirmed the sentence of the son. The youth, who was only nineteen, had been twice reprieved, and, it was generally supposed, would obtain his Majesty's pardon.

*Account of the late Storms continued.*

On the 6th of July, near Horsehouse in *Coverdale* (North Riding, Yorkshire), on a moor there, a man and two boys, digging peat, observed a storm coming, and, running for shelter to an adjoining hut, the lightning struck the old man, tore his stockings and shoes, and burnt his legs: the elder boy, at a little distance behind the old man, was struck dead, and rendered a most dreadful spectacle. The other boy, about twenty yards behind his companions, was also struck senseless, and remained so for some time, but afterwards recovered. The old man, it is feared, will be a cripple for life.

On the 22d of August they had a remarkable fall of rain and hail at *Keljo*, in Scotland. It extended but a short way either to the South or North, and scarce at all to the Eastward. To the Westward, from whence it came, it was exceedingly violent; and at *Hewick* was accompanied with a most tremendous storm of thunder, lightning, and hail, or rather angular pieces of ice, which fell in great abundance.

But the most tremendous storm of thunder and lightning within the memory of man, in this country, happened on the 3d instant, in the evening,

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A U G U S T .

12th. Being the birth day of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, who then entered into the 28th year of his age, the same was observed with the greatest felicity.—His Highness received the usual compliments at the Marine Pavilion at *Brightelmstone*, where there was an entertainment, at which the Dukes of York, Clarence, and Cumberland partook. The same evening the gardens at *Vauxhall* were beautifully illuminated, in compliment to his Highness.

17th. This day young Mr. Gordon was executed at *Northampton*. He was found guilty of murder, for killing the peace-officer who came with a warrant to apprehend his father. It was said, that the officer or his attendants had made an attempt upon the house, and that his mother bid

evening, at *Amstham*, in Bucks, to the inexpressible terror and consternation of the inhabitants of the town and villages round it, the atmosphere exhibiting a continued tract of blue flame, through which proceeded a heavy fall of hailstones, in quantity and magnitude surpassing description, which fell with such violence, as to kill birds, destroy fruit-trees, crush garden-frames, and shatter the windows in a most astonishing manner. More than 500 panes in Mr. Drake's house were broken. The same storm raged furiously near *Oxford* in Suffolk.

24th. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales arrived at York, to be present at the races.

25th. His Royal Highness was waited on by the Sheriffs, to know when his R. H. would be waited on by the Corporation; when his Highness was graciously pleased to appoint two o'clock the same day.

At that hour the Lord Mayor and ten of the Aldermen, the two Sheriffs, and a numerous body of the commonsalty, preceded by the city band of music, went in their formalities to the Deanry, where they were received by the Prince.

A very elegant address was then presented to his Royal Highness, which was read by Mr. Townsend, the town clerk, in which his R. H. is respectfully entreated to permit his royal name to be enrolled among the freemen of that ancient city, and to accept the freedom thereof, which is thus humbly offered for his R. H.'s gracious reception.

To the city address his R. H. returned a most polite answer, which concluded in these words: "I with pleasure accept the freedom of this ancient city, and your

offer of enrolling my name among its citizens."

*Edinburgh, Aug. 19.* The Convention of Delegates from the Burgeses of the Royal Boroughs met here, Mr. Graham of Gartmore as Praefes, and Mr. Ewen of Aberdeen as Secretary. Before they proceeded to business, a letter was read from his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, in answer to the addresses from the Burgeses of many Boroughs, formerly presented to his Royal Highness during the indisposition of his Majesty. This letter of acknowledgment was conceived in the most polite and obliging terms. The hon. Sir Henry Erskine moved an address of thanks for his Royal Highness's gracious condescension in bestowing this distinguished mark of attention on the Burgeses of Scotland; and Mr. Laird of Strathmorton moved addresses of congratulation on his Majesty's recovery, both to the King and Prince of Wales, which were unanimously agreed to.

Came on to be tried at 28th. Appleby, before the Right Hon. Sir Alexander Thompson, one of the Barons of the Exchequer, an issue from the Court of King's Bench, to try Messrs. Hainsworth and Son, of Leeds, merchants, on an information lodged against them for exporting worsted-yarn to Bilboa in Spain; when, after a hearing of more than four hours, in which many ingenious arguments were urged by the counsel on both sides, the jury unanimously found the defendant, Thomas Hainsworth, guilty, both of the illegal package and the exportation thereof.

The Spanish ships destined to make discoveries, under the command of Don Alexander Malaspina, 30th.

Malaspina, set sail from Cadiz this day. Artists in every science are engaged by his Catholic Majesty in this expedition.

SEPTEMBER.

2d. Earl Fitzwilliam gave a magnificent Fête at Wentworth-house, in honour of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. Nothing could be more superb and sumptuous than the whole of the arrangements. It was in the true style of English hospitality. His gates, on being honoured with the presence of the Heir Apparent, were thrown open to the love and loyalty of the surrounding country; and not fewer than 20,000 persons partook of his Lordship's liberality. The diversions (consisting of all the rural sports in use in that part of the country) lasted the whole day, and his Lordship's park was the grand stage on which the numerous personages played their parts. The spectators were, the Prince with his attendants, and the nobility and gentry from every part of the county without distinction. The dinner was an assemblage of every delicacy the world could produce. The ball at night, consisting of more than two hundred ladies, the flower of Yorkshire, with their partners, was the most brilliant ever seen beyond the Humber.

In coming to town from Wentworth-house, the Prince encountered an alarming accident. About two miles North of Newark, a cart crossing the road struck the axle of the Prince's coach, and overturned it. It was on the verge of a slope, and the carriage in

falling tumbled bottom uppermost, and was shivered to pieces. There were in the coach with his R. H. Lord Clermont, Col. St. Leger, and Warwick Lake, esq;—two of the Prince's servants were on the box. Their escape was almost miraculous, not one of the company having received material hurt. Lord Clermont suffered the most, and was obliged to remain at Newark, but is since perfectly recovered.

Very early this morning, some hours before day, a very fine lunar rainbow appeared, more brilliant than that of Aug. 17, 1788.

The following is the state of the Carron manufactory 5th. in Scotland, the greatest perhaps of the kind known in the world: the weekly consumption of coals amounts to 11,000 tons, at 4s. per ton; and the consumption of each day is equal to that of the city of Edinburgh during a whole week. As many coals, therefore, are consumed in the Carron foundaries as would suffice to supply a city of 700,000 inhabitants. A thousand workmen are daily employed in this manufactory, whose wages amount to 700l. per week, and 36,400l. per annum. The demands from abroad, and particularly from Spain, continue yearly to increase.

This morning Col. Ross set out for York, on a wager 14th. with Mr. Pigott of 800 guineas, that he reached York (197 miles) in forty-eight hours, on the same horse.—He performed the journey three hours within the time.

Two plants of the cochineal opuntia have been sent from Kew gardens, and several others brought from China, to Madras, where they are cultivated with success, and promise

promise to rival the nopal of Mexico, from whence our rich scarlet dye is extracted. It is therefore likely that this branch of commerce will fall into our hands; a circumstance highly deserving of notice, as the annual imports into Europe at present amount to upward of 300,000l. sterling.

Seeds of the oldenlandia umbellata, from the roots of which plant it extracted the fine permanent red dye so much admired in India cottons, have been sent to our West India islands by Dr. Anderson, of Madras. This plant is so valuable in India, that it is sold there for one guinea per pound. Some prepared roots are also sent to England, to try if the dye can be extracted from it in this country. If this can be effected, a trade will be established in that article from India, to the great benefit of our cotton manufactures.

The sessions at the Old Bailey ended; when twelve convicts received sentence of death, and fifty-four were ordered to be transported for seven years.

*Brighthelmston, Sept. 15.* About seven o'clock this evening Mons. Maupeau, son of the Chancellor of France of that name, in a fit of insanity, shot himself in a field near this place. This unfortunate gentleman arrived here from Dieppe the preceding day. In his pocket was found a packet of papers, among which were two letters of credit, one for 6000 livres on Ranson, Morland, and Hammerley; the other on Mess. Aubert and Co. for whatever sum he might have occasion; also a passport for himself. The effects he brought with him to the New Ship, where he lodged, were of considerable value, among which were

two valuable gold watches, one of them set with diamonds; two diamond crosses of the order of the Knights of Malta; three miniature pictures of a lady set in gold; a pair of diamond sleeve-buttons, and many other trinkets of inferior value; in money, thirteen louis d'ors and five shillings and six pence loose in his pockets, with a canvas bag, in which were 140 French half crowns and nine shillings English sterling: all of which were immediately secured by Mr. Simon, principal officer of the customs. On the outside of the packet of papers was written with a pencil, evidently with a trembling hand, *Je meurs innocent, j'en atteste le ciel. I call heaven to witness I am innocent.*—His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, whose humanity on all affecting occasions is in a high degree conspicuous, interested himself much in the affairs of this unfortunate foreigner. He ordered his surgeon to examine his head, lest any future enquiries should be made to ascertain his death, and ordered the particulars to be drawn up, and transmitted to the French Ambassador; and forbade any steps to be taken respecting his funeral till he had received his Excellency's answer.

*Shrewsbury, Sept. 5.* This day were executed at the Old Heath near this town, Thomas Phipps, esq. the elder, and Thomas Phipps the younger, (father and son,) for forging and uttering a note of hand for 20l. purporting to be the note of Richard Coleman of Oswestry, knowing the same to have been forged.—They both, from the time of their condemnation to the morning of the execution, persisted in their innocence; but, as the fatal

tal hour drew near, the youth relented; and he confessed that he committed the forgery, and that his father was wholly innocent. They were taken in a mourning coach to the place of execution, attended by a clergyman. On the way the father said to the son, "Tommy, Tommy, thou hast brought me to this shameful end; but I freely forgive thee:" to which the son made no reply. The father was in the 44th year of his age; the son in his 20th. The father was possessed of 500*l.* a year landed property, exclusive of his business as an attorney. He has left a widow, and one daughter, a most amiable young lady of sixteen, to deplore his loss.

**DIED.**—Alex. Fordyce, esq. formerly an eminent banker, and brother to Sir William and the Rev. Dr Fordyce.

In the Downs, on board 23*d.* the Boston Packet, in his 53*d.* year, after four hours illness, Silas Deane, esq. a native of Groton, in the State of Connecticut. He was a member of the first and second Congress, where he was distinguished by his literary merits, mercantile knowledge, policy, and great zeal for liberty [the characteristics of the first planters of New England, and of their descendants]; and consequently, in 1776, was appointed ambassador by Congress to the Court of France. Soon after his arrival at Paris, he proved his ability, by convincing the Court of France that their interest would be promoted by giving support to the American Revolt. While Mr. Deane was in France, he wrote to several Members of Congress salutary advice, not to push their resistance into independence

on the Mother Country; part of which Letters were intercepted and printed. However, to help forward the claims of the American Colonies, Mr. Deane purchased sundry articles in France, and sent them to Congress on credit, to the value of nearly half a million of livres; depending on the faith and promises of Congress for a just and equitable payment. Congress, having received the goods sent by Mr. Deane, recalled him from his embassy, and refused all kind of payment, because Mr. Deane was not clear of a suspicion of being not friendly to the Independence of America. This compelled Mr. Deane to leave France on a sudden, and finally to take refuge in England, where he received a generous and a friendly support, while his eminent services, and just demands on Congress, were disregarded by his Fellow Patriots in America.

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### O C T O B E R.

The drying-house belonging 3*d.* to the powder mills near Faversham took fire, and blew up about twenty barrels of gunpowder, with a dreadful explosion. An old man, sixty-five years of age, was blown up, and came down a dreadful spectacle, too shocking to relate.

A few days since as Mr. 6*th.* Phillips, of Northumberland-street, was bathing in the sea at Portsmouth, he was suddenly seized with the cramp, and sunk twice; which being perceived by the man attending the bathing machine, he jumped in to his assistance. Mr. Phillips caught hold of him, and

so entangled both, that it was with great difficulty the man could preserve even his own life. A large Newfoundland dog seeing the danger Mr. Phillips was in, after the man had left him, jumped in and caught hold of his bathing cap, and with the assistance of the tide, which was flowing, brought him safe to shore. Mr. Phillips purchased the dog, and liberally rewarded the man who endeavoured to save him.

The American States have at last obtained *Bulls* from Rome for the consecration of Dr. John Carrol, the first Roman Catholic Bishop, by the title of Bishop of Baltimore, in Maryland; by which he takes place in that Sec before all other Bishops; and has the direction of all Catholic affairs throughout that vast extent of country.

He is invested with full powers to consecrate others—to erect Colleges—settle and establish Monasteries, &c. &c.

The *6* Bulls empower him to go to the Havannah, Quebec, or any place in Europe (where one Bishop and two Priests can be present), for the purpose of his own consecration; after which, it is said, he will have the character of *Legate Apostolic* to the States. This Prelate was legally elected by his Clergy; and it is a piece of policy worthy notice, that though the States sanction this affair, they will not admit of any Church establishment, to prevent feuds and prosecutions.

Donald MacLeod, the 10th. Highlander, was at St. James's, to present a petition to his majesty. This veteran is 101 years two months old; the cause of his coming to London was on

account of his pension being refused at Chelsea: he brought every thing necessary to prove his being the man: he walked from Inverness, in Scotland, and with him his youngest son, whose age is eight years; his eldest son is eighty; his countenance, and other appearances, bespeak a hale character of not more than seventy: he fought under king William, queen Anne, George the First and second, and bore arms for George the Third. The old man says, when he has done his business, he shall *walk back again*.

On Wednesday the 7th inst. at the General Quarter Sessions, held at *Chelmsford*, for the county of Essex, the opinions of Mess. Bearcroft and Shepherd were read, relative to a fine of 500l. laid upon the county by the Judge, after the last Assizes, for not having in their county-gaol two distinct rooms for the male and female invalids within the said prison. Their opinions stated, with becoming diffidence, a doubt of the legality of such fine; on which the Court came unanimously to the following resolution, *viz.* "To resist the payment of said fine, as not warranted by law."

At *Woolwich*, an experiment was made of an invention for breaking chains or booms laid across rivers, by means of a mine of gunpowder conveyed under the water, which seemed to promise success. The invention is Serjeant Bell's, of the Royal Artillery, who suggested a mode of blowing up the Royal George.

By a letter from *Manchester* there is an account, that, on the 1st instant, a large warehouse belonging to the Duke of Bridgewater, and

and occupied by persons trading on the Staffordshire Navigation, was discovered to be on fire. The wind being very high, the whole building, with its contents, the books of accounts only excepted, was entirely consumed. The loss is computed at 50,000l.; no part of which was insured.

Came on to be heard, before 13th. justice Bond and Thomas Vaughan, Esq. the information of Moses Maurant against John Burkitts, a notorious dog-stealer. The prisoner owned that the dog where-with he was charged followed him from the Hay-market, and that he hung him in the fields leading to Hampstead; that he had hung several dogs, and that he followed the practice for a living; that the skin of a dog would fetch 1s. 6d. and for a degree larger 2s. and for a very large one, from 2s. 6d. to 3s. 6d.; that he always sold them to a tanner in Long-lane in the Borough, who never asked questions. He was found guilty of the charge, and, being unable to pay the penalty, was sentenced to 12 months imprisonment.

The remuneration of the King's physicians is finally settled; but the sums have been erroneously stated in many of the public papers. The veracity of the following statement may be depended upon:

To Dr. Willis, the father, 1500l. per ann. for 21 years.

To Dr. Willis, the son, 650l. per ann. for life.

To the other physicians, thirty guineas for each visit to Windsor, and ten guineas for each visit to Kew. This to Sir George Baker, who had the longest attendance, does not amount to more than

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1300 guineas; and to all the others in proportion.

An extraordinary discovery is said to have been lately made at Chapel Farm, near Tiverton, where, in digging with a view to enlarge a pond, the workmen, at about ten feet deep, came to a spongy matter covered with hogs-bristles, and digging still deeper, the complete carcase of a hog was found, reduced to the colour and consistence of an Egyptian mummy. Other carcases were found; and the account says, that this *figgony* continued to the depth of twelve feet.

Northampton, Oct. 9. A meeting of the Nobility, Clergy, and Gentry, of this town and county, was held at the County-hall, to consider of the propriety of establishing a Preservative Society for that county, when Mr. Dolben very ably opened the business, with a great variety of matter, and his plan well arranged. Mr. D. was supported by some of the most respectable characters in the county, and a subscription was immediately opened, exactly on the same footing as the "Royal Humane Society."—It is sincerely to be wished, that this laudable example may be followed in other counties, where gentlemen of intelligence and fortune are on the spot to examine into the case, and to reward the assistants. The necessities of trade, and the comforts of life, require several canals, which are almost every day digging in various parts of the kingdom. These are evidently more dangerous than natural rivers.—Whenever the life of a fellow-creature is endangered, there the means to rescue and restore them,

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them,

them, and to reward those who perhaps may hazard themselves to save another, ought to be provided.

**DIED.**—By a fall from his horse, Thomas Day, Esq. of Anningley, co. Surrey; a gentleman distinguished for eminent abilities, and author of the following publications: 1. "Reflections upon the present State of England, and the Independence of America." 2. "Fragment of an original Letter on the Slavery of the Negroes." 3. A Dialogue between a Justice of the Peace and a Farmer." 4. "Reflections upon the Peace, the East India Bill, and the present Crisis." 5. "A Letter to Arthur Young, Esq. on the Bill now pending in Parliament to prevent the Exportation of Wool." 6. "The History of Little Jack," printed in the Children's Miscellany, 1788. 7. "The History of Sandford and Merton;" a work intended for the use of children, 3 vols.

At Ealing, near Brentford, after a very long and afflicting illness, Mrs. Lafcelles (the once celebrated Miss Catley), wife of Gen. L. Her disorder was a decline. She has left eight children by the General, four sons and four daughters. The eldest son is a cornet of dragoons. A short time before her death she purchased an handsome house at Ealing, for the future residence of her daughters, to whom she has bequeathed the whole of her fortune, which was not inconsiderable.—Whilst the youthful indiscretions of this lady are held out to the juvenile part of her sex as beacons, to avoid the same course, the brighter side of her character may be recommended as a model

worthy of their imitation. The propriety and grace with which she discharged the various relative duties was exemplarily conspicuous, and, if universally adopted, would not only add to the general stock of domestic happiness, but considerably lessen the miseries that occur in the more extended sphere of social life. As a daughter, wife, and mother, her conduct was far above the ordinary level; nor was she less distinguished for generosity and benevolence; in the exercise of which amiable qualities she united delicacy with prudence: her ear was always open, and her hand extended, to the children of affliction; being, by a rigid (tho' not penurious or inelegant) œconomy, empowered to relieve numbers, without injuring those whom Nature had more particularly consigned to her attention and sollicitude.

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#### NOVEMBER.

*Salisbury, Nov. 4.* The oak beam across the upper or east end of the choir of the cathedral was taken down, under the direction of Mr. Wyat, in the presence of the bishop, &c. It was eighty feet long, and four feet square. The reason of its being put up is not easy to say, unless to tie the walls together at the top: but as they had shrunk from it at each end, it was not only disagreeable to the eye, but rather injurious than of aid to the fabrick. It weighed several tons, and was not at all decayed. It was removed with great ease and safety, by erecting a scaffold under the middle, by which a man sawed out the centre part, and let it down



down before the two ends. The architect gave a handsome entertainment in the evening to Mess. Leesh, the clerks of the work, and the workmen, who are daily employed, to the number of fifty, in the alterations now executing in the cathedral.

6th. About 3 minutes after 6 in the afternoon, a smart shock of an earthquake was felt at Comrie, near Crieff, and the neighbouring places. At Lawers the shock was distinct and violent. A loud rumbling noise was heard, resembling thunder; and the shock appeared to strike upwards from a great depth in the earth. Several persons were nearly thrown down, and great numbers of the inhabitants of Comrie left their houses in the utmost consternation. In the course of two hours after the first shock, no less than thirty different lesser noises were distinctly heard. The progress of the first seemed to be towards the North-west, but afterwards more to the Eastward.

11th. On Saturday morning the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, attended by the Beadles, waited on their Royal Highnesses the Duke of Gloucester, Prince William Henry, and Princess Sophia of Gloucester, at the Star Inn, and conducted them to view the principal buildings, &c. of that University. After seeing Trinity, All Souls, Queen's College, the Theatre, Bodleian Library, &c. they proceeded to Christ-Church, where they were received by the Dean and resident Canons in the new Library. The young Noblemen of that Society were then presented to their Royal Highnesses. After viewing the Library, and the noble collection of paintings

given to that Society by the late General Guise, they proceeded to the Dining-hall, Chapel, &c. After which they partook of a refreshment at the Dean's lodgings. Their Royal Highnesses left Oxford about two o'clock, highly pleased with the attention paid them by the gentlemen of the University.

Lord Loughborough has ordered the Clerk of Assize for the Home Circuit *not* to estreat into his Majesty's Exchequer the fine of 500l. which he laid upon the County of Essex at the last summer assizes.

The following melancholy accident happened a few nights ago at Cambridge, to a son of Sir Robert Sloper, an accomplished youth of about 18 years of age, who is at College there—As he was returning home from spending the evening with a friend, in turning the corner of a street, he received a blow from a person he did not see, that at once broke both his jaw-bones, and otherways mangled his face in a shocking manner. As the assailant never spoke, it is supposed he was way-laying some person to revenge an injury, and unfortunately mistook Mr. Sloper for that person. The heads of the colleges have offered one hundred guineas reward, but hitherto without success.

Yesterday the Lord Bishop of London, assisted by Sir William Scott, Chancellor, and the Rev. Dr. Parker, Rector of the Parish of St. James, Westminster, consecrated a burial ground for the said parish, consisting of four acres of land, pursuant to an act passed in the last session of Parliament, situated in the road leading from Tottenham Court to Kentish Town, near the Turr-

pike, and inclosed with a brick wall ten feet high, which land is granted by Lord Southampton to the said parish for ever.

On laying the foundation stone of the New College at Edinburgh, two crystal bottles were inclosed therein; in one of these were put different coins of the present reign, each separately enveloped in crystal, in so curious a manner, that the legend could be distinctly read. In the other were deposited seven rolls of vellum, containing the original and present state of the University, &c. with a list of the principal officers, the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, the magistrates, and officers of the Grand Lodge of Scotland.—The bottles, properly sealed up, were covered with a plate of copper, wrapt in block-tin; and upon the under side of the copper were engraved the arms of the City and University, as also of the Grand Mason. Upon the upper side was the following Latin inscription:

Annuae Deo opt. max.  
 Regn. Georgio III. Franc. munificen-  
 tissimo!  
 Academiæ Edinburgensis  
 Edibus,  
 Initio quidem humillimis,  
 Et jam, post duo secula, pene ruinosis;  
 Novi hujus ædificii,  
 Ubi commoditati simul et elegantiae,  
 Tanto doctrinarum domicilio dignæ,  
 Consulerelet.  
 Primum lapidem posuit,  
 Plaud. ingenti omn. ordinum frequentia,  
 Vir nobilissimus Franciscus Dominus Napier,  
 Reipub. Architect. ap. Scotos Cur. Max.  
 XVI. kal. Novemb.  
 Anno salutis humanæ MDCC LXXXIX.  
 Æræ architectonicæ 100 MDCCLXXXIX.  
 Consule Thomas Elder,  
 Academiæ Præfesto Gulielmo Robertson,  
 Architecto Roberto Adam.

Q. F. F. Q. S.  
 Gloucester, Nov. 19. This day  
 was effected the greatest object

of internal navigation in this kingdom. The Severn was united to the Thames, by an intermediate canal ascending by Stroud, through the vale of Chalford, to the height of 343 feet, by 28 locks; there entering a tunnel through the hill of Superton, for the length of two miles and three furlongs, and descending 134 feet by 14 locks, it joined the Thames near Lechlade.

With respect to the internal commerce of the kingdom, and the security of communication in time of war, this junction of the Thames and Severn must be attended with the most beneficial consequences, as even stores from the Baltic, and provisions from Ireland, may reach the capital, and the ports at the mouth of the Thames, in safety. And all the heavy articles from the mines and founderies in the heart of Wales, and the counties contiguous to the Severn, may find a secure and certain conveyance to the capital.

In short, this undertaking is worthy of a great commercial nation, and does great credit to the exertions of the individuals, who have promoted and completed a work of such magnitude, at an expence of near two hundred thousand pounds.

The arched tunnel, carried through the bowels of a mountain near two miles and a half long, and 15 feet wide, at a level 250 feet below its summit, is a work worthy admiration; and the locks ascending from Stroud, and descending from the summit, are executed in a manner deserving great commendation.

Mr. Adam moved for judg-  
 ment against Dr. Withers, for <sup>21 ft.</sup>  
 a libel

a libel against Mrs. Fitzherbert. Mr. Dallas made an excellent speech, on the part of the Defendant, in mitigation of his punishment; and Dr. Withers was indulged in the liberty of pleading for himself. He avowed the publication of the pamphlet in question, he said, not knowing that the truth was a libel. His speech did not seem to make a very deep impression on the Court in his favour.—The sentence of the court was, “That you Philip Withers do pay a fine to the King of 50l; that you be imprisoned, in his Majesty’s gaol of Newgate, for one year; and that, at the expiration of that time, you give security for your good behaviour for the term of five years, yourself in 500l. and your two bail in 100l. each.”

23d. This day the Logographic Printer was called up to the Court of K. B. to receive sentence for publishing a libel against his R. H. the Duke of York.—Mr. Justice Ashurst prefaced the sentence with an admirable address to the Defendant; after which he pronounced the sentence of the Court, which was, a fine of 50l; a year’s imprisonment in Newgate; to stand on the pillory for one hour, between the hours of twelve and three; to enter into recognizances for his good behaviour for seven years, the Defendant in 500l. and two securities in 100l. each.

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D E C E M B E R.

1st. Astronomical observers were gratified this day by a cir-

cumstance that seldom occurs; viz. all the planets were above the horizon, and perfectly visible, the atmosphere being remarkably clear, in the space of twelve hours, —Mercury, Mars, and Jupiter, in the morning; and Venus, Saturn, and the Moon, in the evening.

Was tried at the Admiralty sessions at the Old Bailey, Captain John Westwich, of the brig Pilgrim, from Cork to Bristol, for the murder of his carpenter, by violently striking him with a pump handle. It was clearly proved, that the witnesses, in conjunction with an attorney, had entered into a conspiracy against the captain, who was honourably acquitted, and a copy of the indictment was granted him.

Eight prisoners were tried for making a revolt on board the Gregson, Captain W. Coran, at Dick’s Cove, about a league and a half from the coast of Africa; two of whom, John Williams, and Hugh Wilson, were capitally convicted.

A fire happened on Monday night at Houghton-Hall, 7th. Norfolk, the seat of Lord Orford. The North wing of that noble mansion, according to report, is consumed; and the fire, it is thought, would have entirely destroyed the whole building, if its progress had not been impeded by a stone arcade which divides the wing from the main edifice.

An action was brought by Captain Parflow, to recover 9th. from the Defendant, Mr. Sykes, satisfaction in damages for seducing, debauching, and carrying away, the

wife of the Plaintiff — The damages were laid at ten thousand pounds; the whole of which was given by the verdict of the Jury.

13th. On Saturday last, Sir Joseph Banks, attended by some other gentlemen, visited the Discovery, a new ship equipping at Deptford, for remote services, to fix on a proper place for a receptacle for any new plants which may be collected by Mr. Menzies, a gentleman of much botanical knowledge, who is to accompany captain Roberts on this voyage; his Majesty being at all times anxious, when the opportunity offers, to enrich his gardens at Kew.

Accounts have been received that Omai, of Otaheite, is dead; he did not chuse to live in his native island, and therefore settled in another, and soon squandered or gave away the greatest part of his property; but there being a cow, and a few European animals, belonging to him, the king of Otaheite, his liege lord, demanded them of the king under whose protection Omai died; they were refused; the consequence was, a war between the two chiefs, which ended in the ruin of the principality of the latter.

24th. His Majesty experienced a narrow escape, a few days since, from being overturned in his carriage in Colabrooke river, which separates Iver and Uxbridge Moor: when returning from hunting, the two leaders fell into a hole; but, fortunately, were immediately extricated by the extraordinary agility and presence of mind of the postillion. Two days after, a waggon loaded with corn, was overturned at the same spot,

on its way to Uxbridge Market.

Tuesday was held a trial of the pix of moneys, coined at the Mint in the Tower of London, by the Earl of Effingham, in presence of the Lords of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, at Westminster Hall, when, upon the strictest scrutiny, by an able jury of Goldsmiths, the coins were found fully agreeable to the standard of his Majesty's exchequer.

At the trial of pix the other day, the Chancellor of the Exchequer did not attend; and the Lord Chancellor, in his charge to the jury, said, that so sacred was the trial by jury, that he trusted in God the people of England would always consider it as their indefeasible right, and that under no pretence, either of revenue or of any thing else, would this great safeguard of their properties be entrenched upon; that an infringement of this right was an act for which the longest life of the most exalted minister that this country was ever blessed with could never atone. In maintenance of these sentiments, he related the evils that had been suffered by the country in the debasement of the coin, when a trial of the pix by jury was not necessary, previous to a Master of the Mint receiving his quietus.

The pix is a box kept at the Mint, into which one piece of every journey is put. A journey is the technical term for the coinage of a certain weight of gold. Each journey contains 677 guineas and a half. Out of this sum two pieces are taken; one is sent

to the Tower to be assayed, the other is put into the pix, to be tried by a jury before the Master can have his quietus. The number in the pix, therefore, ascertains pretty accurately the quantity coined, by which at least the public may form a conjecture.

The money issued from the Mint, which Lord Effingham rendered an account of on Tuesday at the trial of the pix in Westminster Hall, amounted to eight millions eight hundred thousand pounds. His Lordship's profits upon this, is about nine thousand pounds.

DIED.—At Winchester, aged 67, the Rev. Harry Lee, LL.D. warden of Winchester College, and rector of Rousham, co. Oxford.

Near Nestle, in Picardy, M. Cambray, one of the first theoretic architects in Europe.—He had written on the rise and fall of Gothic architecture, in which the characters, proportions, &c. of the antique were elaborately treated of.

At St. Nicholas's poor-house, Newcastle, of which he was the keeper, Mr. Wm. Umfreville.—By several indubitable evidences in his possession, he appeared to be the sole representative of one of the greatest names and most illustrious families in the North. The pedigree traces back the family to Robert Umfreville, lord of Tours and Vian in the time of William the Conqueror. He had in his custody a sword which belonged to Sir Robert Umfreville, vice-admiral of England about the time of Richard II.—Mr. U. died in very indigent circumstances, and has left a widow and one son.

At Marcham, Berks, Jn. Elwes, esq; M. P. for that county, aged upwards of fourscore; and a more respectable member never sat in parliament. His property in land and money was immense. The former devolves to his nephew, the son of the late Colonel Timms, of the horse guards. This is estimated at 7000l. per annum. The latter, to the amount of near 300,000l. excepting some few legacies, is equally divided between his two sons.—Mr. E. had, during Lord North's administration, been offered an English peerage; but as, under his circumstances, it could not have been hereditary, he declined it. Great part of the Circus Buildings, Seymour-street, &c. were his property. He was a man of clear perception, sound judgment, and unshaken integrity. In such high estimation was he held for his love of justice, that numberless disputes amongst his constituents and others, which would have been decided by courts of law, were left to his sole arbitrement; and his determination was sure to be thoroughly satisfactory to the judicious. Yet, notwithstanding his great and good character, he was a man (respecting himself) of an extraordinary penurious or singular turn. About 25 years ago, he would travel a whole day, viz. from his seat in Berkshire to London, on horse back, without baiting. He, at that time, was not only in the habit of gaming very high, but also lent large sums on mortgage to an eminent builder. The money he lent was supplied by installments, as the work was carried on. It happened, that on a Saturday a payment became due, and the builder

{ P 4 } went

went to his house in Marlborough-street. Finding it shut up, he enquired at the gaming-house he belonged to, and was informed that he certainly was in town. (Mr. E. at this time, kept not even a man or maid-servant in town, to attend upon him.) The builder, being distressed, went back to Marlborough-street, but could gain no admittance. At last, he applied to the landlord of the public-house adjoining, for leave to get over the garden-wall, which he obtained, and by that means entered the house, went up stairs, and found Mr. Elwes in his bed, in such an ill state of health as not to be able to get out, and nothing near him but part of a halfpenny roll and a glass of water. The builder, procuring a chair, had him conveyed to his own house near Portman-square, where he continued to lodge and board for several years afterwards.

At Scrooby, near Bawtry, aged 101, Mr. Thomas Loveday. He had practised the occupation of a blacksmith and farmer 75 years; and has left a son, who is now a farmer of the same place, aged 75.

In an advanced age, Johanna Horrel, of Exeter. She has left a fortune of upwards of 10,000*l.* amongst several poor relations, one of whom was in the workhouse at the time of her decease. This sum was amassed by her very rigid œconomy. After her death several thousand pounds value of Bank of England notes were found in her lodgings; yet, though possessed of this wealth, her appearance bespoke great poverty; and in the severest weather it was her custom to sit in the open street,

with a few lemons and nuts for sale to passengers.

At Llantrissant, co. Monmouth, aged 109, J. Howell, yeoman.

At Galston, aged 100, Marion Gibson.—About ten years ago she received a new set of teeth, and her eye-sight was so clear that she could read the smallest print.

At Paris, aged 81, the celebrated Vernet, marine-painter to his Most Christian Majesty, so deservedly eminent for the action and spirit of his figures, for the light and elegant taste of his landscapes, for the picturesque choice of the views he took from Nature, and, above all, for the softness and harmony of his colouring.

In France, in his 73d year, James Paine, esq. the celebrated architect.

At his country-seat in the county of Meath, aged 75, the celebrated George Cleghorn, M. D. professor of anatomy in Trinity College, Dublin, fellow of the Royal Society of Medicine at Paris.

#### BIRTHS for the year 1789.

- Jan. 8. Lady of the Right Hon. Charles Townsend, a daughter.  
The lady of the Hon. the Master of the Rolls, a son.
14. Lady Elizabeth Yorke, a daughter.
15. The Hon. Lady Clive, a son.
16. Duchefs of Northumberland, a son.
- Feb. 2. Right Hon. Lady Vernon, a daughter.
23. Countess

23. Countess of Aylesford, a son.
28. Lady Augusta Clavering, a daughter.  
Lately, Viscountess Maitland, a son.  
Duchess of Leinster, a daughter.  
Lady of Sir Egerton Leigh, Bart. a daughter.
- March 2. Lady Louisa Macdonald, a son.
9. Countess of Cavan, a son.
11. Lady of Sir Francis Vincent, Bart. a daughter.
13. Lady Craysfort, a daughter.
19. Lady Theodosia Maria Vyner, a son.
29. Lady of Sir William Lemon, Bart. a daughter.
- April 3. Lady of Samuel Whitbread, jun. Esq. a son.
21. Lady of Sir Henry Tichborne, Bart. a son.
30. Lady of Sir George Cornwall, Bart. a daughter.  
Lady of Lord Kinnaird, a son.
- June 1. Georgiana, Dowager Baroness Middleton, wife of Edward Miller Munday, Esq. a daughter.
14. Lady of the Right Hon. Henry Addington, a son.
23. Viscountess Deerhurst, a son.
30. Countess of Plymouth, a son.
- July 3. Viscountess Galway, a son.
5. Lady Sarah Crespigny, a son.
6. Her Catholic Majesty, a princess, named Maria Isabella, &c. &c.
8. Countess of Mexborough, a daughter.
14. Countess of Salisbury, a daughter.
15. Lady Arden, a daughter.
28. Lady Melbourne, a daughter.
29. Lady of Lord Saltoun, a daughter.
- Aug. 4. Lady of Lieutenant Gen. John Hale, a son, her one and twentieth child.
12. Countess of Glasgow, a son.
14. Lady of Sir John Thorold, Bart. a son.
- Sept. 8. Lady of the Hon. Colonel Rodney, a son.
12. Countess Poulett, a son.  
Lady of Sir Gregory Page Turner, Bart. a son.
18. Lady of the Hon. Mr. Petre, a daughter.
27. Lady of the Hon. Mr. Justice Wilson, a son.
- Oct. 2. Lady of Sir James Tylney Long, Bart. a daughter.
6. Lady of Sir William Burrell, Bart. a daughter.
8. Lady of Lord Boston, a son.
12. Lady of Sir Geo. Armytage, Bart. a daughter.
17. Lady of the Hon. James Thomas Twisleton, a daughter.
18. Countess Spencer, a son.
30. Princess

30. Princess Frederica of Denmark, a daughter.
- Nov. 5. Lady Geo. Henry Cavendish, a son.
18. Lady Balgonie, a daughter.  
Lady Mary Martin, a son.
29. Lady of the Right Hon. Thomas Orde, a son.
30. Lady of Sir Tho. Rumbold, Bart. a daughter.
- Dec. 2. Countess Dowager Waldegrave, a daughter.
3. Lady Mary Horton, a daughter.
11. Lady of Lord Napier, a daughter.
14. Viscountess Stormont, a daughter.
16. Duchess of Leeds, a son.
25. Countess of Abergavenny, a son.
- ner, daughter of the late General Skinner.
18. Major-General Sir H. Calder, Bart. to Miss Osborne, daughter of the late Admiral Osborne.
19. Edward Hales, Esq. son of Sir Edward Hales, Bart. to Miss Lucy Darell, daughter of Henry Darell, Esq. Lately, Lord Rosehill, son of the Earl of Northesk, to Miss Richetts, daughter of William Henry Richetts, Esq. of Longwood, Hants. Charles Blois, Esq. eldest son of Sir John Blois, Bart. to Miss Clara Price, daughter of Jocelyn Price, Esq. of Camblesforth, Yorkshire.

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MARRIAGES for the year 1789.

- Jan. 4. George Talbot, Esq. son of the late Hon. and Rev. Dr. Talbot of Barton, to Miss Charlotte Drake, daughter of the late Rev. Dr. Drake, of Amertham.
8. Nicholas Calvert, Esq. to the Hon. Frances Pery, daughter of viscount Pery of Ireland. John Wright, jun. Esq. of Kelvedon-Hall, Essex, to Miss Eliza Lawson, daughter of Sir John Lawson, Bart.
11. Major Henry Gage, nephew and heir to Lord Gage, to Miss Skinner, daughter of the late General Skinner.
- Feb. 16. General Rainsford to Miss Cornwallis Molyneux, daughter of the late Sir More Molyneux.
17. Charles Owen Cambridge, Esq. to the Hon. Mrs. Cochrane.
21. The Hon. Richard Edgecumbe to Lady Sophia Hobart, daughter of the Earl of Buckinghamshire.
23. John Holden Strutt, Esq. son to John Strutt, Esq. M. P. for Malden, to lady Charlotte Fitzgerald, sister to the duke of Leinster.
24. Thomas Ivie Cooke, Esq. to Lady Amelia Murray.

Tho.



Tho. Strickland, Esq. of Sizergh, Westmoreland, to Miss Lawson, daughter of Sir John Lawson, Bart.

In Ireland, the Hon. Robert Rochford, to Miss Smyth, of Duncree.

Lately, Lord de Clifford of Ireland to Miss Mary Bourke, daughter of the Archbishop of Tuam.

Jacob Astley, Esq. eldest son of Sir Edward Astley, Bart. to Miss Browne, daughter of the late Samuel Browne, Esq. of Lynn.

March 11. Thomas Horton, jun. Esq. of Holroyde-house, Yorkshire, to Lady Mary Gordon, daughter of the Earl of Aberdeen.

22. John Lord Lindores, to Miss Jane Reeve, daughter and coheirefs of the late Sir Thomas Reeve, Bart.

25. Rev. Edward Townshend, nephew to the late Charles, viscount Townshend, to Miss Louisa Milner, daughter of the late Sir William Milner, Bart.

April 1. Henry Lord Apsley, to Miss Georgina Lenox, daughter of Lord George Lenox.

3. Sir Robert Sinclair, Bart. to Lady Madeline Gordon, daughter of the duke of Gordon. Lately, at Utrecht, Lord Aghrim, son of

the Earl of Athlone, to Miss Munter.

23. Duke of Aost, son of the king of Sardinia, to the Archduchess Maria Theresa.

24. Bernard Edward Howard, Esq. of Farnham, Suffolk, to Lady Elizabeth Bellafyse, daughter of Earl Fauconberg.

Lately, Captain Barrington Price, to Lady Maria Bowes, daughter of the late Earl of Strathmore.

May 16. Sir John Caldwell, count of the sacred Roman empire, and Bart. to Miss Harriot Meynell, daughter of the late Hugh Meynell, Esq.

20. Sir Simeon Stuart, Bart. to Miss Olmius, daughter of the Hon. John Luttrell Olmius.

23. Lord Leslie, son of the countess of Rothes, to the Hon. Miss Pelham, daughter of Lord Pelham.

John Sullivan, Esq. of Ritechin's Park, Bucks, to Miss Henrietta Anne Barbara Hobart, daughter of the Hon. George Hobart.

Edw. Desbrowe, Esq. of Walton upon Thames, to Miss Charlotte Hobart, daughter of the Hon. George Hobart.

28. The Hon. Mr. Talbot, brother and heir to the Earl of Shrewsbury, to Miss Clinton, second daughter,

- daughter of the late Thomas Clifton, Esq. of Leatham, Lancashire.
- June 6. Mr. Markham, son of the Archbishop of York, to Miss Sutton, daughter to Sir Richard Sutton.
9. Cholmoley Dering Esq. second son of Sir Edw. Dering, Bart. to Miss Yates, daughter of the late Sir Joseph Yates.
15. Lord William Murray, to Miss Hodges, granddaughter of the late Sir James Hodges.
16. Thomas Lockwood, jun. Esq. to Miss Charlotte Manners Sutton, daughter of the late Lord George Manners Sutton.
22. John Maxwell, Esq. son of the bishop of Meath, to the Hon. Miss Annesley, daughter of viscount Valentia.
30. The Earl of Newburgh to Miss Webb, niece to Sir John Webb, Bart.  
Sir Wm. Foulis, bart. to Miss Mary Anne Turner.
- July 1. Viscount Powerscourt to Lady Catharine Meade, daughter to the Earl of Clanwilliam.
8. Fitzwilliam Barrington, Esq. second son of Sir Fitzwilliam Barrington, Bart. to Miss Marshall, daughter of Captain Samuel Marshall of the Navy.
11. George Douglas, Esq. of Cavers, to Lady Grace Stewart, daughter of the Earl of Moray.
- Lord William Russell, to Lady Charlotte Villiers, daughter of the earl of Jersey.
16. Sir Charles Watson, Bart. son of the late Admiral Watson, to Miss Juliana Coppley, daughter of the late Sir Joseph Coppley, Bart.
27. The Hon. Col. Fane, to Miss Lowe.
28. John Campbell, Esq. to Lady Caroline Howard, daughter of the Earl of Carlisle.
- Aug. 3. The Hon. W. Finch, brother to the Earl of Aylesford, to Miss Brouncher, daughter of the late Henry Brouncher, Esq. of St. Christopher's.
4. James Fox Lane, Esq. to the Hon. Miss Pitt, daughter of Lord Rivers.
6. Charles Cameron, Esq. to Lady Mary Hay, daughter of the late Earl of Errol.
7. Michael Angelo Taylor, Esq. M. P. for Poole, to Miss Vane, daughter of Sir Henry Vane, Bart.  
Lawrence Palke, Esq. only son of Sir Robert Palke, bart. to Lady Mary Bligh.  
Lately, at Lintz, in Upper Lusatia, Geo. Sheldon, Esq. to the Countess Dow. Daun, daughter

- daughter of Charles prince of Aversperg, and widow of Leopold Count Daun, prince of Tiano, in Naples, and son of the celebrated Marshal *cc.* Daun.
10. Charles Stirling, Esq. of the navy, son of Sir William Stirling, to Miss Charlotte Grote, daughter of the late Andrew Grote, Esq.
12. Sir Patrick Blake, Bart. to Miss Phipps, of Bury.  
Lately, William Butler, Esq. to the Hon. Miss Massey, daughter of the late Lord Massey.  
Henry Cavendish, eldest son of the Right Hon. Sir Henry Cavendish, Bart. to Miss Cooper.
19. Earl of Massareene to Madame Mary Anne Barcier, the Lady that lately accompanied him from France.
29. John King Dashwood, Esq. only son of Sir John Dashwood, Bart. to Miss Broadhead, daughter of Theodore Broadhead, Esq. of Carshalton.
- Sept. 9. Lieutenant-Colonel Ch. Lenox, to Lady Charlotte Gordon, daughter of the Duke of Gordon.
16. Henry Hervey Aston, Esq. to the Hon. Miss Ingram, daughter to the late Lord Irvin.
26. Sylvester Douglas, Esq. to the Hon. Miss North, daughter of Lord North.
- Oct. 12. Robert Blencowe, Esq. of the Inner Temple, to Miss Penelope Robinson, daughter of Sir Geo. Robinson, Bart. In Ireland, Sir John Hort, Bart. to Miss Aylmer.
14. Sir William Dolben, Bart. to Mrs. Scotchmer, relict of the late John Scotchmer, Esq. of Bury.
- Nov. 4. Sir James St. Clair, to Miss Bouverie, niece to the Earl of Radnor.
- Dec. 29. Henry Hare Townshend, Esq. of Bruce-castle, to Miss Charlotte Lake, daughter of Sir James Lake, Bart.
30. Captain Sutherland, of the Navy, to Miss Louisa Colebrooke, daughter of Sir Geo. Colebrooke, Bart.
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- PROMOTIONS for the year 1789.
- January 5. Right hon. William Wyndham Grenville, speaker of the house of commons.  
— 14. Right hon. Wm. Erabazon Ponsonby, and Charles lord Loftus, to be joint postmasters general of Ireland.
- Feb. 27. Robert Lawley, Esq. eldest son of Sir Robert Lawley Bart. to be equerry to the Duke of Cumberland.
- March 11. Earl Delaware, to be a lord

a lord of the bed-chamber.

— 12. Major-general West Hyde, to be Col. of the 20th regiment of foot.

— 14. General Joseph lord Dover, to be Col. of the 11th regiment of life-guards.

Gen. Studholme Hodgson, to be col. of the 11th regiment of light dragoons.

— 17. Lt. General Sir Charles Grey, K. B. to be Col. of the 7th regiment of dragoon guards.

Major-General Francis Lascelles, to be Col. of the 8th regiment of light dragoons.

— 21. Dr. Samuel Halifax, bishop of Gloucester, to be bishop of St. Asaph.

— 28. Dr. Euseby Cleaver, to be bishop of Cork and Ross.

Rev. Mr. Sergrave, elected master of Pembroke College, Oxon, vice Dr. Adams, deceased.

April 3. John Earl of Chatham, to be a privy-counsellor.

— 7. Hon. George Cranfield Berkeley, to be master surveyor of the ordnance.

— 9. Prince Edward, to be Col. of the 7th regiment of foot.

— 10. Major-General William Gordon, to be Col. of the 71st regiment of foot.

— 16. Lord Robert Fitzgerald, to be secretary of the embassy to France.

Rev. Thomas Williams, to be a prebendary of Canterbury, vice Dr. Lucas, deceased.

Rev. William Craven, B. D. elected master of St. John's College, Cambridge, vice Dr. Chevalier, deceased.

The hon. major Robert Hobart, to be chief secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and a privy-

counsellor of Ireland.

— 20. Sir Robert Murray Keith, K. B. to be a privy-counsellor.

May 5. Robert, archbishop of Dublin, the Right hon. Hugh Carleton, chief justice of the common pleas, and Sir Samuel Bradstreet, one of the justices of the King's Bench, to be commissioners for the keeping of the Great Seal of Ireland.

— 15. Right hon. Sir William Wynne, to be a privy-counsellor.

George Duke of Montague, to be Lord Lieutenant of Huntingdonshire.

— 16. Right hon. Alleyne Fitzherbert, to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the states general of the United Provinces.

— 19. Prince William Henry, to be Duke of Clarence and St. Andrews in Great Britain, and Earl of Munster in Ireland.

— 30. Dr. Richard Beadon, to be bishop of Gloucester.

Earl of Leven, to be High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the church of Scotland.

June 1. Hon. Captain George Keith Elphinstone, to be treasurer and comptroller of the household to the Duke of Clarence.

Captains Sir John Borlase Warren, Bart. and Charles Morrice Pole, and Col. Wm. Dalrymple, to be grooms of the bedchamber to his Royal Highness.

Captains Hugh Clobery Christian and the hon. John Rodney, and Col. John Byde, to be his equerries.

Dr. Wm. Blane and Dr. Benjamin Mosely, to be his physicians, and the latter, physician of the household.

Thomas

Thomas Keate, Esq. to be Surgeon.

Rev. Mr. Weston, to be a prebendary of Durham, vice Dr. Chaytor, deceased.

— 2. Hon. Tho. Francis Wenman, LL.D. to be professor of the civil law in Oxford.

Sir William Gibbon, Bart. to be Commissioner of the sick and hurt office, vice Corbet, deceased.

— 5. Right hon. Wm. Wyndham Grenville, to be secretary of state.

Major-General George Ainslie, to be Col. of the 13th regiment of foot.

— 6. General James Murray, to be Col. of the 21st regiment of foot.

Lieutenant General Lord Adam Gordon, to be commander in chief of the army in Scotland.

Lieutenant General James Grant, to be Governor of Stirling Castle.

— 8. Henry Addington, Esq. to be speaker of the house of commons.

— 9. Thomas Lord Sydney, to be viscount Sydney.

— 13. Thomas viscount Sydney, to be chief justice in Eyre South of Trent.

Dr. Euseby Cleaver, bishop of Cork and Ross, to be bishop of Leighlin and Ferns.

Rev. Wm. Forster, A. M. to be bishop of Cork and Ross.

— 16. Hon. John Trevor, envoy extraordinary to the court of Turin, to be minister plenipotentiary to that court.

Rev. Tho. Postlethwayte, B. D. to be master of Trinity College, Cambridge.

— 20. Right hon. John Fitzgibbon, to be Lord Chancellor of Ireland.

— 23. The Duke of Clarence,

and the Right Hon. Henry Addington, to be privy-counsellors.

July 6. Right Hon. John Fitzgibbon, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, to be Lord Fitzgibbon.

Major General Robert Prescott, to be Col. of the 28th regiment of foot.

— 17. John Lloyd and John Mitford, Esqs. to be justices of the counties of Carmarthen, Pembroke, &c. and alio King's Counsel.

— 18. Martin Eden, Esq. envoy extraordinary at Dresden, to be minister plenipotentiary there.

Charles Henry Fraser, Esq. to be secretary of embassy at the Court of Madrid, and minister plenipotentiary in the absence of the Ambassador.

Alexander Strutton, Esq. to be secretary of legation at the Court of Vienna.

William Lindsey, Esq. the same at the Court of Petersburg.

Francis James Jackson, Esq. to be the same at Berlin.

Peter Holmes, Richard Townsend Herbert, Edward Fitzgerald, Samuel Hayes, and George Rawson, Esqs. to be Commissioners of the stamp-duties in Ireland.

Charles Lord Loftus, and Charles Earl of Bellamount, post-masters-general of Ireland.

Edward Tighe, Esq. Sir Frederick Flood, Bart. Charles Henry Coote, and John Reilley, Esqs. with the auditor of the imprest for the time being, to be Commissioners of extraordinary and imprest accounts.

The Rev. Dr. Pearce, master of the Temple, to be master of Jesus College Cambridge, vice Dr. Beadon, resigned.

J. W. Rose, Esq. to be Recorder of the City of London, vice Mr. Serjeant

Serjeant Adair, resigned.

Charles Yorke, Esq. to be chief justice of Ely, vice — Partridge resigned.

— 21. Rev. William Bingham, M. A. to be Archdeacon of London.

Aug. 8. Right Hon. William Pitt, Hon. Edward James Eliot, Richard Earl of Mornington, John Jefferies viscount Bayham, and Henry Lord Apsley, to be Lords of the treasury.

James Marquis of Graham, to be a privy counsellor, and president of the Committee for the consideration of all matters relative to trade and foreign plantations in the absence of Lord Hawkebury.

#### IN IRELAND.

12. Henry Earl of Clanrickard, to be Marquis of Clanrickarde.

Randal William Earl of Antrim, to be Marquis of Antrim.

George Earl of Tyrone, to be Marquis of the country of Waterford.

Wills Earl of Hillsborough, to be Marquis of Downshire.

Francis Charles viscount Glendrawly, to be Earl Annesley.

William viscount Enniskillen, to be Earl of Enniskillen.

John viscount Erne, to be Earl Erne.

John Joshua Lord Carysfort, to be Earl of Carysfort.

John Lord Earlsfort, to be viscount Cloamell.

John Newport, Robert Bateson Harvey, Samuel Hayes, and Robert Hodson Barry, Esqrs. to be Barons.

Arthur Wolfe, Esq. to be a privy-counsellor and attorney general.

John Toler, Esq. to be solicitor-general.

John Earl of Glandore, and John Joshua Earl of Carysfort, to be guardians and keepers of the Rolls.

Aug. 15. Joseph Ewart, Esq. envoy extraordinary at Berlin, to be minister plenipotentiary at that Court.

John Earl of Chatham, Richard Hopkins, Esq. Charles George Lord Arden, Samuel Lord Hood, Sir Francis Drake, Bart. Robert viscount Belgrave, and the Hon. John Thomas Townshend, to be Lords of the admiralty.

Constantine John Lord Mulgrave, and James Marquis of Graham, to be paymasters-general of the forces.

— 18. James Earl of Salisbury, to be Marquis of Salisbury.

Thomas viscount Weymouth, to be Marquis of Bath.

George viscount Mount Edgumbe and Valletort, to be Earl of Mount Edgumbe.

Hugh Lord Fortescue, to be Earl Fortescue and viscount Ebrington.

— 19. Hon. Joseph Hewit, to be second Serjeant at law in Ireland.

Henry Lawes Earl of Carhampton, to be Lieutenant General of the ordnance in Ireland.

— 22. William Henry Earl of Clermont, to be gentleman of the bed-chamber to the Prince of Wales.

— 29. George Evelyn viscount Falmouth, to be chief justice in Eyre North of Trent.

Sept. 9. Right Hon. Hugh Carleton, chief justice of the Common Pleas in Ireland, to be Baron Carleton of Ireland.

Right Hon. William Eden, to be Baron Auckland of Ireland.

Right Hon. Luke Gardiner, to be Baron Mountjoy of Ireland.

Right Hon. Robert Stewart, to be

be Baron Londonderry of Ireland.

Sir John Browne, Bart. to be Baron Kilmaine, of Ireland.

Sir Nicholas Lawless, Bart. to be Baron Cloncurry of Ireland.

Henry Gore, Esq. to be Baron Annaly of Ireland.

Sir Sampson Eardley, Bart. to be Baron Eardley of Ireland.

— 12. Lord Walsingham, and the Earl of Westmoreland, to be postmasters-general.

Earl of Chesterfield to be master of the mint.

Timothy Caswall, Esq. to be Commissioner of Excise.

John Armstrong and John Agar Esqrs. to be privy-counsellors of Ireland.

— 18. Thomas Loftus, Esq. to be principal storekeeper of the ordnance of Ireland.

Robert Wynne, Esq. to be clerk of the deliveries.

John Armit, Esq. to be secretary to the board of ordnance.

— 20. John Joshua Lord Carysfort, to be a privy-counsellor of Ireland.

— 26. Sir Francis Vincent, Bart. to be resident at Venice.

Lieutenant General John Douglas to be colonel of the 5th regiment of dragoon-guards.

Alexander Earl of Balcarras, to be Colonel of the 63d regiment of foot.

Oct. 7. Duke of Dorset, to be Lord steward of the household.

— 14. John Earl of Westmoreland, to be a privy counsellor of Great-Britain, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

Cecil Hamilton, daughter of the Hon. and Rev. George Hamilton, M. A. canon of Windsor, deceased, brother of the late James Earl of Abercorn, to have precedence as

the daughter of an Earl of the kingdom of Great-Britain, by the name of the Right Hon. Lady Cecil Hamilton.

— 31. Hay Campbell, Esq. of Succoth, to be president of the College of Justice in Scotland.

Robert Dundas, Esq. of Arncliffe, to be Lord Advocate of Scotland.

Robert Blair, Esq. to be Solicitor for Scotland.

Nov. 2. Major Francis Grise, to be Lieutenant Governor of New South Wales.

— 3. John Laforey, Esq. Captain in the Royal Navy, to be a Bart.

— John Wm. Rose, Esq. Recorder of London, to be Serjeant at law.

— 7. Earl Fauconberg to be Col. of the North York militia.

DEATHS for the year 1782.

Jan. 1. The Right Hon. Fletcher Norton, Lord Grantley, Baron of Markenfield in Yorkshire, a lord of trade and plantations, Chief Justice in Eyre of his Majesty's forests South of Trent, Recorder of Guildford, Surrey, one of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, and LL.D.—He was born June 23, 1716; and married, May 22, 1741, Grace, eldest daughter of Sir William Chapple, Knight, one of the judges of the court of King's Bench; by whom he has left issue, 1. William, the present Lord, born in 1742; 2. Fletcher, a baron of the Exchequer in Scotland, born in 1744; 3. Chapple, a Major-General in the Army, and Colonel in the second Regiment of guards, and M. P. for Guildford, born in

1746. Grace, born in November, 1752. — In 1761, he was appointed Solicitor-General, upon the resignation of the Hon. Cha. Yorke, and was at the same time knighted. In 1763, he was made Attorney-General. In 1765, he was removed from the latter, and succeeded by Mr. Yorke. In 1769, he was made chief justice in Eyre, South of Trent, which place he held until his death. In 1770, he was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons, in which station he continued till 1780. — In 1782, he was created a peer. — His Lordship was descended, paternally, from a very ancient family in Yorkshire and Suffolk; and was maternally descended from Susan, daughter of Richard Nevil, Lord Latimer, in 1531, descended from the first Earl of Westmoreland, by a daughter of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, son of Edward III.

2. The Right Hon. Charles Wolfran Cornwall, Speaker of the House of Commons, and Chief Justice in Eyre, North of Trent.

Sir Robert Bernard, Bart.

Lady Betty Archer, sister to the late Earl of Halifax, and relict of Henry Archer, Esq.

Sir William Maxwell, Bart.

6. The Right Hon. Noel Hill, Lord Berwick. He was created a peer May 19th 1784. He married, November 17th 1768, Anne, daughter of Henry Vernon, of Hilton in Staffordshire; by whom he has left issue, Thomas, the present Lord, born October 7th 1774, William, Richard, Henrietta Maria, Anne, and Amelia Louisa.

Don Genaro, second son of their Sicilian Majesties.

11. Sir Charles Barrow, Bart. M. P. for Gloucester.

Lately, James Viscount Clifden of Ireland.

22. The Hon. Anne Herbert, relict of the Hon. Nicholas Herbert.

Lieutenant General William Wynyard.

The Hon. Harriet Emma Mariana Devereux, daughter of Viscount Hereford.

25. Admiral James Young.

The Hon. Mrs. Temple, mother of Lord Palmerston.

Feb. 3. Don Carlos, youngest son of their Sicilian Majesties.

Anne, Dow. Viscountess Bangor.

8. Hon. Mr. Talbot, brother and presumptive heir to the Earl of Shrewsbury.

14. Lady Henrietta Gordon, daughter of Alexander, second Duke of Gordon.

15. Lady Dowager Bamfylde, mother of Sir Charles Warwick Bamfylde, Bart.

Rear Admiral Matthew Whitwell, younger brother to Lord Howard de Walden.

17. The Hon. Miss Johnstone, sister to the Marquis of Arundale.

22. The Hon. Eleanor Courtney, sister of Viscount Courtney.

25. Lady Robinson, relict of Sir William Robinson, Bart.

March 7. The Hon. Frances Catharine Legge, daughter of Lord Lewisham.

11. In her 31st year, Right Hon. Ellis Agar, Countess of Brandon. Her Ladyship was married in the year 1726 to the Right Hon. Sir Theobald Burke, Bart. afterwards Lord Viscount Mayo; and, some years after his decease, to the Right Hon. Francis Lord Athenry, premier baron of Ireland; after whose decease, in the year 1758, she was created Countess of Brandon.

23. In



23. In his 76th year, the Most Noble Thomas Osborne, Duke of Leeds, Marquis of Carmarthen, Earl of Danby, Viscount Latimer and Dumblain, Baron Osborne of Kiveton, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, Baronet, one of his Majesty's most honourable Privy-council, LL.D. and F.R.S. His Grace was the only surviving son of Peregrine Hyde, Duke of Leeds, by his first wife, the Lady Elizabeth Harley, daughter of Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, Lord High Treasurer of England; was born November 6th 1713, and succeeded to his father's honours and estates May 9th, 1731. June 6th, 1740, he married the Lady Mary, youngest daughter of Francis E. of Godolphin, who departed this life August 3d, 1764, by whom he had issue a son, born in 1741, who lived but a few days; Henrietta, born in 1744, who died soon after; Thomas Marquis of Carmarthen, born January 29th, 1750, (called up by writ to the House of Peers in May 1776, as Baron Osborne of Kiveton,) now Duke of Leeds, and one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State.

April 2d. At Edinburgh, the Right Hon. John Lord M<sup>c</sup>Leod, Major-General in the British service, and Colonel of the 71st regiment of foot, also Count Cromartie, and a commandant of the order of the Sword, in the kingdom of Sweden. He was the eldest son of the late Earl of Cromartie, and at an early period of life entered into the Swedish army, where he for many years served with great reputation. On the breaking-out of the American war, he came home, raised a good regiment of two battalions of his own countrymen, with whom

he went to the East Indies. On the forfeited estates being restored, in 1784, his Lordship had the family estate of Cromartie restored to him. He married, in 1786, the eldest daughter of Lord Forbes, but has left no issue.

5. William Holles, Viscount Vane of Ireland, great grandson of the famous Sir Henry Vane. He was born February 4th 1713-14, and married, in 1735, Frances, the widow of Lord William Hamilton, and daughter of William Hawes, Esq. of Purby, Berks, who died in March 1783, [see vol. XXX. p. 231, where, by mistake, Susanah Viscountess Vane, is inserted instead of Frances Viscountess Vane.] She was the celebrated beauty of that name, and, dying without issue, the title is extinct.

7. Achmet IV. grand signior.

8. John Earl of Caithness. The title devolves on Sir John Sinclair of May.

9. Sir Brooke Boothby, Bart.

13. Brigadier General Hope, Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Quebec.

22. The youngest daughter of Lord Vernon.

29. The Hon. Mrs. Hamilton, sister to Lord Castletown.

James Viscount Lifford, Lord Chancellor of Ireland.

May 6. The Hon. George Byron, brother to Lord Byron.

12. The Hon. John William Townshend, only surviving son of the late Right Hon. Charles Townshend, and heir to the barony of Greenwich, on the death of his mother, Carolina Countess Dowager of Dalkeith.

13. Sir Thomas William Trollope, Bart.

17. The Hon. Emily Elizabeth

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beck

beth Coventry, daughter of Viscount Deurhurst.

29. Georgiana Lady Dowager Middleton, wife of Edward Miller Munday, Esq.

31. Lieut. General Mackay, commander in chief for Scotland.

June 2. At Berlin, Baron Knyp-hausen, an Hessian general, in the British service in the late war.

3. Lady of Lord Ducie.

4. Louis Joseph Xavier Benediçt, dauphin of France.

The Hon. Mrs. Vane, relict of the Hon. Raby Vane, brother of the Earl of Darlington.

7. Sir Stanier Poster, knight.

15. Sir John Silvester Smyth, Bart.

26. Ralph Viscount Wicklow of Ireland.—He was the son of Dr. Robert Howard, Bishop of Elphin, and married the heiress of William Forward, Esq. of the county of Donegal.

30. Lady Frances Steuart, sister of the Earl of Wemyss, and relict of the late Sir James Steuart Denham, Bart.

July 1. Miss Hannay, daughter of Sir Samuel Hannay, Bart.

8. Mrs. Mary Craven, mother of Lord Craven.

12. James Brydges, Esq. son of the late Hon. and Rev. Henry Brydges, brother to the first Duke of Chandos. By his death the inheritance of the Earldom of Carnarvon becomes extinct.

17. Countess of Lauderdale.

21. The Earl of Stair: he is succeeded by his Son Lord Viscount Dalrymple, Ambassador at the Court of Prussia.

23. Christabella Dowager Viscountess Saye and Sele:—she was the daughter of Sir John Terrel, Bart. and died, having been thrice married, at the age of 94. Her fa-

vourite amusement was dancing; in which she indulged to the last week of her life.

27. Oswald Mosley, eldest son of Sir John Mosley, Bart.

28. Countess of Charleville.

29. Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, Bart. in his 41st year, of Wynstay, co. Denbigh, M. P. for that county, Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of Merionethshire, and a Vice-President of the Westminster General Dispensary. He married, first, Lady Harriet Somerset, sister to the Duke of Beaufort, who died without issue; 2dly, Miss Grenville, sister to the Marquis of Buckingham, by whom he has eight children.

30. The Dowager Lady Carberry.

31. Richard Viscount Boyne.

The Hon. Gen. John Fitzwilliam. Countess Dowager of Castlehaven.

Aug. 3. Elizabeth Lady Dowager Cathcart:—she was four times married, and died without issue.

Right Hon. Sir John Goodrick, Bart. M. P. for Ripon, and formerly Ambassador to Sweder.

8. Louisa Marchioness of Landf-downe, sister of the Earl of Upper Ossory. She has left a son and a daughter.

14. The Hon. Miss Southwell, daughter of the late Lord Clifford of Appleby.

Lady Mitchell, relict of Sir Andrew Mitchell, Bart.

16. Lady Anne Cole, aged 19, daughter of the Earl of Enniskillen. Her death was occasioned by drinking cold lemonade when heated by dancing.

17. Mrs. Burrell, grandmother to Sir Peter Burrell, the duchesses of Northumberland and Hamilton, and Lady Lovaine.

17. James Earl of Lauderdale, Viscount Maitland, Lord Thurlstone, Musselburgh, and Bolton, heritable Royal Standard-bearer of Scotland, Baronet of Nova Scotia, and formerly Lord Lieutenant and High Sheriff of the county of Edinburgh, and one of the Lords of Police. His Lordship was the eldest of eight sons of Charles sixth Earl of Lauderdale, by the Lady Elizabeth Ogilvie, daughter of James Earl of Findlater and Seafield, the last Chancellor of Scotland. He was born in the year 1718; succeeded his father in 1744; was one of the sixteen representatives of the Scottish peerage in the tenth and eleventh parliaments of Great Britain, and again elected, July 24, 1782, during the course of the nineteenth parliament. He served early in the army, rose to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and had the command of the 16th regiment of foot, which he held for several years, but resigned in consequence of a partiality discovered in the promotion of a junior officer. In 1749 he married Mary Turner Lombe, daughter and coheiress of Sir Thomas Lombe, of the county of Kent, whose lamented death happened on the 18th of last month. His Lordship is succeeded in honours and estates by his eldest son James Lord Viscount Maitland, M. P. for Malmbury, now Earl of Lauderdale.

20. Lord Carlingford, only son of the Earl of Tyrconnel.

Sept. 4. The dukes of St. Alban's.

5. Countess of Dyfert.

Lately, the Hon. Caroline Sackville, sister to Viscount Sackville.

14. Sir Robert Barker, Bart. many years commander in chief of

the East India company's forces in Bengal.

19. Countess of Donegal.

27. Right Hon. Sir Thomas Miller, Bart. of Gledree, president of the court of session in Scotland.

29. James Duke of Chandos, Marquis and Earl of Carnarvon, Viscount Wilton, and Baron Chandos, Lord Steward of His Majesty's Household, Ranger of Enfield Chase, High Steward of the city of Winchester, one of His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, and LL. D. He was grandson of the first Duke of Chandos, and by the female side he was *royally* descended.

His mother was the coheiress of Charles Lord Bruce, afterwards Earl of Aylebury, who was the representative, through the noble families of Seymour and Grey, of the eldest daughter and coheiress of Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk, and Mary Queen-Dowager of France, his wife, youngest daughter of Henry VII.—His Grace was born Dec. 27, 1731; and at the general elections in 1754, and 1761, he was elected knight of the shire for Radnorshire. He succeeded his father Nov. 28, 1771. On the accession of his present Majesty, he was appointed one of the Lords of his Majesty's bed-chamber, which he resigned in 1764; and, Dec. 26, 1783, he succeeded William Earl of Dartmouth in the office of Lord Steward of His Majesty's Household.—His Grace was twice married; his first lady was Margaret, daughter and sole heir of John Nicol, esq; of Minchendenhouse, Southgate, who died Aug. 14, 1767; and by whom he had no issue. His second lady was the present Duchess, Anne-Eliza, daughter of Richard Gamon, esq; and

widow of Roger Hope Elletson, esq; lieutenant governor of Jamaica, married to the Duke June 21, 1777, and by whom he had two daughters, Lady Georgiana-Charlotte, to whom their Majesties were sponsors in person, who died the day following, and Lady Anna-Eliza, his only surviving child, born Oct. 22, 1779; on whom the bulk of his large fortune descends.—He was the last male issue of James Brydges, eighth Lord Chandos; his cousin, Mr. James Brydges, son of the Archdeacon of Rochester, dying issueless about three months before him. The barony is claimed by the Rev. Edward Tymewell Brydges, of Wootton-court, in Kent, as next heir male of the body of the first Baron in 1554; and he accordingly has petitioned for his writ of summons.

Lady Margaret Graham, relict of the late Nichol Graham, Esq.

Oct. 2. Francis Earl of Huntingdon, Baron Moels (by writ of summons 27 Edward I.) Molines (21 Edward III.) Botreux (42 Ed. III.) Hungerford of Heytesbury (7 Jan. 1125, 4 Henry VI.) and Hastings of Ashby de la Zouch (26 July, 1461, 1 Edward IV.) He was born April 5, 1729, and died unmarried. The earldom is supposed to be extinct, but the baronies descend to his only surviving sister, Elizabeth Countess of Moira, of the kingdom of Ireland.

9. Rt. Hon. James Hamilton, Earl of Abercorn and Baron Paisley in Scotland, Viscount Hamilton in England, and Viscount Strabane in Ireland; also a privy counsellor of that kingdom. He was born in the year 1712, and was the only nobleman in the kingdom who united in his own person the honours of the peerage of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

He was summoned by writ to the House of Peers of Ireland in 1736; succeeded his father as Earl of Abercorn. Jan. 13, 1744; and was created Viscount Hamilton, Aug. 8, 1786. His Lordship died unmarried. His Lordship is succeeded in his honours and estates by his nephew, James Hamilton, Esq. M. P. for St. Germain's.

12. John Dalrymple, Earl of Stair, and Viscount Dalrymple. He is succeeded in titles and estate by his son John, now Earl of Stair, late one of His Majesty's ambassadors at the court of Berlin.

16. Lady of Lord Macdonald.

17. At the Earl of Aylesford's seat at Packington, co. Warwick, the Right Hon. George Waldegrave, Earl Waldegrave, Viscount Chewton, and Baron Waldegrave, Master of the Horse to the Queen, Aid-de-camp to the King, Colonel of the 63d regiment of foot, and one of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council. He was born Nov. 21, 1751; married May 5, 1782, to Lady Elizabeth-Laura Waldegrave, eldest daughter of his uncle, Earl James, and her Royal Highness the Duchess of Gloucester, by whom he had issue one daughter, born July 14, 1783, and a son, born July 13, 1784.

18. Lady Mannoek, relict of Sir James Mannoek, Bart.

20. Anne Countess Dowager of Albemarle.

Nov. 8. Admiral John Vaughan.

9. The Hon. Mrs. Howard, wife of Henry Howard, Esq. and daughter of the last Lord Archer.

18. Rear Admiral Sir Francis Samuel Drake, Bart.

Sir John Read, Bart.

Thomas Beddingfield, Esq. son of Sir Richard Beddingfield, Bart.

At Bologna, the Duchefs of Albany, natural daughter of the late Pretender, who fent for her from France fome time before his death, and had her legitimated. Her complaint was an abcefs in the fide, and is attributed to a fall from her horfe fome time before fhe left France. She was the laft direct defcendant (if a natural child can be fo called) of the Stuarts, except the Cardinal of York, who is her heir, excepting a few fmall legacies to domeftics.

20. Archduchefs Maria Anna of Austria.

21. Sir Edward Knatchbull, Bart.

Dec. Lately, Sir J. Lifter Kaye, Bart.

13. Lady of the Hon. George Keith Elphinstone.

22. At Florence, the Right Hon. George Naffau Clavering Cowper, Earl Cowper, Viscount Fordwich, Baron Cowper of Wingham, and Baronet of England and Nova Scotia; Prince of Milan in the Holy Roman Empire, and Knight of the Order of St. Hubert. He was born Aug. 26, 1738, and fucceeded his father, Earl William, Sept. 18, 1764. His Lordfhip was married, in the year 1775, to Mifs Hannah A. Gore, youngelt daughter of Charles G. efq. of Southampton; by whom he has left iffue. 1. George-Auguftus, born Auguft 9, 1776, who fucceeds to his titles and eftates; 2. Peter - Leopold - Louis - Francis, born May 6, 1778; and, 3. Edward - Spencer, born July 16, 1779. —The late Lord was grandfon to the famous Sir William Cowper (who, in 1705, was made lord-keeper of the great feal, created Baron of Wingham in Kent, Nov. 9, 1706, and Viscount Fordwich,

and Earl Cowper, March 18, 1718) and was created a Prince by the prefent Emperor.

26. Lady Forbes, relict of Sir William Forbes, Bart.

27. At Melville-houfe in Scotland, John Lord Ruthven, great-grandfon of Thomas firft Lord, by his grand daughter Habena, the wife of Col. James Johnfton, fummoned to the coronations of Geo. I. and II. as Baronefs Ruthven. The honour, forfeited by the famous Gowrie confpiracy againft James I. was revived by Charles II. 1651, in the perfon of Sir Thomas Robert Freeland.—His Lordfhip married, in 1776, Lady Mary Leffe, daughter of the Earl of Leven, and has left a numerous family. He fucceeded his father in 1783, who had been twice married; firft, to Mifs Janet Nesbet, of Dirleton, who was the mother of the late Lord; fecondly, to Lady Anne Stewart, filler to the Earl of Bute, by whom he had feveral children.

SHERIFFS appointed for the Year 1789.

*Berkfhire.* Edward Golden, of Maiden Eafley, Efq.

*Buckinghamfhire.* Samuel Boyden, of Milton Enefs, Efq.

*Bucks.* Richard Davenport, of Great Harlow, Efq.

*Camb. and Hunt.* Thomas Pantton, of Fen Ditton, Efq.

*Gloucefhire.* Sir John Chetwode, of Agden, Bart.

*Cornwall.* Robert Lovell Gwatkin, of Killow, Efq.

*Cambridgfhire.* Thomas Denton, of Wernal-hall, Efq.

*Devonfhire.* Martin Farnell, of Coton in the Elmes, Efq.

*Devonshire.* Montague Edmund Parker, of Whiteway, Esq.

*Derbyshire.* Frederick Thomas Wentworth, of Henbury, Esq.

*Essex.* Thomas Fowell Buxton, of East's Colne, Esq.

*Gloucestershire.* George Miller, of Ozleworth, Esq.

*Hampshire.* William Taylor, of Tillington, Esq.

*Hertfordshire.* Drummond Smith, of Tring Park, Esq.

*Kent.* John Cartier, of Bedgbury, Esq.

*Leicestershire.* Josiah Cockshutt, of Osbaldton, Esq.

*Lincolnshire.* Lewis Dymoke, of Screvelsby, Esq.

*Monmouthshire.* Thomas Lewis, of Saint Peer, Esq.

*Norfolk.* Brampton Gurdon Dillingham, of Letton, Esq.

*Northamptonshire.* Richard Hanwell, of Long Buckby, Esq.

*Northumberland.* Robert Lisle, of Acton, Esq.

*Nottinghamshire.* John Chamberlin, of Sutton Bonnington, Esq.

*Oxfordshire.* John Blackall, jun. of Hasley, Esq.

*Rutlandshire.* Benjamin Cramp, of Oakham, Esq.

*Shropshire.* Joseph Oldham, of Cainham, Esq.

*Somersetshire.* George Templar, of Shapwick, Esq.

*Staffordshire.* Thomas Leveridge Fowler, of Penford, Esq.

*Suffolk.* Nathaniel Lee Acton, of Live more, Esq.

*County of Southampton.* William Harris, of New Arlesford, Esq.

*Surrey.* Thomas Sutton, of East Molesey, Esq.

*Suffex.* Sir Ferdinando Poole, of Lewes, Barr.

*Warwickshire.* Thomas Ward, of Moreton Morrell, Esq.

*Worcestershire.* John Spooner, of Leigh-court, Esq.

*Wiltshire.* Thomas Grove, of Fern, Esq.

*Yorkshire.* Walter Fawkes, of Farnley-hall, Esq.

#### SOUTH WALES.

*Carmarthen.* Walter Thomas, of Wainrhodod, Esq.

*Penbroke.* George Roche, of Clarendon, Esq.

*Cardigan.* John Jones, of Derry Ormond Esq.

*Glamorgan.* John Lewellyn, of Welch St. Donats, Esq.

*Brecon.* Jeffreys Wilkins, of Brecon, Esq.

*Rainor.* Thomas Duppa, of Knighton, Esq.

#### NORTH WALES.

*Anglesea.* John Williams, of Nantannog, Esq.

*Carnarvon.* William Hughes, of Nantcall, Esq.

*Denbighshire.* Charles Brown, of Marchwiell, Esq.

*Flint.* Richard Wilding, of Prefatyn, Esq.

*Merioneth.* Edward Lloyd, of Palan, Esq.

*Montgomery.* Francis Lloyd, of Domgay, Esq.

## APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

March 2, 1789.

**A**N order has been made by the lords of his majesty's most honourable privy council for discontinuing the form of prayer for the recovery\* of his majesty's health, and reading in lieu the following:

“ Almighty God, Father of all comforts, and the strength of those who put their trust in thee; we prostrate ourselves before thy Divine Majesty, and humbly presume to offer up our praises and thanksgivings for thy mercy vouchsafed to our most gracious sovereign.

“ Thou hast raised him from the bed of sickness; thou hast again lifted up the light of thy countenance upon him, and blessed him with sure trust and confidence in thy protection. Confirm, O Lord, we beseech thee, the reliance which we have on the continuance of thy goodness; and strengthen and establish in him, if it be thy good pleasure, the work of thy mercy.

“ Grant that he may lead the residue of his life in thy fear, and to thy glory: that his reign may be long and prosperous; and that we, his subjects, may shew forth our thankfulness for thy loving-kindness, and for all the blessings which, through his just and mild government, thou bestowest upon us. To

this end may we be enabled by thy grace to maintain a deep and lively sense of thy good providence, to pay due obedience to his lawful authority, to live in christian charity towards each other, and to walk before thee in all virtuous and godly living.

“ Finally, we pray thee to keep him in perpetual peace and safety, and to grant that, this life ended, he may dwell with thee in life everlasting, through Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour. Amen.”

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*Account of the Procession to St. Paul's Church on the Day of Thanksgiving for his Majesty's Recovery.*

Whitehall, April 25.

**T**HURSDAY last being appointed by his majesty's proclamation to be observed as a day of general thanksgiving to Almighty God for the signal interposition of his good providence, in removing from his majesty the late illness with which he had been afflicted, his majesty was pleased, for the greater solemnity of the day, to go to the cathedral church of St. Paul, accompanied by the queen, their royal highnesses the prince of Wales, the duke of York, the princess royal, the princess Augusta, the

\* See Appendix to Chronicle in the Ann. Reg. for 1788.

princess

princess Elizabeth, the duke of Gloucester, and the duke of Cumberland, and his highness prince William; and attended by both houses of parliament, the great officers of state, the judges, and other public officers, to return thanks to God for his great mercies and blessings.

The procession was begun at eight o'clock in the morning by the house of commons, in their coaches, followed by their speaker, in his state-coach. Next came the matters in chancery, the judges, and after them the peers, in the order of precedence, as they were marshalled by the officers of arms at Westminster, the youngest baron going first, and the lord chancellor, in his state coach, closing this part of the procession. Such of the peers as were knights wore the collars of their respective orders.

Afterward came the royal family, in order of precedence, with their attendants, escorted by parties of the royal regiment of horse-guards.

Their majesties set out from the queen's palace soon after ten o'clock, in a coach drawn by eight cream-coloured horses, (in which were also two of the ladies of her majesty's bed-chamber) followed by their royal highnesses the princesses, and proceeded through the gate at the Stable-yard, along Pall-mall, and through the Strand, amid the loyal acclamations of a prodigious concourse of people.

The streets were lined, as far as Temple-bar, by the brigade of foot guards, the grenadier companies of which were posted in St. Paul's church, and in the church-yard, and patrolled by parties of the royal regiment of horse guards. The avenues into the streets through

which the procession passed were guarded by the queen's light dragoons. From Temple-bar to the church, the streets were lined by the artillery company and the militia of the city; the peace officers attending both within and without the city, to preserve order.

At Temple-bar his majesty was met by the lord mayor in a gown of crimson velvet, by the sheriffs in their scarlet gowns, and a deputation from the aldermen and common-council (being all on horse-back) when the lord mayor surrendered the city sword to his majesty, who having returned it to him, he carried it bare-headed before the king to St. Paul's.

His majesty being come to St. Paul's was met at the west door by the peers, the bishop of London, the dean of St. Paul's (bishop of Lincoln) the canons residentiary, and the kings and other officers of arms; the band of gentlemen pensioners, and the yeomen of the guard attending.

The sword of state was carried before his majesty by the marquis of Stafford into the choir, where the king and queen placed themselves under a canopy of state, near the west end, opposite to the altar.

The peers had their seats in the area, as a house of lords, and the commons in the stalls. The upper galleries were allotted to the ladies of her majesty's bedchamber, the maids of honour, and such other ladies of distinction as attended on this occasion. The foreign ministers were placed in the two lower galleries, next to the throne; and the lord mayor and aldermen in the lower galleries near the altar.

The prayers and litany were read and chanted by the minor canons.



nons. The *Te Deum* and anthems composed for the occasion were sung by the choir, who were placed in the organ-loft, and were joined in the chorus, as also in the Psalms, by the charity children, in number about six thousand, who were assembled there previous to their majesties arrival. The communion service was read by the dean and residentiaries; and the sermon preached by the lord bishop of London, from Psalm xxvii. 16. "O tarry thou the Lord's leisure: be strong, and he shall comfort thine heart: and put thou thy trust in the Lord."

Then followed this anthem, expressly selected and commanded by the King.

Three voices.

Contratenor, Rev. Mr. Clarke, M. A.—Tenor, Mr. Hodson, M. B.—Bass, Mr. Sale.

1. "O Lord, thou hast searched me out, and known me; thou knowest my down-sitting and mine up-rising; thou understandest my thoughts long before."

Solo. Bass Rev. Mr. Hayes, M. A.

2. "Thou art about my path, and about my bed: and spiest out all my ways.

3. For lo, there is not a word in my tongue, but thou, O Lord, knowest it: altogether."

Solo. Contratenor, Rev. Mr.

Clarke, M. A.

6. "Whither shall I go then from thy spirit, or whither shall I go then from thy presence?

7. If I climb up into heaven, thou art there; if I go down to hell, thou art there also.

8. If I take the wings of the morning, and remain in the uttermost parts of the sea."

Three voices.

Contratenor, Rev. Mr. Clarke;

Tenor, Mr. Guise; Bass, Rev. Mr. Hayes, M. A. and Chorus.

9. "Even there also shall thy hand lead me; and thy right hand shall hold me."

The patrons of the charity children appeared with large gold and silver medals by Pingo, pendant on ribbands, in commemoration of the royal visit. On the face of the medal is the portrait of his Majesty. Motto, GEORGIUS III. MAG. BR. ET HIB. REX.

On the reverse is the west front view of St. Paul's cathedral. Motto round the legend,--LAETITIA CUM PIETATE. On the exergue, DEO OPT. MAX. REX PIENTISS. PRO SALVTE. REST. V. S. L. M. APR. 23, 1789.

Divine service being ended, their majesties returned with the same state to the queen's palace, at about half an hour after three o'clock. The guns in the Tower and in the Park were fired three times, first upon the king's setting out, secondly at the singing of *Te Deum*, and thirdly upon his majesty's return; after which the brigade of foot guards fired a *feu de joie* in St. James's Park, being drawn up in the front of the queen's palace.

The public demonstrations of joy and loyalty by the inhabitants of London and Westminster, on the occasion of his majesty's first appearance in public since his happy recovery, exceeded all expression; and yesterday evening the illuminations in all parts of this metropolis surpassed in splendor and magnificence all former exhibitions.

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*Among the Galas and Entertainments given upon the Recovery of the King, the following were the most sumptuous and magnificent.*

The

*The cards given by the Princess Royal  
at Windsor, on the 1st of May.*

THE cards of invitation were  
in her royal highness's name  
to the unmarried branches of the  
nobility, and other persons of dis-  
tinction who were honoured on this  
occasion; the married were invited  
by Lord Ailesbury, in the name of  
the queen.

The company, consisting of all the  
foreign ambassadors, and those of the  
nobility and commons who were  
foremost in distinguishing themselves  
during the late political disputes,  
made two hundred and twenty-eight  
persons, who began to assemble in  
the ball-room about eight o'clock.

The dresses were the Windsor  
uniform, with a small distinction be-  
tween the old and the young ladies,  
the former having a long purple  
train, the latter without any train  
at all.

The gown was white tiffany, with  
a garter blue body. The sleeves  
were white, and ornamented, as was  
the coat, which had three rows of  
fringe at equal distances from each  
other, to answer the fringe at the  
bottom of the gown, which fell only  
just low enough to appear like ano-  
ther row of fringe over the upper-  
most of those three, as if there was  
no separation between the gown and  
coat.

All the ladies wore bandeaus  
round the front of their head dresses,  
with the words "God save the  
King;" and many of them had  
beautiful medallions of his majesty,  
some plain, some in pearl, and some  
set in diamonds.

The dances did not begin until  
near ten o'clock, their majesties and  
the princesses being more than an  
hour intermixed with the company,

converging in the most affable man-  
ner with every person in the room.  
The princesses were present.

The supper exceeded any thing of  
the kind ever given in this king-  
dom.

There were two long tables, and  
at the upper end, opposite the cen-  
ter, one table under a throne, laid  
out for thirteen, and raised above  
the rest, to which the king led his  
consort, and then, wishing the com-  
pany a good night, retired.

At the royal table sat  
The Queen.

On her left.	On her right.
Duke of York,	Prince of Wales,
Princess Augusta,	Princess Royal,
Duke of Cumberland,	Duke of Gloucester,
Princess Mary,	Princess Elizabeth,
Duke of Gloucester's daughter.	Duke of Gloucester's son.

Her majesty's table was distin-  
guished by gold plates, gold dishes,  
gold tureens, gold spoons, gold can-  
dle branches, and gold knives and  
forks.

On the ground-works of the royal  
table were the figures of Peace and  
Plenty, with the olive-branch and  
cornucopia, — the accompaniments  
various Genii weaving wreaths of  
flowers, — the pedestals presented  
vases of fruits.

On one of the long tables, the  
platform was covered with dancing  
figures, — the other had emblematic  
figures, Hope, Charity, Peace,  
Plenty, Britannia, &c. &c. which  
being done on sand, glistered with  
the reflected light of the candles.

That part of the supper which was  
hot, consisted of twenty tureens of  
different soups, roast ducks, turkey  
pouts, cygnes, green geese, land  
rails, chickens, asparagus, peas, and  
beans. The cold parts of the col-  
lation were the same kind of poul-  
try larded, and swimming or stand-  
ing

ing in the center of transparent jellies, where they were supported by pale pillars not in circumference thicker than a knitting-needle. This, with the lights playing from the candles, and reflected on by the polish of the plates and dishes, made a most beautiful appearance.

Crayfish pies of all kinds were distributed with great taste; and the ham and brawn in masquerade, swimming on the surface of pedestals of jelly, seemingly supported but by the strength of an apparent liquid, called for admiration.

The ornamental parts of the confectionary were numerous and splendid. There were temples four feet high, in the different stories of which were sweetmeats. The various orders of architecture were also done with inimitable taste.

The side-tables contained large gold goblets, and a new service of gold and silver plates. In the center of the latter were embossed that part of the history of the Roman Father, where his daughter is in the pious and filial act of feeding him in prison with her own milk.

The desert comprehended all the hot-house was competent to afford—and, indeed, more than it was thought art could produce at this season of the year. There was a profusion of pines, strawberries of every denomination, peaches, nectarines, apricots, cherries of each kind, from the Kentish to the Morrells, plums, and raspberries, with the best and richest preserved fruits, as well those that are dried as those that are in syrup.

There were forty silver branches, each holding two large wax tapers, on the long tables, and six gold branches on the queen's tables—and at the side-boards were two

magnificent candelabra, which gave a very great light.

The hall was elegantly illuminated, and in a style superior to what it ever before experienced.

The stone gallery on one side was hung with transparencies by Rebecca, and on the other with paintings by West. It had a pretty effect.

The Prince and Duke of York arrived about five in the afternoon, and set off for Newmarket at a quarter past four in the morning.

#### *French Ambassador's Gala.*

At this magnificent entertainment were present the royal family, and all the principal nobility of both parties.

His excellency's house, which is on a large scale in Portman-square, was laid out in the most convenient style the apartments could afford.

On the ground floor, at the right of the grand entrance, was an oblong temporary room, raised for the occasion, with a space in the centre raised in for a certain number of dancers, which his excellency had ordered for the amusement of the company.

At the head of the room was a chair of state, prepared for her majesty, and chairs on each side, for the Prince of Wales, Duke of York, Duke of Clarence, Princess Royal, Princesses Elizabeth, Augusta, and Mary; Dukes of Gloucester and Cumberland, Prince William of Gloucester, and his sister Princess Sophia.

On each side of the grand saloon was a transparent painting;—that on the right of her majesty, representing the genius of France congratulating the genius of England on

the recovery of the king, an excellent likeness of whom the goddess of health held in her hand;—on the left was a representation of the graces attending her majesty, and an angel preparing to crown her.

The dances continued until near one o'clock, when the supper rooms were opened, and displayed a scene of luxury and magnificence scarcely to be described.

About nine hundred cards of invitation were given out.

#### *Grand Gala at Ranelagh, May 7.*

The club at Bootle's gave their promised fête in remembrance of his majesty's recovery,—which, in point of magnificence, stood unrivalled amongst things of this sort.

Two temporary buildings were erected on the occasion—of which, that placed near the canal, at the bottom of the garden, was of extraordinary dimensions, being 150 feet in length, and 100 in width.

It was finished within in the most superb style, with pillars, painted in imitation of marble, and hung with lights the most brilliant imaginable.

The supper was profuse, and well served. In short, nothing was wanting to make it the most magnificent entertainment perhaps ever given in this country.

#### *Spanish Ambassador's Gala.*

June 9. The Marquis del Campo gave his promised fête, at Ranelagh, in compliment to the Queen of England, on his Majesty's recovery.

The whole of the external front of Ranelagh-house was illuminated in a novel manner, and with uncommon brilliancy.

The anti-rooms were all splendidly decorated, and gave a promise of what was to follow.

The portico immediately leading to the rotunda, was filled on each side with rows of myrtle and rose-trees, with carnations and pinks between.

The rotunda, at the first opening to the sight, had the most superb appearance ever seen. The continued lamps spread around the roof had a striking effect.

The lower boxes of the rotunda formed a Spanish camp, striped blue and red. Each tent guarded by a boy, dressed in a beautiful Spanish uniform. The gallery formed a Temple of Flora, which was lighted by a great number of gold baskets, containing wax tapers, ornamented with roses, &c.

A rich fire-work was displayed in the garden, which her Majesty had an opportunity of viewing from the gallery behind her box. It was formed in the shape of a triumphal arch, with transparent medallions of the King and Queen, and over the bow the inscription of "God save the King."

At one o'clock, on a signal given, the curtains before the recesses were instantly drawn, and an elegant supper discovered at one moment.

The company amounted in the whole to two thousand.

#### *Coronation of the King of Spain.*

*Madrid, Sept. 28.*

ON the 21st instant, being the day appointed for the ceremony of the King of Spain's coronation, or, as it is here termed, his Public Entry, their Catholic Majesties,

jesties, together with all the royal family of Spain, in different state-coaches, preceded by the three companies of life guards, and the great officers of state, and followed by the attendants in waiting of each individual of the royal family, in different state carriages, forming altogether a most numerous, splendid, and magnificent procession, left the palace about six o'clock in the evening, and proceeded through some of the principal streets of this city, to the church of St. Mary, where *Te Deum* was sung; and from thence their Majesties returned, in like manner, through other streets, to the palace. The streets through which the procession passed, were lined with the foot guards, and the other troops in garrison here, and orders had been previously given for all the houses to be decorated and illuminated in the best manner possible on that and the two following days.

On the 22d in the afternoon, their Majesties and the royal family went in the same state to the Piazza Mayor, or principal square in the city, to see the royal bull-fight. On such occasions it has been the ancient custom for the bulls to be fought by noblemen, or gentlemen of distinguished birth: on the present, four gentlemen entered the lists, and fought the six first bulls on horseback; they have been rewarded in the usual manner with a pension, and with the rank of *Caballerizo de Campo*, or Equerry to the King.—The rest of the bulls were fought by the most famous bull-fighters that could be collected from every part of the kingdom. The balconies of the first, second, and third stories of the houses in the square were appropriated to the re-

ception of the great officers of state and their ladies, of both the male and female part of the royal household, the members of the council of Castile, those of the other supreme councils of the kingdom, and of the heads of many other departments of the state, who all attended, with their ladies, in court dresses. The ambassadors and other foreign ministers were invited to the feast, and a balcony was allotted to each: the ambassadors had their seats on the first story, and the ministers of the second order and the *chargés des affaires* on the second. By the most exact computation of the number of spectators in the square, they amounted to about forty-five thousand.

On the 22d their Majesties and the royal family went early in the morning, in private, to the old palace of the *Buen Retiro*, to which the church of St. Jerome joins. At nine o'clock the King and Queen, with the Prince of Asturias, and the Infant Don Antonio, entered the church. Their Majesties took their seats on a throne to the right of the high altar, and the Prince of Asturias, and the Infant Don Antonio, on chairs to the left of the throne, opposite to which was seated the Cardinal Patriarch of the Indies, and next to his eminence thirteen archbishops and bishops on a bench. The remaining space of the platform raised before the high altar was occupied by the great officers of state, and of the household. At the entrance of it stood four heralds at arms, and on the steps four mace-bearers with the royal maces. In the body of the church was seated, according to their rank, a certain number of the *grandees* of Spain, of the *Títulos* of Castile, and the *Procuradores*

*Procuradores de Cortes*, or representatives of those cities and towns who have the right of vote in the *cortes* of the nation. After the mass was ended, at which the cardinal archbishop of Toledo officiated, his eminence took his seat at the foot of the high altar, and before him was placed a table, with the book of the gospel open, and a golden cross on it. The senior herald at arms then read the proclamation for the oath of allegiance, which was afterwards repeated by the senior law-officer. This oath declares allegiance to the king of Spain, and to the prince of Asturias, acknowledged his royal highness to be the prince of this realm during his majesty's life, and to be the lawful king, lord, and heir of the dominions of Spain, at his majesty's death. After the oath was read, the Infant Don Antonio moved from his seat, and knelt before the cardinal archbishop to swear to the observance of it. His royal highness then did homage to the king, and after embracing his majesty and the queen, and the prince of Asturias, returned to his seat. The *mayordomo*, *mayor*, or lord steward of the household, was then appointed by the king to receive the homage of all those who were present. The cardinal patriarch rose first, who, having sworn before the archbishop and the *mayordomo*, *mayor*, kissed their majesties and the prince of Asturias' hands. The same ceremony was successively observed, first by the prelates, next by the *grandees*, after them by the *titulos*, and lastly by the *procuradores de cortes*. The patriarch then took the archbishop's place, in order to administer the oath to the latter, and the ceremony concluded with

singing *Te Deum*. The diplomatic body were invited to see this solemn act, and a gallery opposite to the throne was allotted for their reception. Their majesties and the royal family dined at the *Buen Retiro*, and late in the evening returned in state to the palace.

The decorations and illuminations of some of the houses of the *grandees* and others of the nobility, which happened to be situated in the streets through which the procession passed on the three before-mentioned days, were very splendid and costly; and those of the *Plaza Mayor*, and of the great square before the palace, were executed with the utmost magnificence.

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*Account of the New Settlement at Botany Bay.*

**A**N authentic account has been received, that his Majesty's ships the *Sirius* and *Supply*, under the command of commodore Phillips, with the transports under their convoy, having the convicts on board for Botany Bay, have made good their passage. It was not till the 14th of January, 1788, after having left the Cape of Good Hope on the 16th of September, 1787, that the Commodore arrived at the place of his destination. On the 28th, the lieutenants Shetland and King landed. The natives, who had in small bodies witnessed their approach, appeared in great consternation, on seeing these officers on their territory, and after setting up a yell, fled to the woods. They returned soon after more composed, and from the signs made by Captain Phillips, were prevailed on to receive some presents of beads, necklaces, and other trifles; but they

they were deposited on the ground, and the captain withdrawn to a distance, before they would venture to take them. After this, they appeared so friendly as to conduct, by signs, the officers to a rivulet, where they found some excellent water, though not in a very abundant supply. In the evening the commodore, with his party, returned on board; and the next day the three transports, which he had outfitted, came to an anchor; on which the commodore went again on shore, principally to cut grass for the use of the cattle and sheep; the hay on board being nearly exhausted. On the dawn of the day following, the *Sirius*, Captain Hunter, with the remainder of the transports under his convoy, appeared in sight, and three hours after brought to, and anchored in the bay.

Captain Hunter immediately waited on the commodore; and these gentlemen, with a small party of officers and men, went on shore again towards the south coast of Botany Bay, the former visits having been made to the north of the bay.—Here, as in most of the early interviews with the natives, commodore Phillips usually laid his musquet on the ground, and advancing before it, held out presents. A green bough held aloft, or their lances thrown down, were like signs of amity in them.—It was a practice with the seamen, in these intercourses, to dress up the inhabitants with shreds of cloth, and tags of coloured paper;—and when they surveyed each other, they would burst in loud laughter, and run hollowing to the woods.—The marines one day forming before them, they appeared to like the sight, but fled at

the sound of the drum, and never more would venture near it.

On the convicts being landed, Mr. Phillips assumed his office of governor, and caused the commission given him by the king, to exercise such authority, to be read; and also the abridgment of the code of laws by which he was to govern.—By this the settlers were informed, that four courts would occasionally be held, as the nature of the offence required; namely,

A CIVIL COURT,  
A CRIMINAL COURT,  
A MILITARY COURT,  
And an ADMIRALTY COURT.

The settlers were then told, that nothing could draw these laws into exercise, but their own demerits; and as it was then in their power to atone to their country for all the wrongs done at home, no other admonitions than those which their own consciences would dictate, it was hoped, would be necessary to effect their happiness and prosperity in their new country.

But such is the inveteracy of vice, that neither lenient measures, nor severe whipping, operated to prevent theft; rigorous measures were therefore adopted, and after a formal trial in the criminal court, two men were hung in one day, and soon after two others suffered in like way.

It is here necessary to observe, that while the squadron were under way from Botany Bay to Jackson's Port, two strange sail appeared, with their hulls just in view; and, soon after Governor Phillips had landed in Sydney's Cove, he was waited upon by a party bearing a French flag.—These ships proved to be two French frigates, which sailed from Europe in August 1785, under the

[ R ] command

command of Monf. La Peyroufe, on a voyage of discoveries to the South Seas. They were in fome diftrefs for ftores and provifions, but the Governor could not contribute much to their relief. However, they remained five weeks in Botany Bay, and during that time vifits were continually and reciprocally made, as the diftance from that place to Sidney's Cove was but ten miles acrofs the land.

The convicts, during this interval, were employed in cutting wood for fences, and to collect provender for the cattle and fheep, as the foil produced very indifferent pafture, although it was in the middle of the New Hollanders fummer. An averfion to labour, however, induced fome of the new fettlers to project an efcape for Europe, on board of the French fhips; thefe efforts were, however, in a meafure fruflrated; the officers of the French fhips would not hearken to any propofals except thofe made by the fair; for it was difcovered, two days after Monf. La Perieux had failed, that two women were miffing. We muft not omit faying, that Monf. Perieux loft two boats crews in a ftorm, and that he related he had fourteen of his people murdered at Navigator's Ifland.

The natives killed three of our men in the woods, two of whom were gathering bufhes for thatching; but they did not eat them, as their bodies were reftored and buried. After this hoftility, they became very fhy, and did not for fome time approach the colony.

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*Though we by no Means approve of the  
favage Practices recorded in the  
following Detail; yet, as it con-*

*tains an authentic Account of the  
Mode of Boxing at prefent practifed  
by the moft celebrated Profefors of  
that Art, we have given it a Place  
in the Appendix.*

October 22.

**T**HIS day, at Banbury in Oxfordfhire, the much-talked-of fight, between Perrins, of Birmingham, and Johnson, of London, took place.

At twenty minutes before one, the combatants fet-to.

Great caution was exhibited on either fide in the onfet, and near five minutes elapsed before one blow was attempted, and that blow was aimed by Perrins.

His antagonist feeing it come with great force, and knowing no other way of avoiding it, dropped upon his knee.

Here an instant murmur arofe, and a cry of "Foul! foul!" was heard from feveral parts of the ring.

By the articles, many infifted, and as many contended againft it, that the battle was loft, Johnson having failed to meet his opponent in the manly manner expreffed in the agreement. Perrins, with a commendable gallantry, put an end to the difpute himfelf, declaring that he did not wifh to take advantage of what might only happen by accident.

The conteft was immediately recommenced.

In the next fet-to, almoft inftan- taneously Johnson gave, what is termed, a *knock-down blow*—and in the direct following rounds, two others.

After this feveral falls enfued ca- fually—but on the whole, for the firft twenty minutes or half an hour, Perrins



Perrins shewed the utmost strength and agility, having at least thrown in three blows for two of his adversary's.

About this time, Johnson began to stand up to his man—and fought a round or two fist to fist—blow for blow—in the striking and taking of which, he seemed equally strong with Perrins. One extraordinary stroke he now darted at the eye, and as he seldom struck but with security, he succeeded in it, and nearly closed it up.

The victory appeared to be just hovering over Johnson; for besides the loss of half his sight, Perrins, at this time, looked to be much out of wind, turning himself, whenever he fell, on his belly to recover it.

Another hard blow followed on his nose, which, to appearance, shewed as if it had been cut through.—Bets now run very high—and odds offered with so vast a difference as a hundred to ten.

In a few rounds, however, Perrins much regained his breath, and fought with fresh vigour, and directed a blow which took place in Johnson's right eye.

The next half hour was obstinately kept up, during which Johnson received numberless hits; but not plied with a power to do much harm. In his turn, it may well be supposed he was not idle, but dealt about him with some fury.

Perrins now, as a last stake, had recourse to a blow with the back of his hand, which stood him in some stead, and annoyed his opponent at first greatly—but after receiving two or three strokes in that way, Johnson, with his collected mind, found how to guard against it.

Foiled at this, his utmost effort, and receiving a full blow under the

ear, Perrins gave in—having maintained the most severe battle almost ever beheld, for the space of an hour and a quarter.

Perrins, at his first setting-to, kept his guard close to his body, seldom altering it, and coolly waiting for the attack of his adversary. Seeing Johnson, however, repeatedly thitting and running round the stage, he attributed it to fear, and pressed him close. By a frequency of this practice, he *winded* himself, and was oftentimes induced to strike out of all measure.

A long blow, underneath, he was particularly fond of aiming, and on which he depended, but it did not once succeed.

In resources he was always fruitful—if he missed in one, he had recourse to another—such as back-handed blow—the long one noticed—and an attempt to trip up the advanced foot of his opponent—These were all put in use occasionally.

Too much reliance was placed in strength, and that strength would certainly have prevailed, had it undergone a previous exercise.—Something too was to be attributed to the want of a proper second; not but that Perrins's brother was active and attentive, yet he wanted that art, and, may be, that petulance, which seemed to be no mean excellence in the second of Johnson.

Of Johnson's fighting, little need be said—it being so fully known. All that differed from his usual conduct here, was a perpetual thift—copied, as it seemed, from Ward; so different from his custom, that the spectators often hoo ed at his subterfuges. Scarcely throughout the battle did he dare attack; always waiting for the assault. Much

may be said in excuse of this, when the power he had to stand against be considered.

The stage on which they fought was 24 by 24 feet, erected on a common spot of ground within the town, which was defended on two sides by a wall and houses, and on the other two, strongly railed in. When the fight commenced, the mob broke through, but afterwards were extremely orderly.

Colonel Tarleton, and Mr. Meadows from Birmingham, were the umpires.

Bill and Joe Ward, were Johnson's second and bottle-holder.—Perrins's brother, and Pickard, those of Perrins.

The door money amounted to near 700*l*.

Above three thousand people were within the quadrangle.

The battle between Johnson and Perrins, at this place, was only a prelude to similar contests; and the discomfiture of the Birmingham *hero* was, unfortunately, but too ominous for all his countrymen who entered the lists after him; for on Friday, after a dreadful conflict of upwards of an hour, Jacombs yielded the palm to Big Ben, the *quondam* challenger of Johnson, but who had paid forfeit, that Perrins might be indulged.

At one o'clock precisely, the combatants entered the ring; after the usual ceremonies of shaking hands, &c. they *set-to*. On the first onset, Big Ben was knocked down seven times; from this circumstance the bets were considerably against him; but recovering his breath, he attacked his antagonist with the utmost ferocity, and followed up his blows with so much keenness and intrepidity, that vic-

tory, which before seemed doubtful, was now declared in his favour.

Bill Ward was second, Joe Ward bottle-holder, to Big Ben. Jacombs' second and bottle-holder we have not learned.

The battle was for one hundred pounds a side; and Jacombs, tho' equally unsuccessful, fought in a stile far superior to Perrins, though he seemed to possess the same disproportion to his antagonist, being at least three stone heavier.

In about a quarter of an hour after these champions quitted the stage, George the brewer, and Pickard, (Perrins's second) had perhaps the most bloody conflict that was ever remembered upon any stage. This battle, though fought without any attempt at manœuvre or delay whatsoever, lasted half an hour; and our correspondent adds, that less humanity, between man and man, was absolutely impossible. Savage ferocity seemed to possess the minds of the combatants, who, in their thirst for victory, were almost transported to madness; and Pickard, in particular, was so dreadfully mauled about the face, that it would have been impossible for him to be recognized by his most intimate friends. In this situation he reluctantly resigned the palm of victory to George the brewer.

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*Account of their Majesties' Journey to  
Weymouth and Plymouth.*

*Thursday, June 25.*

THEIR Majesties, with the three eldest Princesses, (Princess Royal, Augusta, and Elizabeth) left Windsor about seven in the morning.

morning, on their journey to Weymouth; and at ten minutes after three in the afternoon arrived at Lyndhurst, in perfect health.—In their way, Sir Charles Mills, who holds the manor of Langley on condition of presenting the King with a brace of *white greyhounds with silver collars*, coupled with a gold chain, and led with a silken string, whenever his Majesty passes through the forest, waited on his Majesty, and performed the covenant. In like manner all the keepers, in their green uniform, with round hats laced with gold, decorated with ribbands inscribed, *God save the King*, met their Majesties at the entrance of the forest, and rode with them to the King's house. The concourse of people that lined the road was astonishing.—The Duke of Gloucester received their Majesties at the King's house, which in the evening was brilliantly illuminated.

*Friday 26.* Their Majesties and the royal suite went to Southampton, and were received by the corporation in their audit-house, where a very elegant address was read to them.

*Tuesday 30.* Their Majesties, with their suite, arrived at Weymouth about four o'clock in the afternoon. They were met by the mayor, aldermen, and common council, walking in procession, with colours flying, and a band of music playing *God save the King*. At their arrival at Gloucester-lodge, a royal salute of 21 guns was given from the men of war lying in the road, and returned from the royal battery on the Esplanade.

In the evening general illuminations took place; and the day following, the mayor, recorder, alder-

men, and common council, waited on his Majesty with an address, and were all graciously received.

*Tuesday July 7.* His Majesty bathed in the sea for the first time.

*Thursday 9.* The Magnificent came to an anchor in Portland-road.—On her arrival was displayed a most splendid naval exhibition. A little before five o'clock, four barges, rowed by ten men each, and two cutters manned with eight each, all in uniform, were seen coming from Portland-road to the Pier in the bay, each commanded by an officer.—At six their Majesties, the Princesses with their suite, embarked on board the barges, and were rowed into Portland-road. The barge that carried their Majesties, was the Duke of Clarence's, sent on purpose from Portsmouth for their accommodation. She was steered by the first lieutenant of the Magnificent. As soon as their Majesties turned Portland Point, in full view of the ships of war, a royal salute of 21 guns from each took place.—The king, since he bathed, finds his health considerably improved.—He usually rises at six, walks the Parade till eight, takes breakfast before ten, rides till three, dines at four, and resumes the promenade with the Queen and Princesses till late in the evening, provided the weather is fine.

*Monday 13.* Their Majesties, notwithstanding the rain and rough weather, went in their barge, attended by some other barges, and made a short excursion round the bay; their plan was to have boarded the Southampton frigate, which, however, they found impracticable. At half after three they returned, and landed at the Pier.

*Thursday 14.* On a signal given, their

their Majesties, with the Princesses, embarked at the quay, and were rowed round the Magnificent on board the Southampton. Both these ships were manned, and richly dressed, and made a fine appearance. Very soon after the royal visitors were on board, the Southampton weighed, and stood out of the bay for the channel. After sailing round Portland, and in the mouth of the channel, at half past two their Majesties returned, and landed at the Pier.

*Wednesday 15.* Their Majesties, in the evening, went to the play. Mr. Hughes, the manager, intended erecting a superb box for the royal family; but their Majesties with great condescension forbade it. Three rows were therefore raised in front for their accommodation; and over the center was placed a beautiful canopy of crimson satin, richly fringed with gold, which had a very good effect.

*Thursday 16.* Their Majesties visited the fine seat of Mr. Pitt, at Kingston, near Dorchester. In the evening they went on board the Magnificent in the bay.

*Monday 20.* Their Majesties embarked very early in their boats, to go on board the Southampton, which they accomplished about ten, though it blew fresh with a hollow sea. The frigate on their entrance instantly put to sea, and was *bull* down by one. The King and Princesses experienced little or no inconvenience from being far out to sea; but her Majesty was very seasick, and it was with great difficulty that she kept from fainting till she reached the shore, when she landed about three, not quite so well satisfied with this trip as with her former marine excursions.—The Princesses

bore the rolling of the sea with astonishing firmness.

*Tuesday 21.* Notwithstanding her Majesty's indisposition the day before, she was not so much daunted as to trust his Majesty to the perils of the sea without her friendly care. At eleven their Majesties went again in their barges from the new pier, on board the Southampton, when she weighed and stood out for the channel. After a pleasant trip of five hours, they returned, and were landed at the pier, whence they walked to Gloucester-house to dinner.

*Wednesday 22.* His Majesty bathed in the sea early, and walked on the sands till breakfast. Soon after ten the Royal Family with their attendants embarked on board the Southampton, which soon weighed and put to sea, with a smart breeze at S. W. After a cruize of several hours, on an unruffled ocean, they put back by her Majesty's desire.

*Friday 24.* The royal party went on board the Magnificent in the Bay, where they lay at anchor till two o'clock, while the Southampton kept manœuvring round the men of war.

*Monday Aug. 3.* His Majesty having signified his pleasure to make his long-intended visit to Lulworth castle, the ancient and hospitable seat of Mr. Weld, the Southampton was got in readiness to convey their Majesties and suite to that delightful seat; but both wind and tide proving contrary, they were more than six hours on their passage. At four in the afternoon, the company were safely landed on the beach, and conveyed in their own carriages [two miles] to the castle. As soon as they approached the gate, they were met by

by the country-people for some miles round, assembled in sporting groups about the castle, with music playing, in the highest extasy of joy; and, on their entrance, were received with the utmost politeness by Mr. Weld and family. On ascending the steps, eight of the children, dressed in uniform, and placed one above another, joined in chorus, singing "God save the King," as their Majesties entered the vestibule. Their Majesties, highly gratified, staid and partook of an elegant collation, served in new gilt plate, and displayed in the highest taste. They then were conducted to the beautiful chapel, where they heard an anthem performed in so excellent a style, that their Majesties could not help expressing their approbation of the performers, both vocal and instrumental. The guns of the castle fired a royal salute both on their Majesties approach, and at their departure: and though they were six hours in beating-up, they were not more than two on their return. Their Majesties were landed at the pier at Weymouth at a quarter after nine, in high spirits, having ate, drunk, and sung, the whole trip.

*Tuesday 4.* The Royal Family left Weymouth early, in order to visit Sherborn castle, the seat of Lord Digby.

*Saturday 8.* At eight o'clock the Privy-council met at Gloucester-house, which did not break up till twelve; after which their Majesties, accompanied by the Duke of Leeds, took a short trip at sea, in the Southampton, for three hours; and in the evening the whole Court went to the play. This day a long

list of psomotions took place in Council.

*Sunday 9.* The Royal Family attended divine service in the morning, accompanied by the Duke of Leeds, Mr. Pitt, and most of the ministers who composed the Privy-council the day before. In the evening they went to Stacie's rooms, and continued there till a late hour.

*Thursday 13.* Their Majesties, with their whole suite, set off for Plymouth; for which port the Southampton set sail the same day.

On their arrival at Exeter, in the evening, they were met at the bounds of the city by the Mayor and Corporation, with an excellent band of music; and, at the entrance of the city, the King was presented with the keys, which his Majesty politely returned, saying. "They are already in very good hands." The Royal Family were then conducted to the Deanery, where, after shewing themselves at the windows, to gratify the eager curiosity of the populace, they partook of an elegant supper provided for them by the Dean.

*Friday 14.* About eleven o'clock in the morning, the Mayor and Corporation attended with an address, followed by an address from the clergy of the diocese. These ceremonies over, the Royal Party proceeded to view the cathedral, where the organ was touched by Mr. Jackson, and the choir sung *Te Deum laudamus* in a masterly style. They then, attended by the Mayor, Dean, &c. proceeded to view every thing curious or interesting that was to be seen, and returned to dine at the Dean's.

In their journey, on Thursday,

at Axminster, they stopped to see the carpet manufactory, and were shewn the whole process. The Queen gave orders for several pieces, and a handsome sum was left to be distributed among the work-people.

*Saturday 15.* The Royal Family, with their suite, set off for Plymouth, about nine in the morning; and about three in the afternoon reached Saltram-house, the seat of Lord Boringdon, near Plymouth. Their arrival was announced by a royal salute. In the evening Saltram-house was brilliantly illuminated.

*Monday 17.* Their Majesties and the Princesses left Saltram-house about nine in the morning. At the entrance of the town of Plymouth, they were received under a triumphal arch by the Mayor and Corporation, and conducted to the bottom of Stonehouse-lane, where the Corporation took leave.

About eleven they reached the Dock, where they were received by the troops in garrison, and saluted by a *feu de joye*. The cannon on the ramparts were fired, and were answered by another salute from the fort at Plymouth. Their Majesties alighted at Commissioner Lafrey's in the Dock-yard, where they were received by the Earls of Chesterfield, Chatham, and Howe.

After taking some refreshment, the Royal Family went on board the Impregnable, of 90 guns, Admiral Sir Richard Bickerton. As their Majesties ascended the Impregnable, a royal salute was fired, as well from her as from every other ship in the harbour and in the Sound. The citadel and small forts paid the same respect. The

Lynx, a Dutch ship of war, also dressed ship and saluted. Their Majesties stayed on board near an hour.

As soon as their Majesties put off from the Impregnable, the standard and admiralty flags were hauled down, and in their stead, in less than a minute, the ship was dressed in all the variegated colours that the world could supply.

A very handsome cutter, rowed by six fine young women, and steered by a seventh, all habited in loose white gowns, with nankeen safeguards, and black bonnets, each wearing a sash across her shoulders of royal purple, with *Long live their Majesties!* in gold, accompanied the royal barge till it returned to shore.

At half after three, his Majesty, the Queen, and Princesses, left the Dock, and proceeded, in state-barges, up Catwater to Saltram, attended by an immense number of sloops, barges, and boats; the fort, all the ships at anchor, and lastly all the guns in the park, saluting them as they passed.

*Tuesday 18.* This day the Naval Review took place.—About eight in the morning, his Majesty was rowed on board the Southampton, in the Sound. At half after nine the Southampton got under way. The Duke of Richmond attended in his yacht. In a few minutes the first ship in the fleet appeared off Statton Height, steering due west, the wind east, with two points to the south, blowing a gentle breeze. When the King's ship had weathered Mowstone Point, she descried the whole of the fleet, and fired one gun. At this time the view was beautiful beyond description, there being above an hundred different vessels, sloops, and

and yachts in motion, and the shore covered with spectators.

The fleet formed in two separate lines of battle. Capt. M<sup>rs</sup>Bride, in the Cumberland, with three other ships, formed a line a-head, supported for the enemy.

Commodore Goodall, in the Carnatic, formed the line with the other ships. As soon as he got up with the enemy's rear, he engaged.

The next ship passed to windward, and attacked the next ship a-head, and so till the rear ship of the British line was opposite the van of the enemy.

When the Southampton came in full view of the fleet, a general salute took place; after this ceremony was ended, and the Captains having been introduced to his Majesty, as he passed the line of battle, the dispositions were made for an action between the two divisions. The Magnificent had by this time joined the second line. After manœuvring for some time upon different tacks, in order to bring each other to action, the engagement began with a most furious cannonade between the two Commanders; the others speedily joined in the thundering festivity.

In about a quarter of an hour, both fleets wearing westward, the first line gave way, and were furiously assailed by the second, and covered in their flight by Capt. M<sup>rs</sup>Bride, the Commodore. The people on shore conceived it was all over, but they were mistaken, for the French line (as it was called) wore upon the larboard tack, and faced the English with redoubled vigour. This continued until half after one, when they were a second time obliged to give way.

His Majesty returned, highly

pleased with his excursion, about half after three, under a salute of the fort, &c.

*Thursday* 20. His Majesty, unaccompanied by any of the Royal Family, left Saltram, and went to the Victualling Office, to examine the state of the provisions. He ordered a cask to be opened, and a piece to be taken out, and sent to Saltram, for his own tasting. He then visited the Lower Fort, the citadel, the ramparts, the storehouse, and last of all the subterraneous works, the mines, &c. in which no person but the Duke of Richmond, Lord George Lenox (the Governor), and the Chief Engineer, was permitted to accompany him. When he mounted the upper part of the garrison, he was received by the Mayor and Corporation, the Invalids, and a detachment of the South Devon militia, their music playing "God save the King," and who attended in his walk round the ramparts. When he came to the Governor's house, the Mayor and Corporation were admitted to the Royal presence, and a dutiful and loyal address was presented, and most graciously received. The Corporation had the honour of kissing hands. His Majesty left the fort, and proceeded by water to the Gun Wharf, and surveyed the ordnance.

*Friday* 21. Their Majesties visited Mount Edgecombe.—On their landing, sixteen young maidens, dressed in white, preceded the Royal Pair, throwing roses, carnations, and myrtles; and when they came to the steps that lead to the grand arcade, each maiden, on her knee, presented a curious flower to their Majesties, which was graciously received. The dinner and desert were sumptuous and elegant.

At

At six the King retired, and took water, accompanied by a large fleet of boats and barges, and was rowed through the Sound of Saltram.

*Saturday 22.* The Royal Family visited Marflow, the seat of Mr. Hayward, situated on the banks of the Tamar. The woods belonging to this gentleman extend nearly three miles down the river, in the most striking and romantic situations. Several new roads were cut through these woods, for the accommodation of the Royal Visitors, who spent two hours in admiration of their beauties, and repeated their visit on Monday the 24th.

The two following days were spent in exploring the course of the Tamar. On Wednesday, they landed at Kitley, an ancient seat of the Edgcumbe family, situated about fourteen miles up the Tamar. Triumphant cars, with four wheels each, and two ponies, were provided to convey their Majesties and the Princesses to the castle, which stands on a proud eminence, about a quarter of a mile from the banks of the river. On their arrival at the outer gate 21 pateraroes were fired. After viewing the ancient curiosities of the castle, amongst which are several pieces of old armour, and partaking of some refreshment, the whole party reembarked, and returned to Saltram at two in the afternoon, highly gratified by the novelty of the fresh-water navigation.

The next morning they left Saltram, on their return to Weymouth. Before his Majesty's departure, he was graciously pleased to confer the honour of knighthood on Thomas Bayard, Esq; Captain of the Impregnable, who had the honour to steer his Majesty's barge in his excursions during his stay at this port.

*Friday 28.* Their Majesties arrived at Weymouth; where Lord Thurlow, and several other great officers of state, waited to attend the King in Council.

*Monday 31.* The weather, which for some days past had proved unfavourable, cleared-up; and their Majesties recommenced their sea-excursions.

The Queen this day presented to Captain Douglas, a small gold medallion of the ship he commands, to be given by him to Mrs. Douglas, as an ornament to be worn about her neck; and which the ladies of her Majesty's suite are likewise in possession of.

*Friday 4.* His Majesty bathed, and afterwards took his usual exercise on horseback. In this excursion he was overtaken by a smart shower, and returned dripping wet; but fortunately took no cold.

*Saturday 5.* The whole Royal Family, with their suite, made an agreeable trip, on board the Southampton; and were so well satisfied with their excursion, that they extended the usual distance, and exceeded considerably the wonted time of their return. Notwithstanding which, they honoured the theatre with their presence in the evening, when Mr. Chalmers, from the Dublin theatre, made his first appearance, in the character of Marplot, and was favourably received.

*Sunday 6.* The Royal Family attended divine-service on board the Magnificent. The Rev. Mr. Clifton officiated, and delivered an excellent discourse on the quarter-deck, of which the King, Queen, and Royal Family, occupied the starboard side, under the quarter-deck awning. The larboard,



or left, contained the Noblesse. In the centre of the quarter-deck sat the officers of the ship; and behind them were placed the ship's company and marines, who formed themselves into a crescent.

As soon as service was over, their Majesties went forward to the clergyman, and thanked him for his sermon, and the Queen expressed her wish to have it transcribed.—The Princess Elizabeth, with her wonted good-humour and affability, went to the foremost part of the gangway, for the curiosity of seeing the seamen's dinner served to them; where she remained near ten minutes, seemingly highly delighted.

At two o'clock, his Majesty, after partaking of some refreshments in the great cabin, desired his boat might be manned; when the same etiquette took place as on his *entré*, viz. manning the yards and cheering.

*Monday 7.* Their Majesties visited Milton Abbey, and were received at the entrance by Lord Milton and Miss Damer. Green baize, strewed with flowers, was spread from the carriage to the house. The Princess Royal, Lady Courtoun, and Miss Damer, got into an open carriage, drawn by six grey ponies, mounted by three postillions. The Princesses Augusta and Elizabeth, with Lady Waldegrave, accompanied them in the same kind of vehicle. His Majesty, Lord Milton, and attendants, rode on horseback. They went round the grounds, and viewed the surrounding country. The company returned about four o'clock to dinner, which was sumptuous and elegant, and worthy of the Royal Guests. Their Majesties left the Lodge about half after six, and arrived at Gloucester-lodge at half after

nine, well pleased with their visit.

*Tuesday 8.* In the evening, a select party met at Gloucester-house, by invitation of their Majesties, to dance and sup. The Noblemen who had the honour of standing up with the Princesses were the Lords Westmorland, Chatham, Chesterfield, and Courtoun; ten couple were as many as they could muster, and they did not break up till near three in the morning. This festival was in celebration of their Majesties marriage, it being the anniversary of that happy event.

The three following days were spent in excursions upon the sea on board the Southampton; and his Majesty was pleased to confer the honour of knighthood on Andrew Snape Douglas, captain of the Southampton frigate.

*Monday 14.* This day the Royal Family took their departure from Weymouth. On the King's stepping into his coach, the guns from the battery were fired, and the salute returned by the Magnificent and Southampton, with every ship in the harbour.

In the evening, the Royal Family arrived at Longleat, the seat of the Marquis of Bath, where they rested during the night, and the next day were entertained with viewing the delightful prospects that every where surround that beautiful mansion.

On the 16th, they set out from Longleat, about eleven o'clock, and arrived at Tottenham Park, the seat of Lord Aylesbury, about four in the afternoon. Here they were not less magnificently received, nor less assiduously attended. Whatever could charm the eye, or gratify taste, abounded here in full profusion.

On the 1<sup>st</sup>, they left Tottenham Park about ten in the morning; and.

On the 18<sup>th</sup>, their Majesties and Princesses arrived at Windsor, about three in the afternoon, in full health, and joyous spirits.

*Correct and authentic Copies of the Twelve Propositions, submitted, on The, day Evening, by Mr. Wilberforce, to the Consideration of the Committee, to whom the Report of the Privy Council, various Petitions for the Abolition of the SLAVE TRADE, and other Papers relative thereto, had been referred: which Propositions were, by Consent, ordered to lie on the Table.*

## I.

THAT the number of slaves annually carried from the coast of Africa, in British vessels, is supposed to amount to about 38,000.

That the number annually carried to the British West-India Islands has amounted to about 22,500, on an average of four years, to the year 1787 inclusive.

That the number annually retained in the said islands, as far as appears by the custom-house accounts, has amounted, on the same average, to about 17,500.

## II.

That much the greater number of the Negroes carried away by European vessels are brought from the interior parts of the continent of Africa, and many of them from a very great distance.

That no precise information appears to have been obtained of the manner in which these persons have been made slaves.

But that from the accounts, as

far as any have been procured on this subject, with respect to the slaves brought from the interior parts of Africa, and from the information which has been received respecting the countries nearer to the coast, the slaves may in general be classed under some of the following descriptions:

1<sup>st</sup>. Prisoners taken in war.

2<sup>d</sup>. Free persons sold for debt, or on account of real or imputed crimes, particularly adultery and witchcraft, in which cases they are frequently sold with their whole families, and sometimes for the profit of those by whom they are condemned.

3<sup>d</sup>ly. Domestic slaves sold for the profit of their masters, in some places at the will of the masters, and in some places on being condemned by them, for real or imputed crimes.

4<sup>th</sup>. Persons made slaves by various acts of oppression, violence, or fraud, committed either by the princes and chiefs of those countries on their subjects, or private individuals on each other, or lastly by Europeans, engaged in this traffic.

## III.

That the trade carried on by European nations on the coast of Africa, for the purchase of slaves, has necessarily a tendency to occasion frequent and cruel wars among the natives, to produce unjust convictions and punishments for pretended or aggravated crimes, to encourage acts of oppression, violence, and fraud, and to obstruct the natural course of civilization and improvement in those countries.

## IV.

That the continent of Africa, in its

its present state, furnishes several valuable articles of commerce, highly important to the trade and manufactures of this kingdom, and which are in a great measure peculiar to that quarter of the globe. And that the soil and climate have been found by experience well adapted to the production of other articles, with which we are now either wholly or in a great part supplied by foreign nations.

That an extensive commerce with Africa in these commodities might probably be substituted in the place of that which is now carried on in slaves, so as at least to afford a return for the same quantity of goods as has annually been carried thither in British vessels: and lastly, that such a commerce might reasonably be expected to increase in proportion to the progress of civilization and improvement on that continent.

## V.

That the Slave Trade has been found by experience to be peculiarly injurious and destructive to the British seamen, who have been employed therein. And that the mortality among them has been much greater than in his Majesty's ships stationed on the coast of Africa, or than has been usual in British vessels employed in any other trade.

## VI.

That the mode of transporting the slaves from Africa to the West Indies, necessarily exposes them to many and grievous sufferings, for which no regulations can provide an adequate remedy; and that in consequence thereof, a large proportion of them has annually perished during the voyage.

## VII.

That a large proportion of the

slaves so transported has also perished in the harbours in the West Indies, previous to their being sold: That this loss is stated by the assembly of the Island of Jamaica, at about four and a half per cent. of the number imported; and is by medical persons of experience in that island ascribed in great measure to diseases contracted during the voyage, and to the mode of treatment on board the ships, by which those diseases have been supplicated for a time, in order to render the slaves fit for immediate sale.

## VIII.

That the loss of newly-imported negroes, within the first three years after their importation, bears a large proportion to the whole number imported.

That the natural increase of population among the slaves in the islands appears to have been impeded principally by the following causes.

1st. The inequality of the sexes in the importations from Africa.

2d. The general dissoluteness of manners among the slaves, and the want of proper regulations for the encouragement of marriages, and of rearing children.

3d. The particular diseases which are prevalent among them, and which are in some instances attributed to too severe labour, or rigorous treatment, and in others too insufficient or improper food.

4th. Those diseases which afflict a large proportion of negro children in their infancy, and those to which the negroes newly imported from Africa have been found to be particularly liable.

## X.

That the whole number of the slaves in the island of Jamaica.

in 1768, was about 167,000  
 That the number in 1774 was, as stated by Governor Keith, about 193,000  
 And that the number in December 1787, as stated by Lieut. Governor Clarke, was about — — — 256,000

That by comparing these numbers with the numbers imported into and retained in the island in the several years from 1768 to 1774 inclusive, as appearing from the accounts delivered to the Committee of Trade by Mr. Fuller, and in the several years from 1775 inclusive, to 1787 also inclusive, as appearing by the accounts delivered in by the Inspector General, and allowing for a loss of about 1-22d part by deaths on ship-board after entry, as stated in the reports of the Assembly of the said island of Jamaica, it appears, that the annual excess of deaths above births in the island, in the whole period of 19 years, has been in the proportion of 7-8ths per cent. computing on the medium number of slaves in the island during that period. That in the first six years of the said nineteen, the excess of deaths was in the proportion of rather more than one on every hundred on the medium number. That in the last thirteen years of the said nineteen, the excess of deaths was in the proportion of about three-fifths on every hundred on the medium number: and that a number of slaves, amounting to 15,000, is stated by the report of the island of Jamaica, to have perished during the latter period, in consequence of repeated hurricanes, and of the want of foreign supplies of provisions.

## XI.

That the whole number of slaves in the island of Barbadoes was, in the year 1764, according to the account given in to the Committee of Trade by Mr. Braithwaite, 70,706  
 That in 1774, the number was, by the same account 74,874  
 In 1780, by ditto — — 68,270  
 In 1781, after the hurricane, according to the same account — — 63,248  
 In 1786, by ditto — — 62,115

That by comparing these numbers with the number imported into this island, according to the same account, (not allowing for any re-exportation) that the annual excess of deaths above births, in the ten years, from 1764 to 1774, was in the proportion of about five on every hundred, computing on the medium number of slaves in the island during that period.

That in the seven years from 1774 to 1780, both inclusive, the excess of deaths was in the proportion of about one and one-third on every hundred on the medium number.

That between the year 1780 and 1781, there appears to have been a decrease in the number of slaves of about 5000.

That in the six years from 1781 to 1786, both inclusive, the excess of deaths was in the proportion of rather less than seven-eighths in every hundred on the medium number.

And that in the four years from 1783 to 1786, both inclusive, the excess of deaths was in the proportion of rather less than one-third in every hundred on the medium number.

And that during the whole period there is no doubt that some were

were exported from the island, but considerably more in the first part of this period than in the last.

XII.

That the accounts from the leeward islands, and from Dominica, Grenada, and St. Vincent's, do not furnish sufficient grounds for comparing the state of population in the said islands at different periods, with the number of slaves which have been from time to time imported into the said islands, and exported therefrom.—But that from the evidence which has been received respecting the present state of these islands, as well as of Jamaica and Barbadoes, and from a consideration of the means of obviating the causes which have hitherto operated to impede the natural increase of the slaves, and of lessening the demand for manual labour, without diminishing the profit of the planter, it appears that no considerable or permanent inconvenience would result from discontinuing the farther importation of African slaves.

THE public statue of the late Sir G. Savile, Bart, is at length finished, and erected in York cathedral. It is fixed on an elegant marble pedestal, six feet high, on the frize of which are introduced the emblems of Wisdom, Fortitude, and Eternity. Sir George is represented leaning on a pillar, holding in his right hand a scroll, on which is written, *The Petition of the Freeholders of the County of Yo k.* The back ground is of white marble, and the whole height of the monument is sixteen feet, and is executed in so masterly a style as to do great

credit to the statuary. On the front of the pedestal is the following inscription :

To the memory of  
 Sir GEORGE SAVILE, Bart.  
 who,  
 In five successive parliaments,  
 Represented the county of  
 York,  
 The public love and esteem of his  
 Fellow citizens  
 Have decreed this  
 Monument.  
 In private life he was benevolent and  
 sincere;  
 His charities were extensive and secret ;  
 His whole heart was formed on principles  
 Of generosity, mildness, justice, and  
 Universal candour.  
 In public, the patron of every national  
 improvement ;  
 In the Senate, incorrupt ;  
 In his commerce with the world, disinter-  
 ested.  
 By genius enlightened in the means of  
 doing good,  
 He was unwearied in doing it.  
 His life was an ornament and a blessing  
 to the age in which he lived ;  
 And, after death, his  
 Memory  
 Will continue to be beneficial to mankind,  
 By holding forth an example of  
 Pure and unaffected virtue,  
 Most worthy of imitation,  
 To the latest posterity.  
 He departed this life, January the 9th,  
 1784,  
 In the 58th year of his age,  
 Beloved and lamented.

*Account of the Opening of the Academy  
 at Windsor in Nova Scotia.*

Halifax, Nov. 11.

ON Saturday the 1st of this month, the Academy at Windsor was opened by the Right Reverend the bishop of Nova Scotia.—A numerous and respectable company, consisting of the magistrates and principal gentlemen of the county

county of Hants, attended, which added much to the solemnity that was observed on an occasion so truly pleasing as the founding, and opening the first public seminary for learning in this province.

The Bishop began with prayers, and then delivered a Latin oration, in which he pointed out the many advantages the public would derive from the institution; and severally addressed the magistrates, the tutors, and the students.

He next read over the regulations that were established by the gentlemen appointed to undertake the general government of the Academy—These regulations are well calculated to preserve order, to enforce diligence in the tutors, and promote application and improvement in the students; and the books to be read by the several classes are specified, being the same that are read in the best seminaries in England.

Seventeen students, the number then present, were next admitted into the Academy; and the Bishop very earnestly addressed them and the tutors, in English, on the subject of their respective duties.

The business of the Academy being finished, the magistrates and gentlemen of the county of Hants presented the following Address to the Bishop:

Right Reverend Sir,

The magistrates and gentlemen who have the honour to attend you this day, in behalf of themselves and the inhabitants of Hants, beg leave to express their happiness on the occasion, when the establishment of a public seminary for learning, under your guidance and government, affords them the comfort and hope, that the children,

as well as in general the youth of this province, will have the inestimable advantage of such education as forms the man of learning, with the sentiments that distinguish the gentleman, and the morality and piety of the true christian.

Happy as the occasion is, it is rendered infinitely more so to us, as well as to every parent, and every person in the district we represent, by the particular satisfaction arising from the influence your presence and encouragement has had with all classes of people; and, we trust, will yield every blessing to be expected from piety, morality, and learning, while the charge allotted to you in this province is supported with such eminent abilities and zeal for the public good.

We humbly offer our grateful thanks to our benign Sovereign, for the gracious and distinguished mark of his regard for this province, in the appointment of a divine, possessed of every virtue and qualification, to inspire universal reverence, affection, and love of religion, as Bishop of this province, to superintend this establishment, and to extend the light of the gospel among his faithful subjects: and to Heaven we offer our fervent prayer, that you may live happy to complete the work you have begun, and long to witness the comfort and happiness of all who benefit by those instances of Royal favour, till the Saviour, whose gospel you teach, shall reward your merits with everlasting bliss.

To which the Bishop returned the following Answer.

Gentlemen,

I feel myself exceedingly obliged by this affectionate and polite address,

drefs, for which be pleased to accept of my sincerest thanks.

Permit me at the same time to congratulate you on an event so interesting, as the founding and opening a public seminary of learning at Windsor, which promises many advantages to the province.

This institution, and its concomitant benefits, originated from our most gracious and beloved Sovereign, who, among other instances of his royal attention to the welfare of his faithful subjects, strongly recommended the measure; and the legislature of this province, with a promptness and zeal which reflect honour on all its members, instantly adopted, and took the proper steps to carry into effect the Royal instruction—Happy in promoting the beneficent views of his Majesty, and in co-operating with my worthy fellow-subjects in so useful a design, I endeavoured, with all good faith and sincerity, to execute the trust reposed in me; and that the business is happily brought to its present stage, is greatly owing to the ready concurrence and aid which I received from his Excellency the Lieutenant Governor, and the other gentlemen, who, with me, were appointed by the late Act of the Province to undertake the general government of the Academy. The approbation which you are pleased to bestow on my conduct is very flattering, and will serve to stimulate my future exertions in the same good cause.

To you, gentlemen, it would be needless to enlarge on the advantages of literature and a virtuous education, as you appear to be totally sensible of them. I shall only observe, that from science the enlightened philosopher derives his

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superiority over the untutored savage, and that to the discipline and instructions received in early youth, the devout Christian is indebted, next to God, for those enlarged and liberal sentiments, that integrity of heart, and glowing ardour for the good of others, which place him so high above the ignorant, vicious, and selfish part of mankind.

As this Academy is fixed in your vicinity, I earnestly recommend it to your patronage and assistance in any difficulties that may occasionally arise. In particular, I request the worthy magistrates rigorously to enforce the laws against drunkenness, profane swearing, profanation of the Lord's day, and other vices, agreeable to his Majesty's late proclamation, that the students may not be injured by bad examples.

It is unnecessary to assure you, that I feel the utmost anxiety for the success of this Academy. May the Almighty bless and prosper it!—may it flourish, and become, as it is intended, a public blessing!—and may useful learning, pure religion, virtue, order, and loyalty, flow from hence, as from a common source, and extensively diffuse their salutary effects through every part of the province!

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*Mr. Burke's Letter to Mr. Montague.  
on the Subject of the Conjure moved  
in the House of Commons, respecting  
Words spoken by him in Westminster  
Hall.*

My dear Sir,  
WITH the consent, as you know, and the approbation of the Committee, I am resolved to

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periclitate

persevere in the resolution I had formed, and had declared to the House, that nothing should persuade me, upon any occasion, least of all upon the present, to enter into a laboured, litigious, artificial defence of my conduct. Such a mode of defence belongs to another sort of conduct, and to causes of a different description.

As a faithful and ingenuous servant, I owe to the House a plain and simple explanation of any part of my behaviour, which shall be called in question before them. I have given this explanation; and in doing so, I have done every thing which my own honour and my duty to the House could possibly require at my hands. The rest belongs to the House.

They, I have no doubt, will act in a manner fit for a wise body, attentive to its reputation. I must be supposed to know something of the duty of a prosecutor for the public; otherwise neither ought the House to have conferred that trust upon me, nor ought I to have accepted it. I have not been disapproved of by the first abilities in the kingdom, appointed by the same authority, not only for my assistance, but for my direction and controul. You, who have honoured me with a partial friendship, continued without intermission for twenty-four years, would not have failed in giving me that first, and most decisive proof of friendship, to enlighten my ignorance, and to rectify my mistakes. You have not done either; and I must act on the inference. It is no compliment to mention what is known to the world, how well qualified you are for that office, from your deep parliamentary knowledge,

and your perfect acquaintance with all the eminent examples of the ancient and modern world.

The House having, upon an opinion of my diligence and fidelity, (for they could have no other motive) put a great trust into my hands, ought to give me an entire credit for the veracity of every fact I affirm or deny: but if they fail with regard to me, it is at least in my power to be true to myself. I will not commit myself in an unbecoming contention with the agents of a criminal, whom it is my duty to bring to justice. I am a member of a Committee of Secrecy, and I will not violate my trust, by turning myself into a defendant, and bringing forward in my own exculpation, the evidence which I have prepared for his conviction. I will not let him know on what documents I rely. I will not let him know who the witnesses for the prosecution are, nor what they have to depose against him. Though I have no sort of doubt of the constancy and integrity of those witnesses, yet because they are men, and men to whom, from my own situation, I owe protection, I ought not to expose them either to temptation or to danger. I will not hold them out to be importuned or menaced, or discredited, or run down, or possibly to be ruined in their fortunes by the power and influence of this delinquent, except where the national service supercedes all other considerations. If I must suffer, I will suffer alone! No man shall fall a sacrifice to a feeble sensibility on my part, that at this time of day might make me impatient of those libels, which, by despising through so many years, I have, at length



length obtained the honour of being joined in commission with this Committee, and becoming an humble instrument in the hands of public justice.

The only favour I have to supplicate from the House is, that their goodness would spare to the weakest of their members any unnecessary labour; by letting me know, as speedily as possible, whether they wish to discharge me from my present office. If they do not, I solemnly promise them that, with God's assistance, I will, as a member of their Committee, pursue their business to the end—That no momentary disfavour shall slacken my diligence in the great cause they have undertaken—That I will lay open, with the force of irresistible proof, this dark scene of bribery, peculation, and gross pecuniary corruption, which I have begun to unfold, and in the midst of which my course had been arrested.

This poor Indian stratagem of turning the accuser into a defendant, has been too often and too uniformly practised by Devi Sing, Mr. Hastings, and Gunga Govant Sing, and other Banyans, black and white, to have any longer the slightest effect upon me, whom long service in Indian Committees has made well acquainted with the politics of Calcutta. If the House will suffer me to go on, the moment is at hand when my defence, and included in it the defence of the House, will be made in the only way, in which my trust permits me to make it, by proving juridically on this accusing criminal the facts and the guilt which we have charged upon him. As to the relevancy of the facts, the Committee of Impeachment must be the sole judge

until they are handed over to the Court competent to give a final decision on their value. In that Court the agent of Mr. Hastings will soon enough be called upon to give his own testimony with regard to the conduct of his principal. The agent shall not escape from the necessity of delivering it; nor will the principal escape from the testimony of his agent.

I hope I have in no moment of this pursuit (now by me continued, in one shape or other, for near eight years) shewn the smallest symptoms of collusion or prevarication. The last point in which I should wish to shew it, is in the charge concerning pecuniary corruption—a corruption so great and so spreading, that the most unspotted characters will be justified in taking measures for guarding themselves against suspicion. Neither hope, nor fear, nor anger, nor weariness, nor discouragement of any kind, shall move me from this trust—nothing but an act of the House, formally taking away my commission, or totally cutting off the means of performing it. I trust we are all of us animated by the same sentiments.

This perseverance in us may be called obstinacy, inspired by malice. Not one of us, however, has a cause of malice. What knowledge have we of Sir Elijah Impey, with whom, you know, we began; or Mr. Hastings, whom we afterwards found in our way? Party views cannot be our motive. Is it not notorious, that, if we thought it consistent with our duty, we might have at least an equal share of the Indian interests, which now is almost to a man against us?

I am sure I reverence the House,

as a member of Parliament and an Englishman ought to do; and shall submit to its decision with due humility. I have given this apology for abandoning a formal defence, in writing to you, though it contains in effect not much more than I have delivered in my place. But this mode is less liable to misrepresentation, and a trifle more permanent.—It will remain with you either for my future acquittal, or condemnation, as I shall behave.

I am, with sincere affection and respect;

My dear Sir,

Your faithful friend,

And humble servant,

Gerrard street, (Signed)

May 1, 1789. EDMUND BURKE.

(A TRUE COPY.)

*The following is said to be an authentic Transcript of the Speech of Mr. Hastings, addressed to the High Court of Parliament.*

“ My Lords.

“ **M**AY I be permitted to offer a few words to your Lordships:—

“ I feel myself unequal to the occasion which so suddenly calls upon me to state to your Lordships what I feel of the unexampled hardships of this trial. I came here to-day utterly unprepared for such an event, as that which I perceive now impending; I therefore entreat your Lordships to indulge me for a few moments, while I recollect myself—

“ I must beg you will be pleased to consider the situation in which I stand, and the awe which I must unavoidably feel, in addressing this august assembly. I have already,

in a petition presented to your Lordships in the beginning of this year, represented the hardships and grievances, and but a part of the hardships and grievances, which I thought I had sustained when only one year of this Impeachment had passed; these have accumulated.—Many of them have proportionably accumulated, with the time that has since elapsed, but in my sense of them, they have been infinitely aggravated, when I have seen so little done, and so much time expended; such a long period consumed, and yet not one tenth part, of one single article of the twenty, which compose the charge, brought to a conclusion on the part of the prosecution only. If five months have been thus consumed, what period, my Lords, shall I estimate, as necessary for the remainder of the Impeachment? My life, in any estimation of it, will not be sufficient. It is impossible that I should survive to its close, if continued, as it has hitherto proceeded: and although I know not what to make the specific prayer of my petition, I do beseech your Lordships to consider what injury my health, and my fortune must sustain, if it be your determination that I must wait till it shall please the justice, or the candour of the honourable House of Commons, which has impeached me before your Lordships, to close this prosecution.

“ My Lords, I hope I shall not be thought to deviate from the respect which I feel, equally, I am sure, with any man living, for this high court, if I say, that had a precedent existed in England, of a man accused, and impeached as I have been, whose trial had actually been protracted to such a length, or

if I had conceived it possible that mine could have been so protracted, I hope your Lordships will pardon me if I say—I would at once have pleaded guilty; I would not have sustained this trial; I would have rested my cause and my character, which is much dearer to me than life, upon that truth, which sooner or later will shew itself. This, my Lords, I would have done, rather than have submitted to a trial, which of itself has been a punishment a hundred times more severe, than any punishment your Lordships could have inflicted upon me, had I pleaded guilty. What must I not continue to experience, by a life of impeachment?

“And now, my Lords, I beg leave to submit my case to your Lordships, well knowing that if it is in your power to apply a remedy to the hardships which I have sustained, and to those which I am yet likely to suffer, your Lordships will do it. I cannot be so unreasonable as to expect that your Lordships should waste more time in the con-

tinuation of this trial, when the year is so much advanced, and when, as I believe, by the custom of Parliament, it has been usual for your Lordships to retire from the business of the session; I do therefore humbly submit myself to your Lordships justice and goodness. Yet if the honourable managers could propose a short time, such a period as your Lordships could afford, in order to close this impeachment, which I have been told, (perhaps falsely) was to end with the present article, I should be willing in that case even to wave any defence, rather than protract the decision to another year—it may be for many years; I would pray your Lordships to proceed to judgment on the evidence which my prosecutors have adduced for my conviction.

“My Lords, I hope I have said nothing that is disrespectful to your Lordships, I am sure I have felt no other sentiment than those of deference and respect for this great assembly.”



APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. [279

The following authentic Extracts from the Corn-Register, are taken from Accounts collected from the Custom-House Books, and delivered to Mr. John James Catherwood, by Authority of Parliament.

An Account of the Quantities of all Corn and Grain exported from, and imported into, England and Scotland, with the Bounties and Drawbacks paid, and the Duties received, thereon, for one Year ended the 5th of January 1790.

E X P O R T E D.

1789.		BRITISH.	FOREIGN.	Bounties and Drawbacks paid.		
ENGLAND.		Quarters.	Quarters.	£.	s.	d.
Wheat	- - - -	66,820	6,983	} 76,551 16 1½ Bo.	}	Nil Dr.
Wheat Flour	- - - -	185,770	3,310			
Rye	- - - -	37,089	2,718			
Barley	- - - -	190,197	360			
Malt	- - - -	125,049				
Oats	- - - -	23,997	1,434			
Oatmeal	- - - -	537	194			
Beans	- - - -	14,374	4,126			
Peafe	- - - -	8,931	238			
SCOTLAND.						
Wheat	- - - -	3,289	} -----	} 5,999 5 0 Bo.	}	
Wheat Flour	- - - -	2,346				
Rye	- - - -	139				
Barley	- - - -	19,127				
Barley hulled	- - - -	100				
Bear or Big	- - - -	10,972				
Bearmeal	- - - -	61				
Malt	- - - -	9,799				
Oats	- - - -	1,402				
Oatmeal	- - - -	5,118				
Peafe and Beans	- - - -	222				
Groats	- - - -	12				

I M P O R T E D.

1789.		Quarters.	Duties received.		
ENGLAND.			£.	s.	d.
Wheat	- - - -	72,379	} 4,814 3 7½	}	
Wheat Flour	- - - -	16,172			
Rye	- - - -	14,844			
Barley	- - - -	8,749			
Oats	- - - -	359,754			
Oatmeal	- - - -	6,213			
Beans	- - - -	162			
Peafe	- - - -	99			
Indian Corn	- - - -	54			

1789.		Quarters.	Duties received.	
SCOTLAND.			£.	s. d.
Wheat	- - - - -	19,722	1,354	1 9
Wheat Flour	- - - - -	2,228		
Barley	- - - - -	2,378		
Oats	- - - - -	63,754		
Pease and Beans	- - - - -	130		

The following is an account of the average prices of corn in England and Wales, by the standard Winchester bushel, for the year 1789.

Wheat.		Rye.		Barley.		Oats.		Beans.	
s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
6	4½	3	8½	2	10½	2	0	3	4½

N. B. The prices of the finest and coarsest sorts of grain generally exceed and reduce the average price as follows, viz.

	Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.
Per bushel,	6d.	3d.	3d.	3d.	6d.

PRICES OF STOCK, FOR THE YEAR 1879.

N. B. The highest and lowest Prices which each Stock bore during the Course of any Month, are put down opposite to that Month.

	Bank Stock	3 Pr Ct. Reduc.	3 Pr Ct. Confol.	4 pr Ct. Confol.	5 pr. Ct. Confol.	Long Ann.	Short Ann.	India Stock.	India Ann.	India Bon.	S. Sea Stock	Old Ann.	New Ann.	Navy Bills.	Exch. Bills.	Lottery Tickets.
January	159 1/4	72 1/2	71 1/2	92 1/2	109 1/2	21 1/2	13 1/2	161 1/2	68 1/2	70	80 1/2	71 1/2	70	1 1/2	23	15
February	170 1/2	73 1/2	74 1/2	93 1/2	113 1/2	21 1/2	13 1/2	166 1/2	68 1/2	78	82 1/2	72 1/2	71 1/2	1 1/2	28	16
March	169 1/2	72 1/2	71 1/2	92 1/2	109 1/2	21 1/2	13 1/2	162	67 1/2	70	80 1/2	72 1/2	71 1/2	1 1/2	22	14
April	175 1/2	74 1/2	73 1/2	96 1/2	113 1/2	22 1/2	13 1/2	166	68 1/2	75	83 1/2	74 1/2	73 1/2	1 1/2	25	15
May	173 1/2	75 1/2	74 1/2	95 1/2	113 1/2	22 1/2	13 1/2	165	69 1/2	74	83 1/2	73 1/2	73 1/2	1 1/2	23	
June	176 1/2	75 1/2	74 1/2	96 1/2	114 1/2	22 1/2	13 1/2	169 1/2	69 1/2	78	84 1/2	74 1/2	73 1/2	1 1/2	25	
July	173 1/2	74 1/2	74 1/2	94 1/2	113 1/2	22 1/2	13 1/2	168 1/2	69 1/2	73	85 1/2	74 1/2	74 1/2	1 1/2	26	
August	179 1/2	76 1/2	77 1/2	97 1/2	116 1/2	22 1/2	13 1/2	170 1/2	70 1/2	80	86 1/2	75 1/2	75 1/2	1 1/2	30	
September	170 1/2	75 1/2	76 1/2	95 1/2	115 1/2	22 1/2	13 1/2	169 1/2	69 1/2	78	86 1/2	74 1/2	75 1/2	1 1/2	29	
October	180 1/2	77 1/2	77 1/2	97 1/2	116 1/2	22 1/2	13 1/2	174 1/2	70 1/2	85	86 1/2	76 1/2	75 1/2	1 1/2	30	15
November	179 1/2	76 1/2	77 1/2	97 1/2	115 1/2	22 1/2	13 1/2	170 1/2	70 1/2	81	85 1/2	76 1/2	76 1/2	1 1/2	30	16
December	184 1/2	78 1/2	78 1/2	98 1/2	117 1/2	23 1/2	13 1/2	173 1/2	72 1/2	100	87 1/2	79 1/2	78 1/2	1 1/2	33	15
Public	181 1/2	80 1/2	79 1/2	99 1/2	116 1/2	23 1/2	14 1/2	179 1/2	74 1/2	97	88 1/2	79 1/2	78 1/2	1 1/2	36	16
	189 1/2	79 1/2	79 1/2	99 1/2	116 1/2	23 1/2	13 1/2	175 1/2	74 1/2	99	88 1/2	79 1/2	78 1/2	1 1/2	60	15
	194 1/2	82 1/2	81 1/2	104 1/2	122 1/2	24 1/2	14 1/2	178 1/2	76 1/2	109	90 1/2	80 1/2	80 1/2	1 1/2	58	16
	183 1/2	77 1/2	78 1/2	97 1/2	117 1/2	23 1/2	13 1/2	176 1/2	75 1/2	102	88 1/2	77 1/2	78 1/2	1 1/2	60	16
	191 1/2	78 1/2	80 1/2	102 1/2	118 1/2	23 1/2	13 1/2	179 1/2	73 1/2	107	89 1/2	78 1/2	79 1/2	1 1/2	59	16
	181 1/2	76 1/2	77 1/2	96 1/2	117 1/2	22 1/2	13 1/2	175 1/2	72 1/2	101	87 1/2	76 1/2	76 1/2	1 1/2	55	15
	183 1/2	78 1/2	79 1/2	97 1/2	118 1/2	23 1/2	13 1/2	179 1/2	72 1/2	110	88 1/2	77 1/2	77 1/2	1 1/2	57	16
	181 1/2	76 1/2	77 1/2	97 1/2	117 1/2	23 1/2	13 1/2	172 1/2	71 1/2	105	87 1/2	76 1/2	77 1/2	1 1/2	48	15
	183 1/2	78 1/2	78 1/2	99 1/2	118 1/2	23 1/2	13 1/2	175 1/2	72 1/2	110	87 1/2	76 1/2	77 1/2	1 1/2	50	16

*Public Acts passed in the Sixth Session of the Sixteenth Parliament of Great Britain.*

**A**CT to repeal the duty on shops.

Act to suspend, for a limited time, an act of last sessions, for the better securing of the rights of freeholders at county elections, and for indemnifying the persons appointed to carry it into execution.

Act for repealing the said act of last session.

Act for the importation of bread, flour, corn, &c. from the United States of America into the province of Quebec.

Act to continue an act for the encouraging of the arts of designing and printing linens, &c.

Act to amend the hawkers and pedlars act.

Act to incorporate certain persons under the name of the Northumberland fishery.

Act for repealing the duties on spirits, &c. in Scotland.

Act to indemnify persons who have omitted to qualify themselves for public offices, &c.

Act for allowing further time for the enrollment of the deeds and wills of papists, &c.

Act to prevent the wilful burning and destroying ships, or destroying any woollen, linen, silk, or other goods in Scotland.

Act for granting additional duties on horses and carriages.

Act for granting additional duties on probates of wills, letters

of administration, receipts for legacies, &c.

Act for granting additional duties on newspapers, advertisements, cards, and dice.

Act for the more effectual encouragement of the manufacture of flax and cotton.

Act respecting the importation and exportation of corn, starch, rapeseed, &c.

Act to explain the American intercourse bill.

Act to regulate the Newfoundland, Greenland, and Southern whale fisheries.

Act to regulate the trade of pawnbrokers.

Act respecting piece goods wove in this kingdom, persons licensed to retail spirituous liquors, &c.

Act for allowing a drawback on the exportation of tea to Guernsey, &c.

Act for appointing commissioners to enquire into the emoluments of the officers of the customs in Scotland.

Act for continuing for a time the slave-trade regulating bill.

Act for appointing commissioners to enquire further into the losses of the American loyalists.

Act for the more effectual executing the laws respecting gaols.

Act to enable the East India company to raise money by further increasing their capital stock.

Act for repealing the duties on tobacco and snuffs, and granting new duties in lieu thereof.



SUPPLIES granted by Parliament for  
the Year 1789.

N A V Y.

MARCH 17.

FOR 20,000 men, including 3,860 marines, at 41. *£.* *s.* *d.*  
per man per month — — — 1,040,000 0 0

MAY 21.

For the ordinary of the navy, including half pay of  
the marines — — — 713,000 0 0

For the extraordinaries of the navy, for building and  
repairing vessels, over and above the allowance for  
wear and tear — — — 575,570 0 0

Total of the navy — 2,328,570 0 0

A R M Y.

MARCH 17.

For 17,448 men, including 1,620 invalids, as guards  
and garrisons in Great Britain — — — 638,562 14 1

For forces and garrisons in the plantations and Gib-  
raltar — — — 315,915 8 9

For making good the deficiency in the difference be-  
tween the British and Irish establishment for 1788 - 2,891 17 11½

For defraying the difference between the same for 7  
regiments of foot serving in North America, and  
the West Indies, for one year — — — 8,245 10 1

For advance of pay to the forces in the East Indies — 11,435 12 10½

For the deficiency in full pay of superannuated officers  
for 1788 — — — 1,023 11 10

For the charge of full pay to the same for 1789 — 10,871 14 10½

For the pay of general and general staff-officers in  
Great Britain — — — 6,409 8 0

For allowances to the postmaster general, secretary at  
war, &c. — — — 63,043 5

For reduced officers of the land forces and marines - 172,787 5

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For the reduced officers and private gentlemen of the troops of horse and grenadier guards	—	—	£.	s.	d.
			212	14	7
For the officers late in the Dutch service	—	—	3,392	14	2
For the reduced officers of British American forces	—	—	53,092	10	0
For allowances to several of the same	—	—	4,907	10	0
For officers widows, and expences attending the same	—	—	9,943	3	3
For the Hessian subsidy	—	—	36,093	15	0
For the Chelsea pensioners	—	—	177,465	0	8
MAY 28.					
For the army extraordinaries for 1788	—	—	393,769	1	3
Total of the army			—	1,917,062	17 9½

ORDNANCE.

MARCH 17.					
For the charges of the office of ordnance for the land service for 1789	—	—	220,576	15	8
For five companies of military artificers	—	—	9,620	0	0
MARCH 19.					
For land service, not provided for in 1788	—	—	9,306	4	1
For extraordinaries for 1789	—	—	218,017	6	4
For one company of military artificers	—	—	1,924	1	8
Total of ordnance			—	459,444	7 9

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

MARCH 17.					
For Scotch roads and bridges	—	—	4,000	0	0
APRIL 28.					
To the British museum	—	—	3,000	0	0
MAY 28.					
To pay off the exchequer bills of the last sessions	—	—	5,500,000	0	0
To the commissioners of American claims	—	—	2,111	0	6
For American sufferers	—	—	41,559	4	0
To discharge bills drawn by the governors of Nova Scotia, the Bahama Islands, and New Brunswick	—	—	1,286	19	9½
For the same, drawn by the commissary at New South Wales	—	—	2,075	6	1
For American and East Florida sufferers	—	—	313,659	2	5
For money issued in pursuance of addresses	—	—	34,370	1	4
For the convicts at Plymouth and on the Thames	—	—	56,598	7	9
To the clerk to the commissioners of fees and offices	—	—	761	3	0
To the secretary of the commissioners for regulating the shipping of slaves	—	—	500	0	0

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	£.	s.	d.
To the commissioners of crown lands	3,000	0	0
To the secretary of the commissioners of the East Florida claims	900	0	0
To ditto of American loyalists	4,693	8	6
Civil establishment of Nova Scotia	6,218	17	6
The like of New Brunswick	5,400	0	0
The like of St. John's Island	1,900	0	0
The like of Cape Breton	2,100	0	0
The like of Newfoundland	1,182	10	0
The like of the Bahama Islands	4,080	0	0
The like of New South Wales	2,877	10	0
To the chief justice of Dominica	600	0	0
To ditto of the Bermuda Islands	580	0	0
JUNE 15.			
For secret service-money abroad	191,342	13	0
For Carlton house	35,260	0	0
For the African forts	13,600	0	0
JULY 7.			
To John Reader, esq. a compensation for his loss by dismantling of an iron foundery in Jamaica, in 1782, by order of sir Archibald Campbell	3,000	0	0
JULY 20.			
For prosecution of Warren Hastings, esq.	20,312	6	4
Total of miscellaneous services	6,256,300	2	2½

DEFICIENCIES.

	£.	s.	d.
JUNE 15.			
Deficiency of last year's grants	331,649	18	3½

*Recapitulation of the Supplies.*

Navy	2,328,570	0	0
Army	1,917,052	17	9½
Ordnance	450,444	7	9
Miscellaneous services	6,256,309	2	2½
Deficiencies	334,049	18	3½
Total of supplies for 1789	11,293,036	6	1½

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*Ways and Means for raising the above Supplies, granted to his Majesty for the Year 1789.*

	MARCH 23.	£.	s.	d.
By land-tax, at 4s. in the pound	—	2,000,000	0	0
By malt duty	—	750,000	0	0
	JUNE 11.			
By annuities with benefit of survivorship	—	1,002,500	0	0
By annuities for 18 $\frac{3}{4}$ years, from April 5, 1789	—	187,000	0	0
Profit on 50,000 lottery tickets, at 15l. 8s. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.	—	271,562	10	0
Exchequer bills	—	5,500,000	0	0
Surplus of consolidated fund	—	1,530,000	0	0
	JULY 21.			
Balance in the hands of the paymaster general	—	398,769	0	0
		<hr/>		
Total ways and means	—	11,639,831	10	0
Total supplies	—	11,293,036	6	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
		<hr/>		
Excess of ways and means		£. 346,795	3	10 $\frac{3}{4}$

NEW TAXES.

Additional halfpenny on newspapers	—	28,000	0	0
———— fixpence on advertisements	—	9,000	0	0
———— duty on cards and dice	—	9,000	0	0
———— probates and wills	—	18,261	0	0
———— legacies to collateral relations only	—	5,000	0	0
———— duties on carriages and horses	—	41,739	0	0
		<hr/>		
		111,000	0	0
		<hr/>		

STATE

## S T A T E P A P E R S.

*The Report of the Committee appointed to examine the Physicians who have attended His Majesty, during his Illness, touching the State of His Majesty's Health.*

*Doctor Richard Warren called in, and examined.*

**W**HETHER, in his opinion, the state of his Majesty's health is, or is not, such as to render his Majesty incapable, either of coming to parliament, or of attending to public business?

His Majesty's state of health is such as to render him incapable of coming to parliament, or attending public business.

What hopes has Dr. Warren of his Majesty's recovery?

The hopes of his Majesty's recovery must depend on the probability of cure; and that can only be judged of by what has happened to others in similar cases; and as the majority of others have recovered, there is a probability that his Majesty may recover likewise.

Can Dr. Warren form any judgment, or probable conjecture, of the time which his Majesty's illness is likely to last?

No.

What degree of experience has Dr. Warren had of the particular

species of disorder with which his Majesty is afflicted?

In the course of 27 or 28 years practice I have seen many persons disordered in a manner similar to that of his Majesty; some have soon recovered under my sole care; when that has not happened, I have always called in the persons who make this branch of medicine their particular study, and have sometimes attended in conjunction with them, but have oftener left the patients to their care, and have afterwards attended in consultation only, and in many cases not at all.

Whether, when Dr. Warren speaks of others in similar cases to that of his Majesty, he means to include all the different species of the disorder, or to confine himself to that particular species with which his Majesty is afflicted?

I do not mean to confine myself to that particular species with which his Majesty is afflicted, but to include all the different species of the disorder.

Can Dr. Warren state how many particular species there are of this disorder?

No.

Can he state any distinct species of the disorder?

Yes—though the immediate causes of this disorder cannot be ascertained, yet some of the remote

ones

ones are well known. Injuries received from blows or falls—sudden affections of the mind—the effect of fever. Besides these, there are several internal causes of this disorder; namely, exostoses, indurations, and ill-conformation of the parts.

Whether this disorder may not sometimes exist, when it cannot be referred to any of those causes which Dr. Warren has specified.

Yes.

Is his Majesty's disorder, in your opinion, referrible to any of the causes enumerated by you, or can you assign any known cause to which, in your judgment, it is referrible?

I cannot assign his Majesty's malady to any cause whatever, as I have not data sufficient to ground an answer upon.

In those species of the disorder, which are not referrible to any assignable cause, is the probability of cure greater, or less, than the probability estimated on all the species taken together?

I cannot tell.

Can Dr. Warren state what the comparative probability is, in each of the causes which he has assigned?

The disorder proceeding from external injuries, such as blows, is frequently cured if medicine be expeditiously applied. When the malady arises from sudden affections of the mind, it is very frequently cured—when from the effect of fever, it is oftener cured than when from any other cause. When the malady proceeds from the internal causes mentioned above, no good can be done by medicine.

Can Dr. Warren state what proportion, of the whole number of

persons afflicted with this malady, have been so, owing to each of the causes he has enumerated, and what proportion, where it can be referred to no assignable cause?

I cannot state any precise proportion; but, out of a great number, there are very few cases where it is possible to ascertain that it proceeds from any assignable cause.

Is there any one of the particular causes enumerated, to which Dr. Warren can say, that the disorder with which his Majesty is afflicted is not to be referred?

I do not think his Majesty's disorder appears to proceed from any one of the causes enumerated by me.

Can Dr. Warren say with certainty, whether his Majesty's disorder may, or may not, have proceeded from injury by blows or falls?

I cannot.

Can Dr. Warren say with certainty, whether his Majesty's disorder may, or may not, have proceeded from sudden affections of the mind?

I cannot.

Can Dr. Warren say with certainty, whether his Majesty's disorder may, or may not, have been the effect of fever?

I can say with certainty it has not.

Can Dr. Warren say with certainty, whether his Majesty's disorder may, or may not, have proceeded from any of the internal causes he has mentioned?

I cannot.

Whether, in those species of the disorder which cannot be referred to any assignable cause, the probability of cure may not be various in different cases, according to the symptoms

symptoms of the particular case, or the apparent degree of the disorder?

I think not, unless signs of convalescence are coming on.

Whether the knowledge of the remote cause is of assistance towards promoting the cure?

In many cases I think it is, but sometimes not.

Whether, in his Majesty's disorder, Dr. Warren sees any present signs of convalescence?

No.

Whether every cure, in the same person, of a disorder which has returned, is included in the calculations of the whole number of cures?

I consider every case that comes as a new case, and have included them in that calculation; but I believe that, excluding them, the majority still are cured.

Whether, of those persons whose disorder cannot be referred to any assignable cause, the greater number have, or have not, been cured?

I cannot answer that with accuracy.

Has the greater number of men, that have been afflicted with this disorder, recovered?

Yes.

Has the greater number of persons recovered, whose disorder has lasted, without signs of convalescence, as long as that of his Majesty has already done?

Yes.

*Sir George Baker called in, and examined.*

Whether, in your opinion, the state of his Majesty's health is, or is not, such as to render his Majesty incapable, either of coming to parliament, or of attending to public business?

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I think that the state of his Majesty's health is such, as renders him incapable of coming to parliament, or of attending on other public business.

What opinion has Sir George Baker or his Majesty's recovery?

I hope that his Majesty will recover, or be enabled as it possible, by own experience, and the experience of other patients, leads me to think that his Majesty's disorder is curable.

Can Sir George Baker form any judgment, or probable conjecture, of the time which his Majesty's illness is likely to last?

I can form no judgment or conjecture as to the probable duration of his Majesty's disorder.

What degree of experience has Sir George Baker had of the particular varieties of disorder with which his Majesty is afflicted?

I was formerly a pupil of Dr. Dutton's, who attended an hospital, where I had an opportunity of seeing many instances of this disorder. I have likewise had private patients, from to time, under this disorder; but whenever the disorder has been of some continuance I have deared the assistance of physicians who particularly attended persons so disordered.

Whether Sir George Baker founds his opinion, in answer to the second question, upon the particular symptoms of his Majesty's case, or upon his knowledge of the disorder in general, or upon both?

Upon my experience of the disorder in general.

Whether, in your opinion, the disorder, Sir George Baker has seen any present signs of convalescence?

[No.]

I do not see any present signs of convalescence.

Whether Sir George Baker learns from experience, that the greater number of persons, who have been afflicted with this disorder, have recovered?

Upon general experience, the greater part have recovered.

Whether every case, in the same person, of a disorder which has returned, is included in the calculation of the whole number of cures?

I will not undertake to answer that question.

Has the greater number of men, that have been afflicted with this disorder, recovered?

I think so.

Has the greater number of persons recovered, whose disorder has lasted, without signs of convalescence, as long as that of his Majesty has already done?

Yes; I can answer that in the affirmative.

Was Sir George Baker in attendance upon his Majesty, as his physician, previous to his being afflicted with his present disorder?

Yes.

Whether Sir George Baker can assign any known cause, to which, in his judgment, his Majesty's present disorder is referrible?

I can assign no known cause to which his Majesty's present disorder is referrible.

Was the attack of his Majesty's disorder sudden or gradual?

Sudden.

When did that attack take place?

The first suspicion I had of this disorder was in the evening of Wednesday the 22d of October last.

Whether any fever, or other complaint, had preceded that attack?

There had been fever and other complaints; but on that morning his Majesty had no fever.

Whether, in cases where the attack has been sudden, the recovery has been sudden also?

My observations on this disorder do not enable me to answer that question.

*The Reverend Doctor Francis Willis called in, and examined.*

Whether, in his opinion, the state of his Majesty's health is, or is not, such as to render his Majesty incapable, either of coming to parliament, or of attending to public business?

He certainly is not capable.

What hopes has Dr. Willis of his Majesty's recovery?

I have great hopes of his Majesty's recovery. If it were any other person but his Majesty, I should scarce entertain a doubt: when his Majesty reflects upon an illness of this kind, it may depress his spirits, and retard his cure more than a common person.

Can Dr. Willis form any judgment, or probable conjecture, of the time which His Majesty's illness is likely to last?

I cannot.

What degree of experience has Dr. Willis had of the particular species of disorder with which his Majesty is afflicted?

A great deal for twenty-eight years; I imagine I have never had less than thirty patients every year of the time.

Whether Doctor Willis sounds his opinion, in his answer to the  
second



second question, upon the particular symptoms of his Majesty's case, or upon his experience of the disorder in general, or upon both ?

Upon both.

Whether, in his Majesty's disorder, Dr. Willis sees any present signs of convalescence ?

I cannot say that I do ; at the same time there is every thing leading towards it, as the irritation has, in a great measure, subsided, which must precede convalescence, or any appearance of it : it must come on very gradually.

Whether Dr. Willis learns from experience, that the greater number of persons, who have been afflicted with this disorder, have recovered ?

A very great majority : I do not think I should speak false, if I said nine out of ten, of those that have been put under my care, within three months after they had begun to be afflicted with the disorder.

Whether every cure in the same person, of a disorder which has returned, is included in the calculation of the whole number of cures ?

If a person has been twice brought under my care, and twice cured, I reckon two cures, as I should of a fever.

Has the greater number of men, that have been afflicted with this disorder, recovered ?

I never calculated that ; I did not think there was any difference between the two sexes as to the facility of cure.

What state of his patients does he consider as a cure ?

Their being able to take upon themselves the conduct of their own affairs, and to do the same business they were used to do before they fell ill.

What is the shortest space of time within which, in his experience, he has known persons, affected as his Majesty is, restored to health ?

Six weeks or two months is the shortest, I believe.

Does Dr. Willis see any thing in his Majesty's case which enables him to pronounce that his Majesty may not be restored to health within that compass of time from the commencement of his attendance on his Majesty ?

I do not see any thing to enable me to pronounce that he may not.

Does Dr. Willis see any thing in his Majesty's case, which enables him to pronounce that his Majesty will be restored to health within that space of time ?

I cannot presume to say that he will.

What has been the longest space of time for which the disorder has lasted, in the case of such patients as have been brought to him within three months from the beginning of the attack, and have recovered ?

A year and a half, I believe, has been the longest of such patients as have been brought to me ; and few have been so long.

What is the most ordinary space of time he has found necessary for the cure of such patients ?

I should think five or six months, as near as I can calculate.

How long has Dr. Willis attended his Majesty ?

Since Friday morning last.

Whether, from your own observation, or from the particulars which have been communicated to you, you can assign any known cause to which, in your judgment, his Majesty's disorder is referrible ?

From my own experience with regard to his Majesty, I cannot say any thing; but from a very particular detail of his mode and manner of life for twenty seven years, I can imagine, that wet, dry, heat, cold, severe exercise, and too great abundance of food, and little rest, has been for a long time his constitution. — It is very early to give an opinion, and I may be mistaken; but I am the more inclined to think myself right, because the medicine that has been given his Majesty ever since Sunday morning, and was intended to meet and counteract these causes, has had as much effect as I could wish; and his Majesty has certainly been gradually better from the first six hours of his taking it.

Whether you have reason to believe, that the circumstances you have enumerated are frequently causes of this disorder?

I believe they are very frequently.

Where the disorder has arisen from such causes, have you frequently known it cured?

Very frequently.

Have the greater number of those cases been cured or not?

Certainly. I believe they are more easily to be cured, than where the disorder proceeds from excessive drinking, or other intemperance, or some other causes.

*Doctor Thomas Gisborne called in, and examined.*

Whether, in his opinion, the state of his Majesty's health is, or is not, such as to render his Majesty incapable of coming to Parliament, or of attending to public business?

I think he is absolutely incapable.

What hopes has Doctor Gisborne of his Majesty's recovery?

I think there are hopes.

Can Dr. Gisborne form any judgment, or probable conjecture, of the time which his Majesty's illness is likely to last?

I think that is impossible.

What degree of experience has Dr. Gisborne had of the particular species of disorder with which his Majesty is afflicted?

Not much particular experience. I have seen persons affected in the same way, even to a greater degree, who have recovered.

Whether Dr. Gisborne founds his opinion, in his answer to the second question, upon the particular symptoms of his Majesty's case, or upon his experience of the disorder in general, or upon both?

Upon both.

Whether, in his Majesty's disorder, Dr. Gisborne sees any present signs of convalescence?

I think that can hardly be said.

Whether Dr. Gisborne can assign any known cause to which, in his judgment, his Majesty's present disorder is referrible?

No.

*Doctor Anthony Addington called in, and examined.*

Whether, in your opinion, the state of his Majesty's health is, or is not, such as to render his Majesty incapable either of coming to Parliament, or of attending to public business?

I think he is incapable, at least he was when I saw his Majesty last. It was about a week ago.

What hopes has Dr. Addington of his Majesty's recovery?

I think

I think there are very good grounds of hope.

Can Dr. Addington form any judgment, or probable conjecture, of the time which his Majesty's illness is likely to last?

It is a very hard matter to form any certain judgment or conjecture.

What degree of experience has Dr. Addington had of the particular species of disorder with which his Majesty is afflicted?

I had patients, in a house that I built at Reading, for five years antecedent to the year 1754, when I came to London.

Do you found your opinion, in your answer to the second question, upon the particular symptoms of his Majesty's case, or upon your experience of the disorder in general, or upon both?

I think there is some reason to found it upon symptoms, as well as experience. Though I have seen his Majesty very quiet, it did not arise to that degree of inquietude which denoted a disease that would be of very long duration. I thought there was something in the very habit of body, as well as in his Majesty's complexion, and in what had been his way of life, that was very favourable to a cure. Where there is not a very great exertion of body or mind, persons who have lived in the way his Majesty has done, are very rarely liable to this illness.—From the account I had from my brethren, who had the honour to attend his Majesty, I had very great expectations that it would end happily, from this circumstance—that it had not for its forerunner that melancholy which usually precedes a tedious illness of this sort. I never knew an instance of an illness, that, under proper care, run to

any great length, which had not been so preceded.—As for experience, I have visited a considerable number of patients in that disease, in and round Reading.—Finding they could not be taken so much care of as they ought to be in their houses, and that I might be as little interrupted as possible in the practice of other branches of my profession, I built a house, contiguous to my own, for the reception of such patients.—I visited them there constantly every day.—I had from eight to ten patients there usually at a time. During that time, two patients were admitted, who were reasonably deemed to be incurable at the time of their coming, and ten years before. During the charge of my patients, for five years together, at that house, I never had more than two other patients that were not cured within the year, and continued well, as far as ever I knew. Some recovered in much shorter time; and I had several that were quite well within a quarter of a year. In any of those persons I had enquired, I believe, from the parental opinion of their families, I should have heard of it. Where there is a relapse, I should not call it a perfect cure.

What state of the patients did Dr. Addington consider as a cure?

When the patient was able to do every thing that a man in health does.

What were the particular circumstances of the two patients before mentioned by Dr. Addington, which occasioned their being deemed incurable?

One of those persons had been for many years under the care of a very skilful physician, in an house for the reception of patients under this disorder.

order. It was a case that was different from all others with which I have been acquainted, both in the cause, and in the circumstances which preceded and attended it. The other was a patient who, I believe, had been ill very many years; she had been for some time under the care of an eminent physician, who wished her to be put into a house where she might be taken care of for life; she was arabilious in the highest degree, and died, from the effects of that disorder, in about a week.

Whether the majority of the patients under your care were men or women?

I think nearly equal.

Whether Dr. Addington professed to take, and did in fact take, all patients that were offered him?

I had not always room. I excluded none on account of the nature of the disorder.

What has been Dr. Addington's attendance on his Majesty?

I saw his Majesty for three days successively, and for twice each day for a considerable time.

Whether, during the time of that attendance, he observed any signs of actual convalescence in his Majesty?

No.

Whether, from your own observation, or from the particulars which have been communicated to you, you can assign any known cause to which, in your judgment, his Majesty's disorder is referrible?

I cannot pretend to say what the cause was, either from what I saw, or what was communicated to me. I do not chuse to hazard a conjecture.

*Sir Lucas Pepys called in, and examined.*

Whether, in your opinion, the

state of his Majesty's health is such as to render his Majesty incapable, either of coming to parliament, or of attending to public business?

The state of his Majesty's health is certainly such as to render him incapable of coming to parliament, or attending to public business.

What hopes has Sir Lucas Pepys of his Majesty's recovery?

I have the same hopes of his Majesty's recovery as I should have if he were labouring under any other disease, of which I knew that the majority labouring under it did recover. That the majority do recover, I am satisfied from my own experience, and from the assurance of a person who has most experience in cases of this sort.

Can Sir Lucas Pepys form any judgment, or probable conjecture, of the time which his Majesty's illness is likely to last?

It is impossible to form any conjecture on that subject.

What degree of experience has Sir Lucas Pepys had of the particular species of disorder with which his Majesty is afflicted?

I have occasionally seen several persons under that disorder, sometimes alone, but more frequently with those whose practice leads them more particularly to attend to it.

Whether, in his Majesty's disorder, Sir Lucas Pepys sees any present signs of convalescence?

His Majesty is more quiet than he has been; but there are no present signs of immediate convalescence.

Are there any actual symptoms at present, which lead Sir Lucas Pepys to entertain more favourable hopes of his Majesty's recovery, than he has hitherto had during his attendance?

I think

I think there are very material symptoms, as his Majesty's general state of health is certainly much better than it was.

Is the amendment that has taken place, only in his Majesty's general state of health, or is there any abatement of his particular disorder?

From his Majesty's general state of health being better, his sleep is more quiet, his appetite is better, and he is more in his usual state; all which circumstances must previously occur before recovery; but these are only leading steps towards recovery—the disorder still remains; it is difficult to say whether it is actually abated.

What does Sir Lucas Pepys mean by his Majesty being more in his usual state?

More quiet, and in a less perturbed state.

Whether it is Sir Lucas Pepys's opinion, that there is, or is not, at present any abatement of his Majesty's disorder?

I have answered it, by saying that it is difficult to say whether there is any actual abatement, and I wish to explain my meaning in these words. The only way of explaining it is by analogy to some other complaint. In the case of a mortification, where the bark would most probably effect a cure, I could not say, during several hours after its being taken, whether there was, or was not, any abatement of the mortification: so, in the case of his Majesty, I cannot say whether the return of general health has, or has not, yet produced any actual abatement of the particular disorder; but such a return of general good health would lead me to be of opinion that an evident abatement might

be expected. I can, however, say, that no actual evident abatement has yet taken place.

When Sir Lucas Pepys, in his answer to the second question, states that the majority of persons labouring under the same disorder with his Majesty do recover, does he mean to include all the different species of the disorder, or to confine himself to that particular species with which his Majesty is affected?

I mean in that estimate to speak of the disorder generally, and not specially.

Can you assign any known cause to which, in your judgment, his Majesty's present disorder is referrible?

I know no evident or assignable cause.

Is his Majesty's a frequent species of the disorder?

It is a frequent species of the disorder.

In this species, do the majority recover?

Certainly, in this species the majority do recover.

*Doctor Henry Revel Reynolds called in, and examined.*

Whether, in your opinion, the state of his Majesty's health is, or is not, such as to render his Majesty incapable, either of coming to parliament, or of attending to public business?

His Majesty is certainly incapable of it.

What hopes has Doctor Reynolds of his Majesty's recovery?

I think there are well-founded hopes of his Majesty's recovery.

Can Dr. Reynolds form any judgment,

judgment, or probable conjecture, of the time which his Majesty's illness is likely to last?

No.

What degree of experience has Dr. Reynolds had of the particular species of disorder with which his Majesty is afflicted?

I have been almost twenty years in business, and in the course of that time I have seen a great number under this disorder, both singly and together with others.

Whether you found your opinion, in your answer to the second question, upon the particular symptoms of his Majesty's case, or upon your experience of the disorder in general, or upon both?

Rather upon a general experience; though I think there is a peculiar in his Majesty's case which favours the probability of recovery.

Whether, in his Majesty's disorder, you felt any present signs of convalescence?

I do not see any present signs of convalescence; though I think his Majesty's being quiet, and in a better state of general health, would lead me to hope that it is a step towards it.

Whether Dr. Reynolds learns from experience, that the greater number of persons afflicted with this disorder have recovered?

The greater number, I think, have recovered.

Whether Dr. Reynolds apprehends, that in calculations founded on general experience, every case in the same person is included?

I apprehend that it is—they consider every distant relapse as a new disease.

Whether Dr. Reynolds can assign any known cause to which, in

his judgment, his Majesty's disorder is referrible?

No; I cannot.

*Resolutions of the House of Commons, delivered to the Lords at a Conference on the 23d of December, 1788.*

I. **THAT** it is the opinion of this House,

“That his Majesty is prevented, by his present indisposition, from coming to his parliament, and from attending to public business, and that the personal exercise of the royal authority is thereby for the present interrupted.”

II. That it is the opinion of this House,

“That it is the right and duty of the Lords spiritual and temporal and Commons of Great Britain now assembled, and lawfully, fully, and freely representing all the estates of the people of this realm, to provide the means of supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority, arising from his Majesty's indisposition, in such a manner as the exigency of the case may appear to require.”

“Resolved,”

“That for this purpose, and for maintaining entire the constitutional authority of the King, it is necessary that the said Lords spiritual and temporal and Commons of Great Britain should determine on the means whereby the royal assent may be given in parliament to such bill as may be passed by the two Houses of Parliament respecting the exercise of the powers and authorities of the crown, in the name, and on  
“the

“ the behalf of the King, during the  
 “ continuance of his Majesty’s pre-  
 “ sent indisposition.”

*Protector of the Lords, on the Regency.*

THE power of the day being  
 taken into consideration the report from the Committee  
 of the whole House appointed to  
 take into consideration the state of  
 the nation, and the resolutions of  
 the Commons relative to his M-  
 jetty’s indisposition, and the means  
 of supplying the deficit of the per-  
 sonal exercise of the Royal Au-  
 thority arising herefrom, delivered at  
 a conference on the 27th December  
 instant, which were read in retu-  
 And the report of the said resolu-  
 tions being read by the Clerk,

Moved to agree with the Com-  
 mons on the said resolutions.

The question was put thereupon.

Resolved in the affirmative.

Dissentient.

1st. Because we adhere to the an-  
 cient principle recognized and de-  
 clared by the act of the 13th of  
 Charles the Second, that no act or  
 ordinance with the force and virtue  
 of a law, can be made by either or  
 both Houses of Parliament, without  
 the King’s assent, a principle stand-  
 ing as a bulwark to the people a-  
 gainst the two Houses, as the two  
 Houses are their security against  
 the Crown.

2dly. Because this principle is  
 tacitly admitted by the third reso-  
 lution, while it overthrows the prac-  
 tice by the similitude appearance of  
 the Royal Assent under a commis-  
 sion to pass bills, a commission  
 which would be inconsistent with  
 the provisions of an act of the 33d  
 Henry the Eighth, requiring that

every commission shall be signed by  
 his Majesty’s hand. In our present  
 unhappy situation that essential re-  
 quire being unobtainable, we can-  
 not avoid being obliged to have  
 a conventional representation of the  
 Royal assent, and we dare not  
 assume a power to dispense with the  
 law which makes that the nature es-  
 sential to the validity of a commis-  
 sion to pass bills.

3dly. Because we conceive that  
 the unquestionable right of the peo-  
 ple, so fallaciously represented as  
 being upheld by these resolutions,  
 are violently infringed by an un-  
 necessary assumption on the part of  
 the two Houses, of powers beyond  
 those which the nation has assigned  
 them. Invariable precedes in all  
 good times, and positive laws esta-  
 blished by complete parliaments,  
 truly and constitutionally repre-  
 senting the nation, have defined  
 these powers. And we cannot but  
 regard with the utmost apprehen-  
 sion, any proposal to overstep those  
 boundaries, when the consequence  
 of such usurpation is so fatally  
 marked in the history of our coun-  
 try.

4thly. Because it was confessed  
 in the debate, that the powers of  
 this commission were not to be con-  
 fined solely to the act of appoint-  
 ing a Regent; to what other pur-  
 poses they may extend were not  
 explained. State necessity, the a-  
 vowed ground of the measure, may  
 serve as the pretext to any dimi-  
 nution of the just prerogative of the  
 Crown, and of the liberties of the  
 people, that best suits the designs of  
 ambition. Fatal experience had  
 shown to our ancestors the breed-  
 ing mischief of power thus usurped  
 under plausible appearances: and  
 it is particularly the duty of the

House

House of Peers to check the renewal of a practice to assume the name, without the substance of the Royal Authority, by which this House was once annihilated, the monarchy overthrown, and the liberties of the people subdued.

5thly. Because these dangerous and alarming consequences of the measure adopted, would have been obviated by the amendment rejected. It proposed to substitute a measure conformable to the practice of our ancestors at the glorious æra of the revolution. They seized not upon public necessity as a convenience for the usurpation of new powers, but proceeded in a plain and explicit form to the revival of the Royal Authority with full efficacy, before they entered upon the exercise of their legislative functions. Pursuing a similar course, the amendment proposed the immediate nomination of the natural representative of the King, the Heir Apparent of the Crown, to whom alone, it was universally admitted, the eyes and hearts of all men, during the present unhappy conjuncture, were turned: that with a perfect and efficient legislature, such future provisions might be enacted as the preservation of the full and undiminished authority of the crown, and the liberties of the people, may require.

FREDERICK

NORTHUMBERLAND  
SUFFOLK and BERKS  
MAYNARD  
RAWDON  
AUDLEY  
CLIFTON  
CHEDWORTH  
WENT. FITZWILLIAM  
WALPOLE  
DERBY

SCARBOROUGH  
PORTCHESTER  
SOUTHAMPTON  
HERTFORD  
FALMOUTH  
HENRY  
PONSONBY  
SPENCER  
NORFOLK, E. M.  
BREADALBANE  
MALMESBURY  
RODNEY  
SELKIRK  
PORTLAND  
HEREFORD  
CHOLMONDELEY  
FOLEY  
BOYLE  
LOVEL and HOLLAND  
ABERGAVENNY  
TEYNHAM  
BEDFORD  
CADOGAN  
CARLISLE  
CASSILIS  
CARDIFF  
HAY  
KINNAIRD  
LOUGHBOROUGH  
PELHAM  
DEVONSHIRE  
CHR. BRISTOL  
CRAVEN  
HUNTINGDON  
LOTHIAN  
TOWNSHEND

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*Letter from the Right Hon. William Pitt to the Prince of Wales, Dec. 30.*

Sir,

**T**HE proceedings in parliament being now brought to a point, which will render it necessary to propose to the house of commons, the particular measures to be taken for



for supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority, during the present interval, and your Royal Highness having some time since signified your pleasure, that any communication on this subject should be in writing, I take the liberty of respectfully entreating your Royal Highness's permission to submit to your consideration the outlines of the plan, which his Majesty's confidential servants humbly conceive (according to the best judgment which they are able to form) to be proper to be proposed in the present circumstances.

It is their humble opinion, that your Royal Highness should be empowered to exercise the Royal authority in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, during his Majesty's illness, and to do all acts which might legally be done by his Majesty; with provisions, nevertheless, that the care of his Majesty's royal person, and the management of his Majesty's household, and the direction and appointment of the officers and servants therein, should be in the Queen, under such regulations as may be thought necessary. — That the power to be exercised by your Royal Highness should not extend to the granting the real or personal property of the King, (except as far as relates to the renewal of leases), to the granting any office in reversion, or to the granting, for any other term than during his Majesty's pleasure, any pension, or any office whatever, except such as must by law be granted for life, or during good behaviour; nor to the granting any rank or dignity of the peerage of this realm to any person except his Majesty's issue who shall have attained the age of 21 years.

These are the chief points which have occurred to his Majesty's servants. I beg leave to add, that their ideas are formed on the supposition that his Majesty's illness is only temporary, and may be of no long duration. It may be difficult to fix beforehand, the precise period for which these provisions ought to last; but if unfortunately his Majesty's recovery should be protracted to a more distant period than there is reason at present to imagine, it will be open hereafter to the wisdom of parliament, to reconsider these provisions, whenever the circumstances appear to call for it.

If your Royal Highness should be pleased to require any farther explanation on the subject, and should condescend to signify your orders, that I should have the honour of attending your Royal Highness for that purpose, or to intimate any other mode in which your Royal Highness may wish to receive such explanation, I shall respectfully wait your Royal Highness's commands.

I have the honour to be,  
With the utmost deference and  
submission,  
Sir,

Your Royal Highness's  
Most dutiful and devoted servant,  
W. PITT.

*Downing-street, Tuesday Night,  
December 30, 1788.*

*Answer to the foregoing Letter, delivered by his Royal Highness to the Lord Chancellor, Jan. 1, 1789.*

**T**HE Prince of Wales learns from Mr. Pitt's letter, that the proceedings in parliament are

now in a train, which enables Mr. Pitt, according to the intimation in his former letter, to communicate to the Prince the outlines of the plan which his Majesty's confidential servants conceive to be proper to be proposed in the present circumstances.

Concerning the steps already taken by Mr. Pitt, the Prince is silent. Nothing done by the two houses of parliament can be a proper subject of his animadversion; but when, previously to any discussion in parliament, the outlines of a scheme of government are sent for his consideration, in which it is proposed that he shall be personally and principally concerned, and by which the Royal authority, and the public welfare, may be deeply affected, the Prince would be unjustifiable, were he to withhold an explicit declaration of his sentiments. His silence might be construed into a previous approbation of a plan, the accomplishment of which every motive of duty to his father and sovereign, as well as of regard for the public interest, obliges him to consider as injurious to both.

In the state of deep distress, in which the Prince and the whole Royal Family were involved, by the heavy calamity which has fallen upon the King, and at a moment when government, deprived of its chief energy and support, seemed peculiarly to need the cordial and united aid of all descriptions of good subjects, it was not expected by the Prince, that a plan should be offered to his consideration, by which government was to be rendered difficult, if not impracticable, in the hands of any person intended to represent the King's authority, much less in the hands of his eldest

son—the heir apparent of his kingdom, and the person most bound to the maintenance of his Majesty's just prerogatives and authority, as well as most interested in the happiness, the prosperity, and the glory of the people.

The Prince forbears to remark on the several parts of the sketch of the plan laid before him; he apprehends it must have been formed with sufficient deliberation to preclude the probability of any argument of his producing an alteration of sentiment in the projectors of it. But he trusts, with confidence, to the wisdom and justice of parliament, when the whole of this subject, and the circumstances connected with it, shall come under their deliberation.

He observes, therefore, only generally on the heads communicated by Mr. Pitt—and it is with deep regret the Prince makes the observation, that he sees in the contents of that paper, a project for producing weakness, disorder, and insecurity in every branch of the administration of affairs—A project for dividing the Royal Family from each other—for separating the court from the state; and therefore, by disjoining government from its natural and accustomed support, a scheme for disconnecting the authority to command service, from the power of animating it by reward; and for allotting to the Prince all the invidious duties of government, without the means of softening them to the public, by any one act of grace, favour, or beniginity.

The Prince's feelings on contemplating this plan, are also rendered still more painful to him, by observing that it is not founded on any,

any general principle, but is calculated to infuse jealousies and suspicions (wholly groundless, he trusts) in that quarter, whose confidence it will ever be the first pride of his life to merit and obtain.

With regard to the native and object of the limitations and restrictions proposed, the Prince can have but little to object. No light or information is offered him by his Majesty's ministers on these points. They have informed him under the powers are which they mean to refuse him, not why they are withheld.

The Prince, however, holding as he does, that it is a sacred and fundamental principle of this constitution, that the powers and prerogatives of the crown are vested there, as a trust for the benefit of the people; and that those powers are sacred only as they are necessary to the preservation of the peace and balance of the constitution, which experience has proved to be the true security of the liberty of the subject—must be allowed to observe, that the plea or public utility ought to be strong, manifest, and urgent, which calls for the extinction or suspension of any one of those essential rights in the supreme power or its representative; or which can justify the Prince in consenting, that in his person an experiment shall be made, to ascertain with how small a portion of the kingly power the executive government of this country may be carried on.

The Prince has only to add, that if security for his Majesty's repossessing his rightful government, whenever it shall please Providence, in bounty to the country, to remove

the calamity with which he is afflicted, be any part of the object of this plan, the Prince has only to be convinced that any measure is necessary, or even conducive, to that end, to be the first to urge it as the preliminary and paramount consideration of any settlement in which he would consent to share.

If attention to what is professed might lead his Majesty's feelings and wishes on the happy day of his recovery, be the object, it is with the truest sincerity the Prince expresses his firm conviction, that no event would be more repugnant to the feelings of his royal father, than the knowledge, that the government of his son and representatives had exhibited the sovereign power of the realm in a state of degradation, of curtailed authority and diminished energy—a state, harmful in practice to the prosperity and good government of his people, and injurious in its precedent to the security of the monarch, and the rights of his family.

Upon that part of the plan which regards the King's real and personal property, the Prince feels himself compelled to remark, that it was not necessary for Mr. Pitt, nor proper to suggest to the Prince, the restraint he proposes against the Prince's granting away the King's real and personal property. The Prince does not conceive, that, during the King's life, he is, by law, entitled to make any such grant; and he is sure, that he has never known the smallest inclination to possess any such power. But it remains with Mr. Pitt to consider the eventual interests of the Royal Family, and to provide a proper and  
natural

natural security against the mismanagement of them by others.

The Prince has discharged an indispensable duty, in thus giving his free opinion on the plan submitted to his consideration.

His conviction of the evils which may arise to the King's interests, to the peace and happiness of the Royal Family, and to the safety and welfare of the nation, from the government of the country remaining longer in its present maimed and debilitated state, outweighs in the Prince's mind, every other consideration, and will determine him to undertake the painful trust imposed upon him by the present melancholy necessity (which of all the King's subjects he deploras the most) in full confidence, that the affection and loyalty to the King, the experienced attachment to the house of Brunswick, and the generosity which has always distinguished this nation, will carry him through the many difficulties, inseparable from this most critical situation, with comfort to himself, with honour to the king, and with advantage to the public.

(Signed)

Carleton House,  
January 2, 1789.

G. P.

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*Resolutions agreed to by the Lords and Commons, and presented to the Prince of Wales, on Friday, Jan. 30.*

**R**ESOLVED, that for the purpose of providing for the exercise of the royal authority, during the continuance of his Majesty's illness, in such manner, and to such extent, as the present circum-

stances and the urgent concerns of the nation appear to require, it is expedient that his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, being resident within the realm, shall be empowered to exercise and administer the Royal Authority, according to the laws and constitution of Great Britain, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, and under the style and title of Regent of the kingdom; and to use, execute, and perform, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, all authorities, prerogatives, acts of government, and administration of the same, which belong to the king of this realm to use, execute, and perform, according to the laws thereof, subject to such limitations and exceptions as shall be provided.

Resolved, that the power, so to be given to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, shall not extend to the granting of any rank or dignity of the peerage of the realm to any person whatever, except to his Majesty's royal issue who shall have attained the full age of twenty-one years.

Resolved, that the said powers should not extend to the granting of any office whatever in reversion, or to the granting of any office, salary, or pension, for any other term than during his Majesty's pleasure, except such offices as are by law required to be granted for life, or during good behaviour.

Resolved, that the said powers should not extend to the granting of any part of his Majesty's real or personal estate, except so far as relates to the renewal of leases.

Resolved,

Resolved, that the care of his Majesty's Royal Person, during the continuance of his Majesty's illness, should be committed to the Queen's most excellent Majesty; and that her Majesty should have power to remove from, and to nominate and appoint such persons as she shall think proper, to the several offices in his Majesty's household; and to dispose, order, and manage all other matters and things relating to the care of his Majesty's Royal Person, during the time aforesaid: and that, for the better enabling her Majesty to discharge this important trust, it is also expedient that a council should be appointed, to advise and assist her Majesty in the several matters aforesaid, and with power from time to time, as they may see cause, to examine upon oath the physicians and others attending his Majesty's person, touching the state of his Majesty's health, and all matters relative thereto.

*Die Mercurii, 28<sup>o</sup> Januarii, 1789.*

Resolved, that a committee be appointed, to attend his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales with the resolutions which have been agreed to by the Lords and Commons for the purpose of supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the Royal Authority during his Majesty's illness, by empowering his Royal Highness to exercise such authority in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, subject to the limitations and restrictions which the circumstances of the case appear at present to require; and that the committee do express the hope which the Lords spiritual and temporal, and

Commons, entertain, that his Royal Highness, from his regard to the interests of his Majesty and the nation, will be ready to undertake the weighty and important trust proposed to be invested in his Royal Highness, as soon as an act of parliament shall have been passed for carrying the said Resolutions into effect.

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*Protest of the Lords, who voted on Friday Jan. 23, against agreeing to the aforesaid Resolutions delivered at a Conference on the preceding Tuesday.*

DISSENTIENT.

1st. **B**ECAUSE we firmly adhere to the principles and arguments, on which we disapproved the Resolutions formerly passed by this house, especially when the legislative power of the two Houses of Parliament, unconstitutionally assumed by those Resolutions, is meant to be employed to restrict or suspend many important and essential branches of the royal power, at the moment of the declared incapacity of the King.

2dly. Because we think the power of conferring the rank and privileges of the peerage, as a reward to merit, is necessary to the royal authority, in order to afford an incitement to vigorous exertions in the service of the state, and is more peculiarly necessary (like all other parts of the prerogative) when the regal power is to be exercised by a substitute, with an authority uncertain and precarious in its duration: but especially on the present occasion, as it is the only branch of the prerogative sufficiently powerful

ful to afford a remedy against such a combination in this house, as other parts of this system of restriction and mutilation, have a natural and obvious tendency to produce.

And because we conceive that this restriction may create an interest in the members of this house, to withhold their assent to restore the ancient powers of the crown in this respect.

3dly. Because we conceive, that by the subsisting law of the land, his Majesty's property is sufficiently secured from any undue disposition and alienation, and the Resolution on that subject can have no other effect, but to convey to the public injurious suspicion, and unjust imputation, of the character and intentions of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

4thly. Because we are of opinion, that in order to maintain the proper dignity of the crown, and preserve the due influence and respect which arises from the great offices of the State, it is necessary that the person exercising the Royal Authority in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, should be attended by those distinguished servants, whose functions have been established for the purpose of adding weight and splendor to the royal office. We cannot agree to a division of the royal power; to the creation of a fourth estate, unknown to the constitution of this country.

FREDERICK

HENRY

LOTHIAN

DEVONSHIRE

AUDLEY

CRAVEN

BEDFORD

CARLEIL

PORTCHESTER  
PEIHAM  
BREADALBANE  
CASSELL  
ABERGAVENNY  
LOUGHBOROUGH  
SCARBOROUGH  
POLFY  
LONSONBY  
DOUGLAS  
RAWDON  
ST. JOHN  
R. LIANDAFF  
CHOLMONDELEY  
HEREFORD  
PETERBOROUGH  
STAWELL  
CARDIFF  
SOUTHAMPTON  
SHAFTESBURY  
CHIDWORTH  
PORTLAND  
HUNTINGDON  
EGREMONT  
PONSONBY  
MALMESEBURY  
SONDES  
MONTFORT  
DERBY  
HERTFORD  
CADOGAN  
BOYLE  
MAYNARD  
EGLINGTON  
SANDWICH  
KINNAIRD  
ABERDEEN  
CHR. BRISTOL  
HAY  
RODNEY  
NORTHUMBERLAND  
W. FITZWILLIAM  
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Diss. for the 2d, 3d, and 4th reasons,

ST. ALBANS.

Diss. for the 1st, 2d, and 4th reasons only,

CLIFTON  
SPENCER  
SUSSEX and BERKS  
HAWKE.

DISS. For all the reasons given in this protest, except those in the latter parts of the 2d reason, viz. beginning at these words, "but especially on, &c." and thence to the end of that second reason.

SELKIRK.

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*Answer of the Prince of Wales to the Lords and Gentlemen, appointed to deliver to him the foregoing Resolutions.*

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

I THANK you for communicating to me the Resolutions agreed upon by the two houses; and I request you to assure them, in my name, that my duty to the King my father, and my anxious concern for the safety and interests of the people, which must be endangered, by a longer suspension of the exercise of the Royal Authority; together with my respect for the united desires of the two houses, outweigh, in my mind, every other consideration, and will determine me to undertake the weighty and important trust proposed to me, in conformity to the Resolutions now communicated to me. I am sensible of the difficulties that must attend the execution of this trust, in the peculiar circumstances in which it is committed to my charge, of which, as I am acquainted with no former example, my hopes of a successful administration cannot be founded on any past experience. But confiding that the limitations, on the exercise of the Royal Authority, deemed

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necessary for the present, have been approved by the two houses only as a temporary measure, founded on the loyal hope, in which I ardently participate, that his Majesty's disorder may not be of long duration, and trusting, in the mean while, that I shall receive a zealous and united support in the two houses and in the nation, proportioned to the difficulty attending the discharge of my trust in this interval, I will entertain the pleasing hope, that my faithful endeavours to preserve the interests of the king, his crown, and people, may be successful.

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*Resolutions agreed to by the Lords and Commons, presented to Her Majesty on Friday, Jan. 30, 1789.*

RESOLVED, that the care of his Majesty's Royal Person, during the continuance of his Majesty's illness, should be committed to the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, and that her Majesty should have power to remove from, and to nominate and appoint such persons as she shall think proper, to the several offices in his Majesty's household, and to dispose, order, and manage all other matters and things relating to the care of his Majesty's Royal Person, during the time aforesaid. And that, for the better enabling her Majesty to discharge this important trust, it is also expedient that a council should be appointed, to advise and assist her Majesty in the several matters, and with power, from time to time as they may see cause, to examine upon oath the physicians and others attending his Majesty's person, touch-

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ing the state of his Majesty's health, and all matters relative thereto.

Resolved, that the resolution agreed to by the Lords and Commons, respecting the care of his Majesty's Royal Person, and the direction of his Majesty's household, be laid before her Majesty, with an humble address, expressing the hope which the Lords spiritual and temporal and commons entertain, that her Majesty will be graciously pleased to undertake the important trust proposed to be invested in her Majesty, as soon as an act of parliament shall have been passed for carrying the said Resolution into effect.

*Her Majesty's Answer to the Lords and Gentlemen, who delivered the foregoing Resolutions.*

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*  
**M**Y duty and gratitude to the King, and the sense I must ever entertain of my great obligations to this country, will certainly engage my most earnest attention to the anxious and momentous trust intended to be reposed in me by parliament. It will be a great consolation to me to receive the aid of a council, of which I shall stand so much in need, in the discharge of a duty wherein the happiness of my future life is indeed deeply interested, but which a higher object, the happiness of a great, loyal, and affectionate people, renders still more important.

*Speech of Earl Bathurst, in the Name of the Lords Commissioners, appoint-*

*ed by his Majesty's Commission, under the Great Seal, to declare certain Causes of the Meeting of Parliament, Tuesday, Feb. 3.*

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

**I**N pursuance of the authority given to us by his Majesty's commission under the great seal, which has been read, amongst other things, to declare the causes of your present meeting, we have only to call your attention to the melancholy circumstances of his Majesty's illness; in consequence of which, it becomes necessary to provide for the care of his Majesty's royal person, and for the administration of the Royal Authority, during the continuance of this calamity, in such manner as the exigency of the case seems to require.

*Speech of the Lord Chancellor to both Houses of Parliament, Tuesday, March 10.*

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

**H**IS Majesty not thinking fit to be present here this day in his royal person, has been pleased to cause a commission to be issued under his great seal, authorizing and commanding the commissioners, who are appointed by former letters patent to hold this parliament, to open and declare certain further causes for holding the same: which commission you will now hear read.

[The commission stated, that whereas his Majesty had found it convenient to call his parliament in May, 1784, and that it had afterwards been adjourned and prorogued, from time to time, until the 20th of November last; and that



that as his Majesty, for certain reasons, could not then attend in person, it had undergone various adjournments, until the February following, when he had been pleased to issue his orders, that it should be opened by commission, appointing the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, lord privy seal, president of the council, lord steward of the household, duke of Richmond, lord chamberlain, viscount Wentworth, lord Bathurst, the two secretaries of state, and the lord chief justice of the court of King's Bench, commissioners for that purpose; and that, as there were still certain reasons why he could not attend in parliament in person, as usual, he had thought proper to command another commission, appointing the same commissioners to communicate his royal message to parliament.]

And the said commission being read accordingly, the lord chancellor said,

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

In obedience to his Majesty's commands, and by virtue of both commissions already mentioned to you (one of which has now been read), we proceed to lay before you such further matters as his Majesty has judged proper to be now communicated to his parliament.

His Majesty being, by the blessing of Providence, happily recovered from the severe indisposition with which he has been afflicted: and being enabled to attend to the public affairs of his kingdom, has commanded us to convey to you his warmest acknowledgments for the additional proofs which you have given of your affectionate attachment to his person, and of your

zealous concern for the honour and interests of his crown, and the security and good government of his dominions.

The interruption which has necessarily been occasioned to the public business, will, his Majesty doubts not, afford you an additional incitement to apply yourselves, with as little delay as possible, to the different objects of national concern which require your attention.

His Majesty has likewise ordered us to acquaint you, that, since the close of the last session, he has concluded a treaty of defensive alliance with his good brother the King of Prussia, copies of which will be laid before you: that his Majesty's endeavours were employed, during the last summer, in conjunction with his allies, in order to prevent, as much as possible, the extension of hostilities in the North, and to manifest his desire of effecting a general pacification: that no opportunity will be neglected, on his part, to promote this salutary object; and that he has, in the mean time, the satisfaction of receiving, from all foreign courts, continued assurances of their friendly dispositions to this country.

*Gentlemen of the House of Commons.*

We are commanded by his Majesty to acquaint you, that the estimates for the current year will forthwith be laid before you; and that he is persuaded of your readiness to make the necessary provisions for the several branches of the public service.

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

We have it particularly in charge from his Majesty to assure you, that

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you

you cannot so effectually meet the most earnest wish of his Majesty's heart, as by persevering in your uniform exertions for the public welfare, and by improving every occasion to promote the prosperity of his faithful people, from whom his Majesty has received such repeated and affecting marks of invariable zeal, loyalty, and attachment, and whose happiness he must ever consider as inseparable from his own.

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*The humble Address of the House of Commons to the King.*

*Most Gracious Sovereign,*

**W**E, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of Great Britain in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our humble thanks for the speech which has been delivered, by your Majesty's command, to both houses of parliament; and to congratulate your Majesty on the happy event of your Majesty's recovery from your late indisposition, and on your being enabled to attend to the public affairs of your kingdoms.

We acknowledge with the most heartfelt joy and gratitude, the goodness of Almighty God, in restoring your Majesty to the wishes and prayers of your faithful subjects; and earnestly hope that your Majesty may long continue to rule over an affectionate and grateful people.

Permit us to lay before your Majesty our dutiful acknowledgments for the favourable sense which your Majesty entertains of our affectionate attachment to your Majesty's person, and of our concern for the honour and interest of your crown,

and the security and good government of your dominions.

It will be our constant endeavour to merit your Majesty's good opinion, by labouring to promote the happiness of your people; and we will apply ourselves, with as little delay as possible, to the different objects of national concern which require our attention.

We beseech your Majesty to accept our humble thanks, for being graciously pleased to order a copy of the treaty of defensive alliance between your Majesty and the King of Prussia to be laid before us, and to be assured that we are deeply sensible of your Majesty's just regard to the interests of your subjects, and the peace of Europe, in your endeavours to prevent the extension of hostilities in the North, and your desire to effect a general pacification. We learn with great satisfaction, that your Majesty continues to receive assurances of the favourable disposition of the other courts of Europe towards this country.

We shall not fail to proceed, with cheerfulness and dispatch, to make the necessary provision for the several branches of the public service.

We should be wanting to ourselves, and to those whom we represent, if we did not testify, in the warmest manner, the gratitude with which we observe the paternal expressions of your Majesty's regard for the happiness of your people, whose invariable sentiments of zeal, loyalty, and attachment to your Majesty are animated and confirmed by the uniform experience of your Majesty's virtues, and by the sense of the blessings which they enjoy under your Majesty's auspicious government.

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[An address to the same purport was presented by the house of lords.]

*Speech of the Lord Chancellor to both Houses of Parliament, on Tuesday, August 11.*

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

WE have it in command from his Majesty, to express to you the satisfaction with which his Majesty has observed the continued proofs which you have given, during the present session, of your uniform attention to the public business, and of your zealous concern for the honour and interest of his crown, and the welfare and prosperity of his people.

*Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

His Majesty has particularly directed us to return his thanks for the readiness with which you have granted the necessary supplies for the several branches of the public service.

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

Although the good offices of his Majesty and his allies have not hitherto been effectual for restoring the general tranquillity of Europe, he has the satisfaction of seeing that the further extension of hostilities has been prevented, and that the situation of affairs continues to promise to this country the uninterrupted enjoyment of the blessings of peace.

Then the lord chancellor, by his Majesty's command, said,

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

It is his Majesty's royal will and

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pleasure, that this parliament be prorogued to Thursday, the 29th of October next, to be then here holden; and this parliament is accordingly prorogued to Thursday the 29th day of October next.

*Speech of the Marquis of Buckingham, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to both Houses of Parliament, on Thursday, Feb. 5.*

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

WITH the deepest concern I find myself obliged, on opening the present session of parliament, to communicate to you the painful information that his Majesty has been for some time afflicted by a severe malady, in consequence of which he has not honoured me with his commands upon the measures to be recommended to his parliament.

I have directed such documents as I have received respecting his majesty's health to be laid before you; and I shall also communicate to you, so soon as I shall be enabled, such further information as may assist your deliberations on that melancholy subject.

*Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

Deceming it at all times my indispensable duty to call your attention to the security of the public credit, and to the maintenance of the civil and military establishment, I have ordered the public accounts to be laid before you,

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

It is unnecessary for me to express to you my earnest wishes for the welfare and prosperity of Ireland,

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which, in every situation, I shall always be anxious to promote: nor need I declare my confidence in that affectionate attachment to his majesty, and in that zealous concern for the united interest of both kingdoms, which have manifested themselves in all your proceedings.

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*Address presented to the Prince of Wales, Feb. 27, by the Delegates from both Houses of Parliament in Ireland.*

*To his Royal Highness George Prince of Wales.*

THE humble address of the lords spiritual and temporal, and knights, citizens, and burghesses, in parliament assembled.

*May it please your Royal Highness.*

We, his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons of Ireland in parliament assembled, beg leave to approach your royal highness, with hearts full of the most loyal and affectionate attachment to the person and government of your royal father, to express the deepest and most grateful sense of the numerous blessings which we have enjoyed under that illustrious house, whose accession to the throne of these realms has established civil and constitutional liberties upon a basis which, we trust, will never be shaken; and at the same time to condole with your royal highness upon the grievous malady with which it has pleased Heaven to afflict the best of sovereigns.

We have, however, the consolation of reflecting, that this severe calamity hath not been visited upon us, until the virtues of your royal

highness have been so matured as to enable your royal highness to discharge the duties of an important trust, for the performance whereof, the eyes of all his majesty's subjects of both kingdoms are directed to your royal highness.

We therefore beg leave humbly to request, that your royal highness will be pleased to take upon you the government of this realm, during the continuance of his majesty's present indisposition, and no longer; and under the style and title of prince regent of Ireland, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, to exercise and administer, according to the laws and constitution of this kingdom, all regal powers, jurisdictions, and prerogatives, to the crown and government thereof belonging.

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*Protest of the Peers of Ireland, who voted, on Monday, Feb. 16, against the Address to the Prince of Wales, requesting his Royal Highness to take upon him the Office of Prince Regent.*

*Dissentient,*

1st. **B**ECAUSE the address in question to his royal highness the Prince of Wales, is an address, requesting that he will be pleased to take upon him the government of this realm in such manner as is therein mentioned, and to exercise and administer, according to the laws and constitution of this kingdom, all royal powers, jurisdiction, and prerogatives to the crown and government thereof belonging, without any law or authority whatsoever, that we know of, authorizing him so to do.

2dly, Because we are apprehensive that the said address may be construed

conftrued to be a meafure tending to difturb and weaken that great conftitutional union, whereby, as fully declared, enacted, and fpecified in fundry acts of parliament in this kingdom, this realm of Ireland is for ever united and knit to the imperial crown of England, and as a member, appending and rightfully belonging thereto.

3dly. Becaufe, although in every fentiment of duty, affection, and refpect, towards his royal highnefs, we hold ourfelves equal to, and will not be exceeded by, any of thofe who join in the faid addrefs, or by any other perfon whatfoever; and are, and ever fhall be, ready to lay down our lives and fortunes in the fupport and maintenance of the juft rights of our moft gracious fovereign, and of every branch of his royal and auguft family: we cannot pay any compliment to his royal highnefs, or to any one, at the expence of what we confider as great conftitutional principles; and we cannot, (for fuch are the workings of duty, affection, and refpect in our breafte,) join in the faid addrefs, which may, as we are apprehenfive, bring difficulty and embarrassment upon his royal highnefs, already too much oppreffed by the great calamity which hath befallen our moft gracious fovereign, his royal father.

Signed

LIFFORD, C.  
R. DUBLIN  
HARBERTON  
CARYSFORT  
VALENTIA  
MORNINGTON  
LONGFORD  
BECTIVE  
CHETWYND  
HILLSBOROUGH  
ALTAMONT

CARYSFORT  
COURTOWN  
G. L. KILMORE  
RANELAGH  
MOUNTMORRES.

*Different,*

For the fecond reason in the foregoing proteft.

And alfo, becaufe feeling every fentiment of duty, refpect, and attachment to his royal highnefs the Prince of Wales, and thinking him the only proper perfon to be appointed to this high ftation, I confider, that to addrefs his royal highnefs to accept the regency of this kingdom, before we have any authority to know, that he is as yet appointed regent of Great Britain, is inviting him to affume a power, which under the actual and exifting conftitution of Ireland, he cannot exercife, inafmuch as by ftatute 10 of Henry VII. no bill can receive the royal affent here, that is not certified from Great Britain under the great feal of England, and until his royal highnefs fhall have authority to direct the ufe of that great feal, he cannot difcharge the functions of the regal office for Ireland. It is impoffible, according to the laws and conftitution of this kingdom, that any perfon fhould be regent of Ireland, who is not at the fame time regent of Great Britain.

GLANDORE.

*Different,*

1ft. Becaufe, with an anxious defire that the regency of this kingdom, during his majesty's indifpofition, fhould be conferred on his royal highnefs the Prince of Wales in a manner moft expreffive of refpect and affection to his royal highnefs, and convinced that his royal

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highnefs

highness will think that mode of appointment most expressive of duty and affection, which is constitutional, and must conduce to preserve the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland inseparable, we consider an address of the two houses of parliament, purporting of its own authority, to confer royal power, at a time when they are fully competent to pass a bill for the purpose of effectually providing for the exercise of the same, to be a most dangerous violation of the fundamental principles of the constitution.

2dly. Because the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland (on which the safety of the constitution in church and state depends) is preserved and maintained by the unity of the executive power alone; and yet the address proposed by the resolution now passed, is to appoint his royal highness regent of Ireland, without our being certain that his royal highness is or will be regent of Great Britain, and without making any provision, that his royal highness shall not continue to be regent of Ireland longer than he shall be regent of Great Britain. Thus exposing to chance and accident the preservation of the only bond of that connexion between the countries, upon which all that is dear to us depends, and making a precedent that may be of the most fatal consequence to posterity.

TYRONE

WM. OSSORY

W. LEIGHLIN and FERNS

BELLAMONT.

*Dissentient,*

For the first reason in the protest immediately preceding.

And also, because we consider, that if by virtue of this address alone, his royal highness the Prince of Wales shall take upon himself the regal powers of this kingdom, his royal highness will by such assumption be drawn in to decide upon an important constitutional question; equally affecting Great Britain and Ireland.

And also, because we consider these words in the address, "and no longer," as unnecessary, and at the same time disrespectful to the Prince of Wales, tending to convey an idea that this country can confer, or that the Prince might continue to hold over the powers of a regent for a longer time than the continuation of the king's indisposition incapacitated his Majesty from being restored to the full exercise of the powers appertaining to the crowns of Great Britain and Ireland.

CARHAMPTON

CONYNGHAM.

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*Answer of the Lord Lieutenant to the Address of both Houses, requesting him to transmit their Address to the Prince of Wales.*

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

**U**NDER the impression which I feel of my official duty, and of the oath which I have taken as chief governor of Ireland, I am obliged to decline transmitting this address into Great Britain.

For I cannot consider myself warranted to lay before the Prince of Wales an address, purporting to invest his royal highness with powers to take upon him the government of this realm, before he shall be enabled by law so to do.

*Protest*

*Protest of the Minority in the Irish House of Lords, against the Resolutions voted Feb. 19, asserting the Right of both Houses to declare a Prince Regent.*

*Dissentient,*

**B**ECAUSE the undoubted right, and the indispensable duty, declared in the said resolution to have been exercised and discharged by the lords and commons of Ireland, and to which it is alledged they are alone competent, do not, in any legal or sound sense, appear to us to have any existence — And because the assuming a right in the lords and commons alone, to confer upon his royal highness the Prince of Wales the government of this kingdom, under the style and title of Prince Regent of Ireland, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, to exercise and administer, according to the laws and constitution of this kingdom, all regal powers and prerogatives to the crown and government thereof belonging, or the addressing his royal highness to take upon himself such government in manner aforesaid, before he be enabled by law so to do, seems to us altogether unwarrantable, and to be highly dangerous in its tendency to disturb and break the constitutional union, whereby this realm of Ireland is for ever knit and united to the imperial crown of England, on which connexion the happiness of both kingdoms essentially depends; and we are the more apprehensive of danger, lest the so doing should be considered as tending to the prejudice, disturbance, or derogation of the King's majesty in, of, or for the crown of this realm of Ireland.

LIFFORD, C.  
 HILLSBOROUGH  
 WILLIAM OSSORY  
 VALENTIA  
 COURTOWN  
 MORNINGTON  
 LONGFORD  
 ALTAMONT  
 GEO. LEWIS KILMORE  
 J. CLOGHER  
 RANELAGH  
 WILLIAM LEIGHLIN and  
 FERNS  
 BELLAMONT  
 POWERSCOURT  
 GLANDORE  
 MOUNTMORRES  
 ENNISKILLEN  
 R. DUBLIN  
 CONYNGHAM  
 TYRONE  
 LANESBOROUGH  
 BECTIVE  
 CHETWYND  
 CARHAMPTON  
 HARBERTON.

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*Protest of the Lords against the Vote of Censure on the Lord Lieutenant.*

*Dissentient,*

**B**ECAUSE, when his excellency the lord lieutenant, his Majesty's representative here, hath told us, that under the impression of his official duty, and of the oath that he hath taken as chief governor of this kingdom, he is obliged to decline transmitting to Great Britain the addresses of both houses of parliament to his royal highness the Prince of Wales, it doth not consist with that decorum, with that justice, and with that grave proceeding with which this house, the great andderniere court of justice, should ever act.

act, to proceed to a condemnation and censure of his excellency, without being allowed to enquire and look into the constitution of his office, or into his oath:—and besides we cannot consider it as a want of respect to his royal highness the Prince of Wales, the not transmitting the said address to him, as it would expose his royal highness to difficulty and embarrassment, by laying him under the disagreeable necessity of deciding upon great, legal, and constitutional principles, in which his royal highness's future interests, and the rights of that imperial crown which he is born to inherit, may be very deeply concerned:—and, moreover, we conceive this house ought ever to be mindful of the station in which the constitution hath placed it, and ought to resist every thing which partakes of intemperance and excess.

LIFFORD, C.  
 HILLSBOROUGH  
 POWERSCOURT  
 WILLIAM OSSORY  
 MOUNTMORRES  
 VALENTIA  
 COURTTOWN  
 MORNINGTON  
 ENNISKILLEN  
 LONGFORD  
 ALTAMONT  
 GLANDORE  
 R. DUBLIN  
 TYRONE  
 CARHAMPTON  
 BECTIVE  
 LANESBOROUGH  
 HERBERTON  
 CONYNGHAM  
 BELLAMONT  
 GEO. LEWIS KILMORE  
 J. CLOSER

WILLIAM LEIGHLIN and  
 FERNS  
 RANELAGH.

*Answer of the Prince of Wales to the Address presented by the Delegates of the two Houses of Parliament of Ireland.*

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

THE address from the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons of Ireland, which you have presented to me, demands my warmest and earliest thanks. If any thing could add to the esteem and affection I have for the people of Ireland, it would be the loyal and affectionate attachment to the person and government of the King, my father, manifested in the address of the two houses.

What they have done, and their manner of doing it, is a new proof of their undiminished duty to his Majesty, of their uniform attachment to the house of Brunswick, and their constant attention to maintain inviolate the concord and connexion between the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, so indispensably necessary to the prosperity, the happiness, and the liberties of both.

If in conveying my grateful sentiments on their conduct, in relation to the King, my father, and to the inseparable interest of the two kingdoms, I find it impossible to express adequately my feelings on what relates to myself, I trust you will not be the less disposed to believe, that I have an understanding to comprehend the value of what they have done, a heart that must remember, and principles that will not

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not suffer me to abuse their confidence.

But the fortunate change which has taken place in the circumstance which gave occasion to the address agreed to by the lords and commons of Ireland, induces me to delay, for a few days, giving a final answer, trusting, that the joyful event of his majesty's resuming the personal exercise of his royal authority, may then render it only necessary for me to repeat those sentiments of gratitude and affection to the loyal and generous people of Ireland, which I feel indelibly imprinted on my heart.

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*Second Answer of the Prince of Wales to the Deputation from both Houses of the Parliament of Ireland, March 12.*

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

THE happy event of the King's recovery, and the consequent re-assumption of the exercise of his auspicious government, announced by his royal commission for declaring the further causes of holding the parliament of Great Britain, has done away the melancholy necessity which gave rise to the arrangement proposed by the parliament of Ireland; but nothing can obliterate from my memory and my gratitude, the principles upon which that arrangement was made, and the circumstances by which it was attended.

I consider your generous kindness to his Majesty's royal family, and the provision you made for preserving the authority of the crown in its constitutional energy, as the most unequivocal proof which could be given of your affectionate loyalty

to the King, at the time when, by an afflictive dispensation of Providence, his government had suffered an intermission, and his house was deprived of its natural protector.

I shall not pay so ill a compliment to the lords and commons of Ireland, as to suppose that they were mistaken in their reliance on the moderation of my views and the purity of my intentions. A manly confidence, directing the manner of proceeding toward those who entertain sentiments becoming the high situation to which they are born, furnishes the most powerful motives to the performance of their duty; at the same time that the liberality of sentiment which, in conveying a trust confers an honour, can have no tendency to relax that provident vigilance and that public jealousy which ought to watch over the exercise of power.

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

Though full of joy for the event which enables me to take leave of you in this manner, personally, I cannot but regret your departure: I have had the opportunity of acquiring a knowledge of your private characters, and it has added to the high esteem which I had before entertained for you on account of your public merits; both have made you the worthy representatives of the great bodies to which you belong.

I am confident that I need not add my earnest recommendation to the parliament and people of Ireland to continue to cultivate the harmony of the two kingdoms, which in their mutual perfect freedom will find the closest as well as happiest bond of their connexion.

*Address of the House of Commons of Ireland to the Prince of Wales, voted March 20, on Occasion of the final Answer of his Royal Highness.*

*May it please your Royal Highness.*

**W**E, his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of Ireland in parliament assembled, beg leave to offer to your royal highness our warmest thanks for your answer to our address.

With hearts overflowing with the liveliest joy, we congratulate your royal highness upon the happy event of the King's recovery, and the consequent re-assumption of the exercise of his auspicious government; an event highly pleasing to the subjects of the whole empire, but peculiarly grateful to a nation so highly indebted to their most excellent sovereign during the whole course of his reign; and we rejoice in the reflection that the father of his people is blessed with a son, who is likely, in the fullness of time, to continue to his Majesty's loyal and affectionate subjects of Ireland the blessing of his government.

Thoroughly conscious that nothing can add more to that esteem which your royal highness has been pleased to express for the two houses of parliament, than their loyal and affectionate attachment to the person and government of the King, we will steadily persevere in those principles of duty, loyalty, and affection, which have so happily recommended them to the favourable opinion of your royal highness.

We feel the highest satisfaction in finding that what we have done, and our manner of doing it, have

received your approbation, and that your royal highness is pleased to consider our conduct as a proof of our undiminished duty to his Majesty, our uniform attachment to the house of Brunswick, and our constant care and attention to maintain inviolate the concord and connexion between the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, which we consider as indispensably necessary to the prosperity, happiness, and liberties of both; and we beg leave to assure your royal highness, that from those principles we shall never depart.

We are happy to find that your royal highness considers our just attention to his Majesty's royal family, and the provision made by us for preserving the authority of the crown in its constitutional energy, as the most unequivocal proofs which could be given of our affectionate loyalty to the best of sovereigns, at the melancholy period when, by an afflicting dispensation of Providence, his government had suffered an intermission, and his illustrious house was deprived of its great and natural protector.

We have the justest reliance on the moderation of the views and purity of the intentions of your royal highness, and we have the fullest conviction in our minds, that any tress which could have the most distant tendency to relax that provident vigilance and public jealousy which ought to watch over the exercise of power, would not have been acceptable to the exalted sentiments of your royal highness, whose understanding and principles are rendered more valuable by the generous and affectionate heart which animates their dictates.

We can with the greatest truth  
most

most solemnly assure your royal highness, that it is the ardent wish of the parliament and people of Ireland to continue to cultivate the harmony and inseparable interests of the two kingdoms; firmly convinced that in their mutual perfect freedom they will find the closest as well as the happiest bond of their connexion; and we offer our warmest acknowledgments to your royal highness for your recommendation to us to persevere in such a conduct, and consider your royal highness's recommendation, so worthy the high station in which you are placed, as an additional proof of your attention to the welfare of both countries.

We assure your royal highness, that if any thing could add to the exultation of our minds at the happy event of the recovery of our most beloved sovereign, it would be the pleasure which we feel in reflecting, that the heir to his Majesty's crown inherits the virtues of his royal father—virtues which every part of your royal highness's conduct, during the late melancholy and trying occasion, has placed in the most illustrious point of view; and the repeated marks of graciousness and condescension, with which your royal highness has been pleased to honour the two houses of parliament, must ever remain impressed in the most indelible characters of affection and gratitude on the hearts of the people of Ireland.

[An address to the same effect was voted by the lords.]

*Protest against the Address of Thanks to the Prince of Wales, voted in the Irish House of Lords, March 23.*

*Dissentient,*

**B**ECAUSE, although desirous to express our humble thanks to his royal highness the Prince of Wales, for his gracious answer to the address of both houses of parliament, and that to a degree which might induce us to pass over the departure which there seems to be in the mode and form of this address from the usual course and proceeding of parliament, yet we cannot agree to this address, which doth not consist, as we conceive, with those constitutional principles which are maintained in our protests of February last, and to which we adhere.

LIFFORD, C.  
R. DUBLIN  
RANELAGH  
CHETWYND  
LONGFORD  
ALTAMONT  
HARBERTON  
TYRONE  
LANESBOROUGH  
WM. OSSORY  
GLANDORE  
MOUNTMORRES.

*Dissentient,*

1st, Because the uniform and regular practice in this house has been, as appears from its earliest records, to pass a short vote of thanks for answers from the king to addresses of this house, to be laid before his Majesty by the lord lieutenant.

2dly, Because that, on the 12th of December 1715, a committee, which had been appointed to draw up an address of thanks to his Majesty King George the First, for his gracious answer to a congratulatory address upon his accession, were discharged from that duty, and a short vote of thanks for his Majesty's gracious

gracious answer was passed, to be transmitted by the lord lieutenant; since which time this method of proceeding has uniformly prevailed, except in the instances of answers which complied with requests from this house, or where royal assurance had been given of some great national benefits bestowed, or intended to be conferred, upon this country; in which cases, addresses of thanks have been presented, of which only eight instances appear upon the journals of this house.

3dly. Because the first instance of an address of this description, the 18th of August 1709, was in consequence of her Majesty Queen Anne having complied in her answer with a request of this house conveyed by an address; and on the 12th of December 1723, another instance occurs of a similar address of thanks, upon the royal assurance of the intended revocation of Wood's patent.

4thly. Because that, on the 14th of December 1763, an address, or vote of thanks, does not appear upon the journals, in consequence of her Majesty's most gracious answer to a congratulatory address upon her marriage.

5thly. Because, although his royal highness's answer to the address of this house is most polite and gracious, yet it cannot be proved that any solid national benefit could be derived from it; and though it must be the wish and desire of every loyal subject to pay every mark of respect to his royal highness, and to every branch of the royal family, I cannot agree to a mode of proceeding which indicates a greater compliment, and a greater degree of attention, than have usually been paid to his Majesty and to his royal predecessors.

6thly. Because the supposed exigency of the state, which originated the proceedings upon a regency, is no more, and consequently the measure should no longer be preserved in public contemplation by addresses from parliament, which may have a mischievous tendency in future. And because, lastly, that the late wife, political, and judicious proceedings of the parliament of Great Britain afford a memorable example well worthy of regard and attention, where proceedings upon the regency were suspended, upon the report of his Majesty's convalescence, and discharged and done away upon the happy and satisfactory confirmation of his Majesty's perfect recovery and complete re-establishment.

MOUNTMORRES.

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*Speech of the Lord Lieutenant to both Houses of Parliament, March 14.*

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

WITH the most heartfelt satisfaction, I take the earliest opportunity to inform you, in obedience to the King's commands, that it has pleased Divine Providence to remove from him the severe indisposition with which he has been afflicted; and that, by the blessing of Almighty God, he is now again enabled to attend to the urgent concerns of his kingdoms, and personally to exercise the royal authority.

*Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

I have submitted to his Majesty's consideration the supplies which you have already granted for the immediate exigencies of the public service, and the performance of the national

national engagements; and I am commanded by his Majesty to express his perfect confidence in your readiness to make such farther provision as shall be necessary for the usual support of his Majesty's government.

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

I have it particularly in charge from his Majesty to assure you, that the prosperity of his loyal and faithful people of Ireland, from whom his Majesty had repeatedly received the strongest proofs of affectionate attachment to his sacred person, will be ever near to his heart; and that his Majesty is fully persuaded, that your zeal for the public welfare will enable him to promote, by every wise and salutary measure, the interests of this kingdom.

I cannot conclude this communication to you without expressing my fullest conviction, that his Majesty's faithful parliament of Ireland does not yield to any of his subjects in sincere and devout acknowledgments to Almighty God for the restoration of his Majesty's health, and in fervent prayers that a long continuance of that blessing may secure to the people the happiness which they have constantly enjoyed under his Majesty's mild and auspicious government.

*Address of the House of Lords of Ireland to his Majesty.*

*Most gracious Sovereign,*

**W**E, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled, embrace, with unfeigned and lively joy, this opportunity of renewing to your Ma-

jesty our most dutiful and sincere professions of unalterable loyalty and affectionate attachment to your Majesty's sacred person, family, and government; and of assuring your Majesty, that we find ourselves unequal to express the ardent feelings of our hearts at the joyful communication, which, by your Majesty's command, has been made to us, that it has pleased the Divine Providence to remove from your Majesty the severe indisposition with which you have been afflicted, and that you are now again enabled to attend to the urgent concerns of your kingdoms, and personally to exercise your royal authority: that, for these signal marks of Divine favour, we shall not cease to pour out the lively effusions of gratitude and thanksgiving to the Almighty, who has vouchsafed, in the plenitude of his mercy and goodness, to restore our beloved monarch to the fervent and united prayers of his people.

We gratefully acknowledge your Majesty's goodness, in the assurance you have been pleased to give us, that the prosperity of your loyal and faithful subjects of this kingdom must ever lie near to your heart.

We shall endeavour to justify the confidence which your Majesty is pleased to repose in your parliament of Ireland, by a cheerful concurrence in such wise and salutary measures as may enable your Majesty to fulfil your gracious intentions of promoting the general interests and happiness of all your dominions.

We beg leave humbly to assure your Majesty, that, sensible of the happiness which we have constantly enjoyed under your Majesty's mild and auspicious government, we do

not yield to any of your people in the sincerity with which we offer up our devout acknowledgments to Almighty God for your Majesty's happy restoration to your former health; and that we shall unceasingly supplicate the Divine Providence for a long and uninterrupted continuance of that inestimable blessing.

*His Majesty's Answer.*

HIS Majesty receives with the greatest satisfaction the dutiful and loyal address of the lords spiritual and temporal, in parliament assembled.

His Majesty accepts in the most gracious manner the renewal of their professions of affectionate attachment to his person, family, and government, and feels with the greatest sensibility the joyful expressions of their hearts upon the interposition of Divine Providence, in restoring him again to the personal exercise of his royal functions. The happiness and prosperity of his faithful subjects in Ireland are objects very near his Majesty's heart; and he confides in the wisdom of the parliament of that kingdom, that they will pursue such measures as will enable him to fulfil his intentions of promoting the general interests of all his dominions.

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*Address of the House of Commons of Ireland to his Majesty.*

*Most gracious Sovereign,*

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Ireland, in parliament assembled, beg leave to lay before your Majesty our assurances of the sincere and cordial satisfaction with which we are penetrated, on being

informed from the throne, by your Majesty's command, that it has pleased the Divine Providence to remove from your Majesty the severe indisposition with which you have been afflicted; and that, by the blessing of Almighty God, you are now again enabled to attend to the urgent concerns of your kingdoms, and personally to exercise your royal authority.

Your Majesty entertains a just confidence that we shall cheerfully proceed in making such provision as may be necessary for the honourable support of your Majesty's government.

We should be dead to every generous feeling, should we omit to acknowledge your Majesty's unceasing solicitude for the interests of Ireland. or to second, by every salutary effort, your benevolent wishes for the welfare of your people. The numerous blessings derived to this kingdom from your Majesty's auspicious reign, are deeply imprinted in our bosoms; and, sensible as we are of the inestimable value of their benefits, we beg leave to repeat to your Majesty, upon this joyful occasion, our most sincere professions of respect and attachment to your royal person, family, and government.

We conclude these our fervent congratulations with devout acknowledgments to the Almighty for this signal instance of his goodness, in restoring our beloved monarch to the prayers of an afflicted people. Our gratitude for such a mark of the Divine favour is only equalled by the agency of our wishes for the continuance of your Majesty's health, and that your Majesty may enjoy that invaluable blessing during a long and happy reign.

*His Majesty's Answer.*

HIS Majesty thanks his faithful Commons for their loyal and affectionate address, and for their assurances of the sincere and cordial satisfaction which they feel on the interposition of Divine Providence in removing from him the severe indisposition with which he has been afflicted.

Nothing can be more satisfactory to his Majesty than the disposition expressed by the House of Commons cheerfully to proceed in making such provisions as are necessary for the honourable support of his Majesty's government.

He receives with the greatest pleasure the acknowledgments of the House of Commons of their sense of the solicitude which his Majesty can never cease to entertain for the interests of Ireland, as well as their professions of respect and attachment to his person, family, and government.

*Speech of the Lord Lieutenant to both Houses, on Monday, May 25.**My Lords and Gentlemen,*

THE business of this interesting session being concluded, I am happy to release you from further attendance in parliament, and to communicate to you the strongest assurances of his Majesty's paternal regard, and of the satisfaction he feels in the growing prosperity of his people of Ireland.

*Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

In obedience to the King's commands I am to thank you in his Majesty's name for the supplies which you have granted for the public ex-

penditures, and for the support of his Majesty's government; and you may be assured of my care and attention to the proper application of them.

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

I behold with the highest satisfaction the increasing wealth and commerce of this kingdom, the natural effect of good order and of active industry, encouraged, protected, and extended by the several salutary laws which from time to time have been enacted for those purposes. I am happy to think that a permanent foundation is laid for the further improvement of the country, by the act now passed for the promotion and encouragement of inland navigation: a system which, connected with the prosperous state of your agriculture, promises, with the blessing of Divine Providence, to secure to every part of the kingdom the fullest enjoyment of that essential article of your commerce, the trade of corn.

You well know how greatly the interests of the nation are forwarded by the preservation of peace, and by the enforcing a due submission to the laws: and I have the most perfect confidence, that upon your return to your respective counties you will impress these ideas on the minds of those who look up to your example, and are directed by your influence. My conduct shall be uniformly governed by every principle which can tend to promote the welfare and happiness of Ireland.

*Address of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, of the City of London, to his Majesty, on the happy Occasion of his Recovery, March 19.*

[ X ]

May

*May it please your Majesty,*

**W**E, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, beg leave humbly to approach the throne with the most heartfelt emotions of joy and exultation.

We cannot sufficiently express our deep and awful sense of the signal instance of the goodness of Divine Providence to these highly-favoured kingdoms, in restoring the health of our most gracious sovereign to the ardent prayers of his people.

Your Majesty's faithful citizens of London, at all times eager to testify their loyalty, are more particularly anxious to offer their renewed assurances of fidelity and attachment, in a moment which has rescued them from despondency, and blessed them with an opportunity to offer the tribute nearest their hearts.

And we earnestly supplicate the Great Disposer of all events, that your Majesty may long continue the happy instrument of preserving, in the most exalted degree, the civil and religious liberties of a free, loyal, and grateful nation.

Signed by order of the court,  
WILLIAM RIX.

*His Majesty's Answer.*

**I** THANK you for this fresh mark of your loyalty and of your affection for my person. The expressions of fidelity and attachment, which I receive from my loving subjects, are most grateful to me.

The city of London may always depend upon my watchful attention to their liberties, commerce, and happiness.

*Address of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of London, to her Majesty, on the same happy Occasion.*

**M**AY it please your Majesty to permit us, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, to offer our most sincere congratulations to your Majesty on the auspicious recovery of our most gracious sovereign.

Impressed with the most sympathising affections, we have not the power to convey how much we participate in the general felicity, of which your Majesty must enjoy so large a share.

That the King may long be preserved in his sacred and exalted station, not less revered for his domestic virtues than for the dominion he holds in the hearts of a loyal and happy people, is the sincere prayer of the citizens of London.

There never was a period when the citizens of London felt the value of their privilege to address the throne in so eminent a degree as the present, which has enabled them to dwell with such heartfelt emphasis on an event so propitious to their country, so peculiarly interesting and effectually consolatory to the best of queens.

Signed by order of the court,  
WILLIAM RIX.

*Her Majesty's Answer.*

**I** THANK you for this mark of duty to the King and attention to me. I receive your congratulations with a sincere and heartfelt pleasure on the present joyful occasion; and I can assure you that the city of London will ever have my best wishes for its prosperity and happiness.



*The humble Address of the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Commons, and Citizens of the City of Dublin, in Common Council assembled, on the same Occasion.*

*May it please your Majesty,*

**W**E, your dutiful and ever loyal subjects, the lord mayor, sheriffs, commons, and citizens of the city of Dublin, humbly offer our congratulations on your Majesty's recovery from your late severe indisposition, and beg leave to express how deeply sensible we are of the inestimable value of your Majesty's life and health to your faithful people.

The earnestness and fervor with which we looked for the happy times that have now returned, are only to be equalled by the sincerity with which we pray Almighty God, that your Majesty may long flourish a revered, beloved, patriot King.

The worth of a sovereign so mild, a parent so provident, and a friend so true, was never before so fully understood, until he was lost for ever; but it is the peculiar blessing of your faithful subjects, that they are awakened to a due sense of your Majesty's great and endearing qualities, ere it is too late, and whilst our country continues to prosper under their benign influence.

The afflictions of your loyal citizens of Dublin grew the more poignant during your Majesty's late illness, as we reflected that nothing but a care for the public weal, too active and incessant, had borne down your strength, and caused you to faint in the service of your people.

Return then, Sire, with renovated vigour of mind and body, to attain the glorious ends to which

your auspicious reign has been directed; live long the supporter of the law, the approved patron and defender of civil and religious liberty.

Never before did your people experience anguish occasioned by your Majesty: may this we have tasted be accounted our share of the bitter cup; and let the transit of our good and gracious King from his throne of Ireland to a throne eternal, in the ripeness of time, and in the fulness of his fame, be reserved for the portion of a future generation.

In testimony whereof we have caused the common seal of the said city to be hereunto affixed, this 23d day of March, 1789.

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*Address of the Protestant and Roman Catholic Inhabitants of Waterford to the King, on the same Occasion.*

*May it please your Majesty,*

**W**E, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the freemen, freeholders, Protestant and Roman catholic inhabitants of the county of the city of Waterford in the kingdom of Ireland, beg leave to present our humble congratulations on the happy restoration of your Majesty's health.

We are awfully impressed with the inestimable goodness of Divine Providence, who, indulgent to the ardent prayers of your loyal and affectionate subjects, has restored your Majesty to a free and happy people.

In common with all your Majesty's subjects throughout your extended dominions, we participate in the joy that at present universally prevails, and with which we are still the more sensibly affected when

we contemplate the solid system of constitutional and commercial rights that has been established for this kingdom during your Majesty's auspicious reign.

Since the accession of your Majesty to the government of these realms, the constant operation of those principles of liberty which have ever characterized the house of Brunswick, and a succession of happy events, conducted under wise councils, have improved the constitution, and extended the commerce of this country to such a degree of excellence and importance, as to enable it now to constitute one of the most valuable portions of your Majesty's empire.

When we look back to the former situation of this country, and when we reflect on the many blessings revived under your Majesty's mild and happy government, we are bound to pray to Divine Providence that your reign may be long, prosperous, and happy.

Signed, by order,

WILLIAM ROACH, }  
JOHN DENIS, } Sheriffs.

*[Similar addresses were also presented to his Majesty, and to the Queen, from most of the counties and corporate bodies of the kingdom.]*

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*The Petition of the English Catholic Dissenters to the House of Commons, presented May 7.*

Sheweth,

**T**HAT sentiments unfavourable to your petitioners, as citizens and subjects, have been entertained by English protestants, and that your petitioners are sub-

ject to various penal laws, on account of principles which are asserted to be maintained by your petitioners, and other persons of their religion, and which principles are dangerous to society, and totally repugnant to political and civil liberty.

That your petitioners think it a duty which they owe to their country, as well as to themselves, to protest in a formal and solemn manner against doctrines that they condemn, and that constitute no part whatever of their principles, religion, or belief.

That your petitioners are the more anxious to free themselves from such imputations, because divers protestants, who profess themselves to be real friends to liberty of conscience, have nevertheless avowed themselves hostile to your petitioners, on account of the opinions which your petitioners are so supposed to hold; and your petitioners do not blame those protestants for their hostility, if it proceeds (as your petitioners hope it does) not from an intolerant spirit in matters of religion, but from their being misinformed as to matters of fact.

That your petitioners acknowledge that they should merit the reproach of being dangerous enemies to the state, if it were true, that they had adopted the maxims that are erroneously imputed to them; but your petitioners detest those unchristianlike and execrable maxims; and your petitioners severally claim (in common with men of all other religions) as a matter of natural justice, that your petitioners ought not to suffer for or on account of any wicked erroneous doctrines that may have been

been holden, or that may be held by any foreign Roman catholics, which doctrines your petitioners publicly disclaim; any more than any of the British protestants ought to be rendered responsible for any dangerous doctrines that may be held by any foreign protestants, which doctrines they, the said British protestants, disavow.

I. That your petitioners have been accused of holding, as a principle of their religion, that princes excommunicated by the pope and council, or by authority of the see of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or other persons. But, so far is the above-mentioned unchristian-like and abominable position from being a principle, that your petitioners hold, that they reject, abhor, and detest it, and every part thereof, as execrable and impious; and your petitioners do solemnly declare, that neither the pope, either with or without a general council, nor any prelate, nor any priest, nor any assembly of prelates or priests, nor any ecclesiastical power whatever, can absolve the subjects of this realm, or any of them, from their allegiance to his Majesty King George the Third, who is, by authority of the legislature, the lawful king of this realm, and of all the dominions thereunto belonging.

II. That your petitioners have also been accused of holding, as a principle of their religion, that implicit obedience is due from them to the orders and decrees of popes and general councils: and that, therefore, if the pope, or any general council, should, for the good of the church, command your petitioners to take up arms

against government, or by any means to subvert the laws and liberties of this country, or to exterminate persons of a different religion from your petitioners, the accusers of your petitioners assert, that your petitioners hold themselves bound to obey such orders or decrees on pain of eternal fire. Whereas your petitioners positively deny that they owe any such obedience to the pope and general council, or to either of them: and your petitioners believe that no act that is in itself immoral or dishonest can ever be justified by or under colour that it is done either for the good of the church, or in obedience to any ecclesiastical power whatever. Your petitioners acknowledge no infallibility in the pope; and they neither apprehend nor believe, that their disobedience to any such orders or decrees (should any such be given or made) could subject your petitioners to any punishment whatsoever. That your petitioners do solemnly declare, that no church, nor any prelate, nor any priest, nor any assembly of prelates or priests, nor any ecclesiastical power whatever, hath, have, or ought to have any jurisdiction or authority whatsoever within this realm, that can, directly or indirectly, affect or interfere with the independence, sovereignty, laws, constitution, or government thereof, or the rights, liberties, persons, or properties, of the people of the said realm, or of any of them; save only and except by the authority of parliament; and that any such assumption of power would be an usurpation.

III. That your petitioners have likewise been accused of holding

as a principle of their religion, that the pope, by virtue of his spiritual power, can dispense with the obligations of any compact or oath taken or entered into by any person of the religion of your petitioners; that therefore, no oath of allegiance, or other oath, can bind your petitioners, and consequently, that your petitioners can give no security for their allegiance to any government.—That your petitioners admit that this conclusion would be just, if the original proposition, upon which it is founded, were true: but your petitioners positively deny, that they hold any such principle; and they do solemnly declare, that neither the pope, nor any prelate, nor any priest, nor any assembly of prelates or priests, nor any ecclesiastical power whatever, can absolve your petitioners, or any of them from, or can previously or subsequently dispense with, the obligations of any compact or oath whatsoever.

IV. That your petitioners have also been accused of holding, as a principle of their religion, that not only the pope, but even a priest, has power, at his will and pleasure, to pardon the sins of persons of the religion of your petitioners; and therefore, that no person of the religion of your petitioners can possibly give any security for his allegiance to any government; inasmuch as the pope, or a priest, can pardon perjury, rebellion, and high treason. That your petitioners acknowledge also, the justness of this conclusion, if the proposition upon which it is founded were not totally false; but your petitioners do solemnly declare, that, on the contrary, they believe that no sin whatever can be forgiven at the will of any pope,

or of any priest, of any person whomsoever: but that a sincere sorrow for past sin, a firm resolution to avoid future guilt, and every possible atonement to God, and the injured neighbour, are the previous and indispensable requisites to establish a well-founded expectation of forgiveness.

V. That your petitioners have also been accused of holding, as a principle of their religion, that faith is not to be kept with heretics: so that no government, which does not profess the same religion as your petitioners, can have any security from your petitioners for their allegiance and peaceable behaviour. That your petitioners reject, reprobate, and abhor the doctrine, that faith is not to be kept with heretics, as being contrary to religion, morality, and common honesty. And your petitioners do hold and solemnly declare, that no breach of faith with, or injury to, or hostility against, any person whomsoever, can ever be justified by reason of, or under pretence, that such person is an heretic or an infidel.

That your petitioners further solemnly declare, that they do make this declaration and protestation, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words of the same, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatsoever. And that your petitioners humbly conceive, that your petitioners, who thus solemnly disclaim, and from their hearts abhor, the above-mentioned abominable and unchristianlike principles, ought not to be put upon a level with any other men who may hold and profess those principles.

Your petitioners therefore humbly pray,

pray, that this honourable house will be pleased to grant such relief to your petitioners, as this honourable house in its wisdom shall deem to be just.

*The King of France's Circular Letter  
for the Convocation of the States  
General at Versailles.*

Our beloved and loyal,

**W**E stand in need of the aid of our faithful subjects to enable us to surmount all the difficulties we are involved in, respecting the condition of our finances; and to establish according to our wishes a steady, constant, and invariable order in every part of government, that interests the happiness of our people, and the prosperity of our kingdom. These great motives have determined us to convene the assembly of the states in all the provinces under our obedience, in order that they may not only advise and assist us in all those objects that shall be laid before them, but lay open likewise the wishes and grievances of our subjects; so that, by a mutual confidence, and a reciprocal love between the sovereign and the nation, an efficacious remedy may be applied as soon as possible to the disorders of the state, and abuses of every kind be reformed and prevented, by good and solid means proper to insure a permanency of the public happiness, and to restore particularly that calm and tranquillity we have so long been deprived of. We proclaim, therefore, that it is our intention to begin the meeting of the free and general states of our kingdom on Monday

the 27th of April next, in our town of Versailles, where we mean and desire that some of the most respectable persons of each province, bailiwick, and seneschalship shall attend. We order and expressly enjoin you, therefore, soon after the receipt of the present letter, to convene and assemble in the town of —, in the speediest manner you can, the most proper of the three classes (trois etats) of the bailiwick or seneschalship, of —, that they may confer and communicate together on the subjects of complaints, grievances, and remonstrances, and the means and advice they may have to propose to the general assembly of the said states; and after having done thus much, they are to chuse and name such and such persons, &c. and so many and no more of every class—all of them worthy of this distinguished mark of trust, on account of their integrity, and the superior abilities they are endowed with. The above convocations and elections shall be made throughout the kingdom in the form prescribed by the regulation annexed to the present letter. The deputies or representatives of the provinces, bailiwicks, and seneschalships shall be furnished with proper instructions, and sufficient power to propose, remonstrate, advise, and consent to every thing that may concern the present or future wants of the state, the reform of abuses, the establishment of steady and permanent order in every branch of the administration, the general prosperity of our kingdom, and the welfare of all and each of our subjects; assuring them, that on our side they shall find our best good will and affection for maintaining and executing whatever shall

have been concerted between us and the said states, whether respecting the imposts they shall agree upon, or for the establishment of a constant rule in all parts of the administration, or on the public order; promising moreover to ask and to listen favourably to their advice on whatever may interest the good of the nation, to redress their grievances, and to attend to the proposals that shall be advanced; so that our kingdom, and all our subjects in particular, may feel the salutary effects of so noble and so grand an assembly for ever.

Given at Versailles, the 24th of Jan. 1789.

Signed,

LEWIS.

DE VILLEDEUIL.

*The King of France's Speech on the Opening of the States General, May 9, 1789.*

Gentlemen,

**T**HE day is at length arrived which my heart has so long panted to see, and I find myself surrounded by the representatives of a nation it is my glory to command.

A long interval has elapsed since the last convocation of the states general; but although these assemblies have not for some time been held, I have not been dissuaded by the example of my late predecessors, from re-establishing a custom from which the nation may earnestly hope to acquire new vigour, and which may be the means of opening to it an additional source of happiness.

The public debt was already immense at my coming to the throne,

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and has increased under my reign; an expensive but honourable war has been the cause, and the augmentation of taxes the consequences of it; but an unequal levy has caused them to be more severely felt.

A very general discontent, a too great desire for innovation, have taken hold of the people's minds, and will end in misleading their judgment, if they do not hasten to fix them by wise and moderate councils.

It is with this confidence, gentlemen, that I now assemble you, and I rejoice to see that it has been justified by those dispositions which the two first orders of the state have shewn, to renounce their own pecuniary privileges. The hope which I have cherished, to see all the orders unite and concur with me in wishes for the public good, will, I am certain, not be deceived.

I have already ordered very considerable retrenchments of expence; you will moreover furnish me with your sentiments on the subject, which I shall receive most gladly; but in spite of the resources which the strictest economy can suggest, I fear, gentlemen, that I shall not be able to relieve my subjects so soon as I could wish. I shall order to be laid before you the exact state of the finances; and when you have examined them, I am assured you will propose to me the most effectual means to establish them on a permanent footing, and strengthen the public credit. This great and salutary work will claim your most earnest attention; it is that which will secure the internal tranquillity of the kingdom, and maintain

its

its consequence among foreign powers.

The public spirit is in a ferment, but an assembly of the representatives of the nation will certainly hearken to no other counsels but those founded on wisdom and prudence. You yourselves, gentlemen, have been able to judge on many recent occasions, that the people have been misguided; but the spirit which will rule over your deliberations will answer for the true sentiments of a generous nation, whose distinguished character has ever been the love of their king. I shall banish from me every other sentiment.

I know the authority and power of a just king, surrounded by a faithful people, at all times attached to the principles of monarchy; these have caused the glory and splendour of France; I ought and I ever shall be the support of them.

But whatever may be expected from the most tender solicitude for the public good, whatever can be asked from a sovereign, the sincerest friend of his people, you may, you ought to hope from me.

May a happy union reign in this assembly! And may this epocha become ever memorable for the happiness and prosperity of the country! It is the wish of my heart; it is the most ardent desire of my prayers; it is, in short, the price which I expect for the sincerity of my intentions, and my love for my people.

The keeper of the seals will explain my intentions more fully, and I have ordered the director-general of the finances to lay before you the state of the kingdom.

*Letter from the King of France to the President of the National Assembly, May 28, 1789.*

BEING informed, that the difficulties which have been made relative to ascertaining the powers vested in the members of the states general still subsist, notwithstanding the care taken by the commissioners chosen by the three estates to find out the means of settling this point; I cannot see without pain, and indeed much uneasiness, the national assembly, which I have called together to be concerned with me in the new regulation of the kingdom, sunk into inaction, which, if continued, would cause all the hopes which I have formed for the happiness of my people, and the benefit of the state, to prove abortive. Under these circumstances, I desire that the conciliatory commissioners, already chosen by the three orders, resume their conferences to-morrow at six in the evening, in the presence of my keeper of the seals and commissioners, whom I shall appoint, in order that I may be more particularly informed of the proposals for agreement which shall be made, and directly contribute to so desirable and pressing a state of harmony. I charge the person who shall exercise the office of president to make known these my intentions to the assembly.

LOUIS.

*Versailles, May 28.*

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*Address of the Deputies of the Tiers Etat of France, to his Majesty, June 5, 1789.*

Sire,

Sire,  
**T**HE deputies of your faithful Commons would long since have solemnly presented to your Majesty the respectful testimony of their gratitude for the convocation of the states general, had their powers been verified, which would have been the case but for the obstacles thrown in the way by the nobles. They wait with the most anxious impatience for the moment of that verification, to enable them to offer you a more striking homage and token of their love for your sacred person, for your august family, and their devotion to the interests of the monarch, which are always inseparable from those of the nation.

The solicitude your Majesty experiences at the inaction of the states general, affords a fresh proof of the desire which animates your breast to produce the happiness of France.

Afflicted at this fatal inaction, the deputies of the Commons have left no means untried to determine those of the clergy and the nobles to unite with them for the purpose of constituting the national assembly; but the nobles having again manifested their resolution of maintaining the verification of their powers separately transacted, the conciliatory conferences opened on this important question were necessarily at an end.

Your Majesty, desiring that they should be resumed, in presence of the keeper of the seals, and commissioners you have named, the deputies of the Commons, certain that under a Prince, who wishes to be the restorer of France, the liberty of the national assembly can be in no danger, have cheer-

fully concurred in your desire as signified to them. They are thoroughly convinced, that in the exact journal of these conferences laid before your Majesty, you will discover nothing in the motives by which we are directed, but the principles of justice and of reason.

Sire, your faithful Commons will never forget what they owe to their king; never will they lose sight of the natural alliance between the throne and the people, against aristocracies, under whatever form, whose power can be established only on the ruins of the regal authority, and the public happiness. The French people, whose glory it has been at all times to love their king, will always be ready to spill their blood and lavish their property in support of the genuine principles of the monarchy. From the very first moment that the instructions received by their deputies will permit them to express a national wish, you will judge, Sire, whether the representatives of your Commons do not prove themselves the most anxious of your subjects to maintain the rights, the honours, the dignities of the throne, to consolidate the public engagements, to restore the credit of the nation; you will acknowledge likewise, that they are not less just towards their fellow-citizens, of every class, than devoted to your Majesty.

Your faithful Commons are most deeply affected at the circumstance under which your Majesty has the goodness to receive their deputation; and they take the liberty to address to your Majesty the universal expression of their regret.



gret, and of their respectful sensibility.

*His Majesty's Answer.*

Gentlemen,

I receive with satisfaction the testimonials of devotion and attachment to the monarchy from the representatives of the third estate of my kingdom. All the orders of the state have an equal claim to my favour, and you may rely on my kindness and protection. Above all, I recommend to you speedily to second, and that with a spirit of prudence and of peace, the accomplishment of the benefits I am impatient to confer on my people, and which they confidently expect from my sentiments in their favour.

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*Speech of the King of France to the States General, June 23.*

Gentlemen,

**A**T the time I took the resolution of assembling you; when I had surmounted all the difficulties which had threatened a convocation of my states; when I had, to use the expression, even pre-conceived the desires of the nation, in manifesting beforehand my wishes for its welfare; I thought to have done every thing which depended on myself for the good of my people.

It seemed to me, that you had only to finish the work I had begun; and the nation expected impatiently the moment, when, in conjunction with the beneficent views of its sovereign, and the enlightened zeal of its representatives, it was about to enjoy that prospe-

rous and happy state which such an union ought to afford.

The states general have now been opened more than two months, and have not yet even agreed on the preliminaries of its operations. Instead of that source of harmony which should spring from a love of the country, a most fatal division spreads an alarm over every mind. I am willing to believe, and I shall be happy to find, that the disposition of Frenchmen is not changed: but, to avoid reproaching either of you, I shall consider, that the renewal of the states general after so long a period, the turbulence which preceded it, the object of this assembly, so different from that of your ancestors, and many other objects, have led you to an opposition, and to prefer pretensions to which you are not entitled.

I owe it to the welfare of my kingdom, I owe it to myself, to dissipate these fatal divisions. It is with this resolution, Gentlemen, that I convene you once more around me—I do it as the common father of all my people—I do it as the defender of my kingdom's laws, that I may recal to your memory the true spirit of your constitution, and resist those attempts which have been aimed against it.

But, Gentlemen, after having clearly established the respective rights of the different orders, I expect from the zeal of the two principal classes—I expect from their attachment to my person—I expect from the knowledge they have of the pressing urgencies of the state, that in those matters which concern the general good, they should be the first to propose a re-union of consultation and opinion, which I

consider

consider as necessary in the present crisis, and which ought to take place for the general good of the kingdom.

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*The Declaration of Rights, which has been agreed to by the National Assembly of France, and sanctioned by the King, and which forms the Basis of the new Constitution of France.*

THE representatives of the people of France, formed into a national assembly, considering that ignorance, neglect, or contempt of human rights, are the sole causes of public misfortunes and corruptions of government, have resolved to set forth, in a solemn declaration, these natural, imprescriptible, and unalienable, rights: that this declaration being constantly present to the minds of the members of the body social, they may be ever kept attentive to their rights and their duties: that the acts of the legislative and executive powers of government being capable of being every moment compared with the end of political institutions, may be more respected; and also, that the future claims of the citizens, being directed by simple and incontestible principles, may always tend to the maintenance of the constitution, and the general happiness.

For these reasons the national assembly doth recognize and declare, in the presence of the Supreme Being, and with the hope of his blessing and favour, the following sacred rights of men and of citizens.

I. Men were born and always continue free, and equal in respect of their rights. Civil distinctions, therefore, can be founded only on public utility.

II. The end of all political associations is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man; and these rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance of oppression.

III. The nation is essentially the source of all sovereignty; nor can any individual, or any body of men, be entitled to any authority which is not expressly derived from it.

IV. Political liberty consists in the power of doing whatever does not injure another. The exercise of the natural rights of every man, has no other limits than those which are necessary to secure to every other man the free exercise of the same rights; and these limits are determinable only by the law.

V. The law ought to prohibit only actions hurtful to society. What is not prohibited by the law should not be hindered; nor should any one be compelled to that which the law does not require.

VI. The law is an expression of the will of the community. All citizens have a right to concur, either personally or by their representatives, in its formation. It should be the same to all, whether it protects or punishes; and all being equal in its sight, are equally eligible to all honours, places, and employments, according to their different abilities, without any other distinction than that created by their virtues and talents.

VII. No man should be accused, arrested, or held in confinement, ex-

cept

cept in cases determined by the law, and according to the forms which it has prescribed. All who promote, solicit, execute, or cause to be executed, arbitrary orders, ought to be punished: and every citizen called upon or apprehended by virtue of the law, ought immediately to obey, and renders himself culpable by resistance.

VIII. The law ought to impose no other penalties than such as are absolutely and evidently necessary; and no one ought to be punished but in virtue of a law promulgated before the offence, and legally applied.

IX. Every man being presumed innocent till he has been convicted, whenever his detention becomes indispensable, all rigour to him, more than is necessary to secure his person, ought to be provided against by the law.

X. No man ought to be molested on account of his opinions, nor even on account of his religious opinions, provided his avowal of them does not disturb the public order established by the law.

XI. The unrestrained communication of thoughts and opinions being one of the most precious rights of man, every citizen may speak, write, and publish freely, provided he is responsible for the abuse of this liberty in cases determined by the law.

XII. A public force being necessary to give security to the rights of men and of citizens, that force is instituted for the benefit of the community, and not for the particular benefit of the persons to whom it is entrusted.

XIII. A common contribution being necessary for the support of the public force, and for defray-

ing the other expences of government, it ought to be divided equally among the members of the community, according to their abilities.

XIV. Every citizen has a right, either by himself or his representative, to a free voice in determining the necessity of public contributions, the appropriation of them, and their amount, mode of assessment, and duration.

XV. Every community has a right to demand of all its agents an account of their conduct.

XVI. Every community in which a separation of powers and a security of rights is not provided for, wants a constitution.

XVII. The right to property being inviolable and sacred, no one ought to be deprived of it, except in cases of evident public necessity legally ascertained, and on condition of a previous just indemnity.

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*Extract from the Declaration of the Emperor to the States at Bruxelles, March 8, 1787.*

THE States of this province having been convoked on the 2d inst. the Minister Plenipotentiary notified to them a dispatch, signed by the Emperor's own hand, which was principally in answer to the address of the first orders of the State, on the 29th of January last.

This declaration, say the states, strikes the final blow at our constitution, in denying us the right of being tried by our own judges, according to the ancient law of the land, and denying the right of the Council of Brabant to participate in the legislation of the country.

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We shall give a pretty full extract of this important paper;— it runs thus :

“ Without having any further controversy in respect to raising the supplies, I order you to proceed without delay to the granting of them, in virtue of my full and sovereign power.

“ To this object I have empowered my Government General to afford you any military assistance in enforcing the supplies, should it be found necessary.

“ I promise myself that you will pay implicit respect, as you ought to do, to my sovereign commands, as they are founded on a thorough knowledge of the case, nor suffer yourselves to be led away by objects foreign to your duty ; and further, that you will not give countenance to those indiscreet persons, who by an obstinate resistance and a criminal conduct, have incurred my disgrace ; nor embarrass the exercise of my rights, and the prerogatives of the crown.

“ I have, moreover, ordered my Government General to carry into full force the laws I have ordained, and to spare no methods to put them into the speediest execution, without minding (in regard to any of my subjects who may dispute them) the common forms of law, which were only made for ordinary cases. At the same time, I acquaint you, that I have broken and annulled those clauses and conditions by which some of the Courts have exceptions, and new modified my orders.

“ Not doubting but you will think with me, that if my dignity and my rights require, that

I should take some effectual measures to destroy for ever that odious disgrace, which, for the honour of the nation, I would wish to forget the remembrance of, it is even for its own interest, as well as mine, that I should purify the constitution, in many instances obscure and inexcusable, and to fix it upon a proper basis.

“ I cannot give you a stronger proof of my clemency, nor of my real affection, than in communicating my intentions, which, after what has happened, I was fully authorised to do by my sovereign power alone.

“ I must likewise acquaint you, that the mitigation of the rigorous parts of my dispatch of the 7th January last, only holds good so long as every order of my citizens observe the implicit respect it owes me ; and that if there should still be found refractory persons, who should be guilty of the least seditious step injurious to my authority, I have given implicit orders to my Government General to act against those culprits without observing the usual forms of law, which in all such cases are to be made subservient to the necessity of the case.

(Signed) JOSEPH.

And under it, DR. LEDEROR,  
*Vienna, Feb. 1789.*”

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*Speech of the King of Sweden to the Assembly of the States, in March 1789.*

WHEN I ratified with you, near 17 years ago, in this very chamber, the constitutional laws which laid the foundation for your liberties and my rights,

rights, and which restored tranquillity to the kingdom, the country was convulsed nearly by like circumstances as those which have arisen on this occasion, with a more rapid progress.

The same enemies without laid for us then in secret the artful snares which they now do openly; the same views within, which then undermined and afflicted the body of the state, seem now to have rallied and acquired fresh vigour.

What is it then that can occasion such violent shocks as those we now feel, after tranquillity had been restored, and all the ancient dissensions appeared to be stilled? They can only have the same source, namely, the different confused opinions of interest, whence arise distrust and jealousy, and the false explanations of sundry privileges relating to each order: upon which, however, we should be all of one mind, for the equal advancement of the public good: since a people enjoying the same liberty, born in the same country, cultivating the same soil; a people obeying the same laws, acknowledging the same King, and worshipping the same God, ought not to be divided in opinion on the subject of privileges to which all the citizens in common seem to have an equal right. But particular orders, who are distinguished from one another, both by ancient ordinances and a long series of events, and by the nature of the statutes of the kingdom, and shining merit, ought nevertheless to possess necessarily certain privileges peculiar to each order, and to which they have an unalienable right.

But if these prerogatives are not founded on a lawful basis, if they are not suitably determined, they will infallibly create intestine divisions, which, though they do not always expose the public weal to imminent danger, yet they interrupt tranquillity, so essential, and commonly divert the attention from the true aim.

If ever a kingdom has experienced the effects of it, it is without contradiction our dear country, which aristocratical ambition has convulsed and abandoned to usurpation, and democratical despotism has divided.

It is time to annihilate these disorders, which I thought I had extirpated at the beginning of my reign, and which I have endeavoured to remove to give vigour to our constitution. It is just to confirm the privileges that the two first orders of the kingdom enjoy; but as they are not clearly defined in the constitution, there may result fresh disputes from it.

It is equitable to establish privileges for the order of Plebeians, since nature seems to have given the members of that order a right to hope for them as fellow-citizens in the same country. And at what æra can you deserve it better, and have a clearer right to see fixed, determined, and ascertained on a solid basis, your own privileges, and those of your posterity, than the present epocha? — At this æra, when you have devoted yourselves of your own accord to the service and defence of my person and the state, and have manifested the same virtues as those by which your fellow-citizens before you obtained their privileges?

It is just, therefore, that you should also have a share. It is also time for us to remove reciprocally from among ourselves every subject for dispute, to unite in such a manner as to avoid all ambiguity, and to preserve our common safety on an immovable foundation.

If the constitution is preserved according to its maxims and its end, and confirmed in so evident a manner, that no doubt can in future be formed respecting it; this is the safest means of preserving the union. These maxims are salutary; they consist of these points: when the ordinance of government receives security from him who governs; when the subject under the law enjoys the right of imposing taxes freely on himself, with entire security in the possession of property to be cultivated and defended; equality of right among equal citizens. Behold the nature of the act of Union and safety, which you will now hear read to you.

Citizens, Swedes! Let us then bind ourselves for ever in this Union, which can only give confidence, privileges, liberty, and safety! and as the enemy think we are divided to such a degree that they hope to oppress us, let us shew them, that united even in danger we are the same valiant nation we were formerly.

May the Almighty shed his grace on our resolutions, and inspire us with a spirit of union and confidence!

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*Declaration made by Mr. Elliot to the Count Bernstorff, April 23, 1789.*

I Willingly acquiesce to the desire your Excellency has expressed of receiving in writing the summary of those representations I had the honour to make to you by word of mouth, by the orders of my Court.

Your Excellency will be pleased to remember, that at the instant that the King of Denmark yielded up a great part of his land and sea forces as auxiliaries to Russia, his Danish Majesty applied for the intervention of his Britannic Majesty to re-establish tranquillity between Sweden and Russia.

It is also with the liveliest sorrow that I must recall to your Excellency's memory, that the Empress of Russia thought proper to avoid the mediation of the King and his allies; and that this refusal was the only cause of the continuation of hostilities, since his Majesty the King of Sweden had accepted, in the freest and most amicable manner, that offer from the three Courts, which were animated with the only desire of stopping the shedding of blood, and maintaining the Northern balance.

Your Excellency has afterwards been witness, that the King and his allies have acted with energy, to give the most undoubted proofs that they thought the preservation of Sweden was of the greatest importance; and that these Courts mutually endeavoured to obtain a cessation of hostilities from the land and sea forces of his Swedish Majesty, which had acted in the military operations of the last campaign, and their endeavours had the most salutary effects.

The King my master still sees with sorrow, that since that epoch the offers of mediation and services from

from the King and his allies have not produced the desired effect; nor could they incline the Empress to agree to a mediation for restoring peace to the East or to the North of Europe.

Under these circumstances, when Russia refuses to accept every mediation, and that the continuation of hostilities proceeds from this refusal only, his Britannic Majesty and his allies think they should strongly represent to the Court of Denmark, that this Court appears to them entirely freed from every stipulation of a treaty merely defensive; and even to add, that in the present case the joining of the Danish forces either by land or sea to those of Russia would even cause Denmark to be considered as one of the powers at war, and could but justify the King of Sweden in asking for a speedy and efficacious assistance from his Britannic Majesty and his allies, from whom his Swedish Majesty has accepted a pure and unlimited mediation.

From the principles of sincerity which I have ever observed towards a Court in alliance and a friend to Great Britain, I must assure you, Sir, that neither the King of England, nor his allies, can give up the system they have adopted with the design only of maintaining the equal balance of the North—a balance no less interesting to Denmark than to all maritime and trading nations.

I doubt not that your Excellency perceives how little the most favourable interpretation of your treaty could assist the Empress, if it occasioned by land and by sea a vigorous co-operation of the three powers in defence of Sweden: nor that the Council of Copenhagen is too

wise and too moderate to expose either Russia or Denmark to an increase of hostilities from Courts which in other respects wish but for peace, and who desire to establish it on the most solid foundation, and on conditions the most advantageous to every party concerned.

Therefore, Sir, I must expressly intreat you, from the King and his allies, to induce the Court of Denmark not to grant any part of their forces, either by land or sea, to act offensively against Sweden under pretence of a defensive treaty; but, on the contrary, to support a perfect neutrality in every province, and on all the seas belonging to the King of Denmark.

Depend on it, Sir, that as soon as Denmark will have taken a resolution so conformable to the wishes of its true friends, the concurrence of the King of Denmark towards the re-establishment of a general peace would be infinitely agreeable to the King my master; and I dare add, that your Excellency has too long been acquainted with the true interests of Russia, and with the sentiments of England, not to be sensible that the Empress of Russia cannot better confide to effect a peace than to his Britannic Majesty, and his allies. My instructions are, to ask of your Excellency a clear and decisive answer on the intentions of his Danish Majesty with regard to a junction of part of his forces, either by land or sea, to the forces of her Imperial Majesty of Russia, and to propose the neutrality of the Danish States, and of the Danish seas, under the most efficacious promises of

security from the King of England and his allies.

The desire of avoiding every kind of useless animosities has caused me to address myself to your Excellency by a private letter, rather than deliver a formal declaration, the contents of which might have been made more public than the actual circumstances of affairs require; and I am bold enough to flatter myself, that, whatever may be the event of my negotiations, your Excellency will do me the justice of acknowledging that I have laboured to prevent the miseries of war. May our united endeavours revive in the hearts of the Sovereigns the true love of their subjects, too unhappy victims of that chimerical love of glory which has so frequently and so unnecessarily stained Europe with blood."

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*Articles of the Quadruple Alliance  
between Russia, Austria, France,  
and Spain.*

**A**RTICLE I. That in case any of the parties are attacked, by sea or land, the other three shall defend, with money, forces, or shipping.

II. The treaties of 1748, 1753, 1756, the Bourbon Family Compact in 1761, and the Convention between Austria and Russia in 1787, shall be in full force.

III. Their most Christian and Catholic Majesties oblige themselves to observe the strictest neutrality in the present war with the Turks. But in case the Emperor should be attacked by any other power, the French King is to furnish him 30,000 men, or an equivalent in

money, on demand. And in case the French King is attacked, the Emperor is to furnish the like succours.

IV. The King of Spain agrees, on his part, to the aforesaid third article, which the Emperor also does toward the King of Spain.

V. If the Empress of Russia should be attacked in the present war with the Turks, his Most Christian Majesty engages to assist her with eight ships of the line, and six frigates; and his Catholic Majesty is to furnish the like succours; the Empress of Russia binding herself to furnish either or both powers with an equal assistance, in case any attack is made on them.

VI. The Treaty of Commerce between France and Russia, made in 1787, shall be in full force, and a similar treaty be signed by Russia and Spain.

VII. The treaty of 1761, between France and Spain, to be in full force.

VIII. Though this treaty is to be purely defensive, the parties agree, that if any of them are attacked, the other three shall not make peace, until the province which is invaded is restored back in the same state it was before attacked.

IX. Whenever any of the parties shall, by their Ambassadors, demand stipulated succours, the said Ambassadors shall be reciprocally admitted into the Councils of war, and deliberate upon, and settle whatever may be most advantageous to the four contracting parties, and the auxiliary succours are to be augmented as events may require.

X. The high contracting parties shall have liberty to invite such other powers to accede to the present



sent treaty, as they may think proper.

XI. Denmark, as an ally of Russia, shall be specially invited to accede thereto.

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*Treaty of Defensive Alliance between his Majesty the King of Great Britain and his Majesty the King of Prussia.*

THEIR Majesties the King of Great Britain, and the King of Prussia, being animated with a sincere and equal desire to improve and consolidate the strict union and friendship, which having been transmitted to them by their ancestors, so happily subsist between them, and to concert the most proper measures for securing their mutual interests, and the general tranquillity of Europe, have resolved to renew and strengthen those ties by a treaty of Defensive Alliance; and they have authorised for this purpose, (to wit) his Majesty the King of Great Britain, the Sieur Joseph Ewart, his Envoy Extraordinary at the Court of Berlin; and his Majesty the King of Prussia, the Sieur Ewald Frederic Comte de Hertberg, his minister of state, and of the cabinet, Knight of the order of the Black Eagle; who, after reciprocally communicating their full powers to each other; have agreed upon the following articles:

Article I. There shall be a perpetual, firm, and unalterable friendship, defensive alliance, and strict and inviolable union, together with an intimate and perfect harmony and correspondence between the said most Serene Kings of Great

Britain and Prussia, their heirs and successors, and their respective kingdoms, dominions, provinces, countries, and subjects, which shall be carefully maintained and cultivated, so that the contracting powers shall constantly employ, as well their utmost attention, as also those means which Providence has put in their power, for preserving at the same time the public tranquillity and security, for maintaining their common interests, and for their mutual defence and guaranty against every hostile attack; the whole in conformity to the treaties already subsisting between the high contracting parties, which shall remain in full force and vigour, and shall be deemed to be renewed by the present treaty, as far as the same shall not be derogated from, with their own consent, by posterior treaties, or by the present treaty.

Article II. In consequence of the engagement contracted by the preceding article, the two high contracting parties shall always act in concert for the maintenance of peace and tranquillity; and in case either of them should be threatened with a hostile attack by any power whatever, the other shall employ his most efficacious good offices for preventing hostilities, for procuring satisfaction to the injured party, and for effecting an accommodation in a conciliatory manner.

Article III. But if those good offices should not have the desired effect, in the space of two months, and either of the two high contracting parties should be hostilely attacked, molested, or disturbed in any of his dominions, rights, possessions or interests, or in any manner whatever, by sea or land,

by any European power, the other contracting party engages to succour his ally without delay, in order to maintain each other reciprocally in the possession of all the dominions, territories, towns, and places, which belonged to them before the commencement of such hostilities: For which end, if his Prussian Majesty should happen to be attacked, his Majesty the King of Great Britain shall furnish his Majesty the King of Prussia a succour of sixteen thousand infantry, and four thousand cavalry; and if his Britannic Majesty should happen to be attacked, his Majesty the King of Prussia shall likewise furnish to him a succour of sixteen thousand infantry, and four thousand cavalry; which respective succours shall be furnished in the space of two months after requisition made by the party attacked, and shall remain at his disposal during the whole continuation of the war in which he shall be engaged. These succours shall be paid and maintained by the required power, wherever his ally shall employ them; but the requiring party shall supply them, in his dominions, with such bread and forage as may be necessary, upon the footing to which his own troops are accustomed.

It is nevertheless agreed between the high contracting parties, that if his Britannic Majesty should be in the case of receiving the succour in troops from his Prussian Majesty, his Britannic Majesty shall not employ them out of Europe, nor even in the garrison of Gibraltar.

If the injured and requiring party should prefer succours in money to land forces, he shall have his choice; and in case of the

two high contracting parties furnishing to each other the stipulated succours in money, such succours shall be computed at one hundred thousand florins, Dutch currency, per annum, for one thousand infantry, and at one hundred and twenty thousand florins, of the like value, for one thousand cavalry, per annum, or in the same proportion by the month.

Article IV. In case the stipulated succours should not be sufficient for the defence of the requiring power, the required power shall augment them, according to the exigence of the case, and shall assist the former with his whole force, if circumstances shall render it necessary.

Article V. The high contracting parties hereby renew, in the most express terms, the provisional treaty of defensive alliance which they concluded at Loo, on the 13th of June in the present year, and they again engage and promise to act, at all times, in concert, and with mutual confidence, for maintaining the security, independance, and government of the Republic of the United Provinces, conformably to the engagements which they have lately contracted with the said republic; that is to say, his Britannic Majesty, by a treaty concluded at the Hague, on the 15th of April, 1788, and his Prussian Majesty, by a treaty signed the same day at Berlin, which the said high contracting parties have communicated to each other.

And if it shall happen that by virtue of the stipulations of the said treaties, the high contracting parties should be obliged to augment the succours to be given to the States General, above the numbers specified

specified in the said treaties, or to assist them with their whole force, the said high contracting parties will concert together upon all that may be necessary relative to such augmentation of succours to be agreed on, and to the employment of their respective forces for the security and defence of the said republic.

In case either of the said high contracting parties should, at any time hereafter, be attacked, molested, or disturbed, in any of his dominions, rights, possessions, or interests, in any manner whatever, by sea or by land, by any other power, in consequence and in hatred of the articles or stipulations contained in the said treaties, or of the measures to be taken by the said contracting parties respectively, in virtue of those treaties, the other contracting party engages to succour and assist him against such attack, in the same manner, and by the same succours as are stipulated in the third and fourth articles of the present treaty; and the said contracting parties promise, in all similar cases, to maintain and guaranty each other in the possession of all the dominions, towns, and places, which belonged to them respectively, before the commencement of such hostilities.

Article VI. The present treaty of defensive alliance shall be ratified by each party, and the ratification shall be exchanged in the space of six weeks, or sooner, if it can be done.

In witness whereof, we the underwritten, being authorised by the full powers of their Majesties the Kings of Great Britain and of Prussia, have in their names signed the present treaty, and have thereto set the seals of our arms.

Done at Berlin, the thirteenth of

August, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight.

(L. S.) JOSEPH EWART.

(L. S.) EWALD FREDERIC  
COMTE DE HERTZBERG.

*Note delivered by the Prussian Ambassador to the Diet at Warlaw, and read at their 20th meeting.*

**T**H E undersigned Envoy Extraordinary of his Prussian Majesty having sent the King, his master, the answer, which his Majesty the King of Poland and the confederated States of the Diet communicated on the 20th of October, to the declaration of the 12th of the same month, he has given him express orders to testify to the Illustrious States of the Diet of Poland, the strongest satisfaction which his Majesty feels in observing, by this answer, that they second his favourable sentiments for maintaining the privileges of the Republic, and which also assures him, that the project of an alliance between Russia and Poland (which his Majesty the King of Poland, and his Minister at the Court, had made a proposition of) had not been in any manner an act of the present Confederate Diet, who were solely occupied in the augmentation of the army and revenues of the State.

At the same time that the King finds in this answer an agreeable and convincing proof of the wisdom which directs all the resolutions of the present Diet, he learns with an equal satisfaction, that the Illustrious States, faithful to their constitution, have in their session of the 3d of November, by a public sanction, and invested with all constitutional formalities, regulated the

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command

command of their military force, in such a manner, as to assure to the Republic its independence, and remove from it the possibility of abuse of power, of despotism, and of all foreign influence, which every other regulation made it susceptible of.

His Majesty thought himself secure in the known prudence and firmness of the States of the Diet, who would never permit any thing to prevent a regulation which does so much honour to their wise foresight; by the consideration of a particular guarantee to the former constitution, as if the Republic should not have power to amend the form of its government in the new situation of circumstances in which it absolutely is at present; a guarantee, which is not conformable to the treaty of 1773, on which only the guarantees are founded, and which was signed in the Diet of 1775 by one power only, who contradicted it soon after.

The King continues firmly resolved to fulfil his promises towards the Illustrious Republic, of an alliance and general guarantee, especially to secure its independence without ever intermeddling in its interior affairs, or wishing to trouble the freedom of its deliberations and resolutions, which on the contrary he will support with all his efforts.

His Majesty is flattered, that the Illustrious States of the present Diet are convinced of the uprightness and purity of these assurances, and of his friendly sentiments for the Republic, without suffering any sinister insinuations to prevail upon them, by those who only seek to propagate a spirit of party under the cloke of patriotism, and who, in reality, have no other design than to take off the Republic from the Court of Prussia, its most ancient ally.

The King, by his declaration

of the 12th of October, and by the present, which has been transmitted to the Russian Minister at Berlin, could not think of expressing in an equivocal manner his sentiments for the safety and welfare of the Republic, which no consideration whatever shall divert him from.

His Majesty hopes also that the Confederated States of the Republic will give to this new declaration all the attention and consideration which it merits, from the purest and most sincere sentiments of friendship and good neighbourhood, and the unequivocal wishes he entertains for the prosperity of the Republic

LOUIS DE BUCKMOLTZ.  
*Warsaw, Nov. 19, 1788.*

The States have replied to his last declaration:

They declare, "That if their past resolutions in deciding for a separate commission of the war department have met with the good wishes of the King of Prussia, they hope their subsequent deliberations on the same subject will ensure them in future. It is by such a conduct, that the Republic wishes to assure the King, how much they esteem his wisdom and approbation, as well as establish the safety of the Republic, which, his Majesty so kindly says, is superior to other important considerations.

"The King of Prussia having declared himself ready to fulfil his engagements of alliance and guarantee with the States, the nation accepts it with a reciprocal desire and gratitude. His Majesty, in offering such generous and friendly terms, establishes for ever that high opinion which the Polish nation entertains of his magnanimity and character.

STANISLAUS MALACHOWSKI.  
PRINCE SAPICHA.  
*Warsaw, Dec. 8, 1788."*

*A Bill,*

*A Bill, intituled, An Act to provide for the Care of his Majesty's Royal Person, and for the Administration of the Royal Authority, during the Continuance of his Majesty's Illness.*

**W**HEREAS, by reason of the severe indisposition with which it hath pleased God to afflict the King's most Excellent Majesty, the personal exercise of the royal authority by his Majesty is for the present so far interrupted that it becomes necessary to make provision for assisting his Majesty in the administration and exercise of the royal authority during the continuance of his Majesty's indisposition, in such manner, and to such extent, as the present circumstances, and the urgent concerns of the nation, require; be it therefore enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that his Royal Highness George Augustus Frederick, Prince of Wales, shall have full power and authority, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, and under the stile and title of Regent of this kingdom, to exercise and administer, according to the laws and constitution of Great Britain, the royal power and authority to the Crown of Great Britain belonging, and to use, execute, and perform all authorities, prerogatives, acts of government, and administration of the same, which lawfully belong to the King of this realm to use, execute and perform, subject to such limitations, exceptions, regulations, and restrictions, as are

herein - after specified and contained.

And be it also enacted by the authority aforesaid, that no acts of regal power, prerogative, government, or administration of government, of what kind or nature soever, which might lawfully be done or executed by the King's most Excellent Majesty, personally exercising his royal authority, shall, during the continuance of the Regency by this act established, be valid and effectual, unless done and executed in the name, and on the behalf, of his Majesty, by the authority of the said Regent, according to the provisions of this act, and subject to the limitations, exceptions, regulations, and restrictions, herein contained.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the said Regent, before he shall act, or enter upon his said office of Regent, shall take the following oath of office:

" I do solemnly promise and  
 " swear, that I will truly and faithfully execute the office of Regent  
 " of the kingdom of Great Britain,  
 " according to an act of parliament  
 " passed in the twenty-ninth year of  
 " the reign of his Majesty King  
 " George the Third, intituled, An  
 " act to provide for the care of his  
 " Majesty's royal person, and for the  
 " administration of the royal authority during the continuance of his  
 " Majesty's illness; and that I will  
 " administer, according to law, the  
 " power and authority vested in  
 " me by virtue of the said act, and  
 " will, in all things, to the utmost  
 " of my power and ability, consult  
 " and maintain the safety, honour,  
 " and dignity of his Majesty, and  
 " the welfare of his people.

" So help me God."

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Which

Which oath shall be taken before his Majesty's most honourable privy council, who are hereby required and impowered to administer the same, and to enter the same in the books of the said privy council.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the said Regent shall be deemed and taken to be a person having and executing an office and place of trust within England, and shall take and subscribe such oaths, and make and subscribe such declaration, and do all such acts as are required by the laws and statutes of this kingdom to qualify persons to hold offices and places of trust, and to continue in the same, in such manner as in and by the said laws and statutes are required, and under such pains, penalties, forfeitures, and disabilities, as are therein and thereby appointed and ordained.

And be it also enacted by the authority aforesaid, that it shall be lawful for the said Regent to take and subscribe such oaths, and make and subscribe such declaration, in and before his Majesty's most honourable privy council; and that the certificate of his having received the sacrament of the Lord's supper in any of the royal chapels, signed by the person administering the same, shall be registered in the books of the said most honourable privy council; and that such taking and subscribing the said oaths, and making and subscribing the said declaration, and taking the sacrament of the Lord's supper as aforesaid, shall be, to all intents and purposes, as effectual as if the same had been respectively taken, made, and subscribed in the manner now required by law for the qualification of persons to hold offices and places of trust, and to continue in the same.

And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that nothing in this act contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to impower the said Regent, in the name, and on the behalf of his Majesty, to give the royal assent to any bill or bills in parliament, for repealing, changing, or in any respect varying the order and course of succession to the crown of this realm, as the same stands now established in the illustrious house of Hanover, by an act, passed in the twelfth year of the reign of King William the Third, intituled, An act for the further limitation of the crown, and better securing the rights and liberties of the subject; or to any act for repealing or altering the act, made in the thirteenth year of the reign of King Charles the Second, intituled, An act for the uniformity of public prayers and administration of sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, and for establishing the form of making, ordaining, and consecrating bishops, priests, and deacons, in the church of England; or the act of the fifth year of the reign of Queen Anne, made in Scotland, intituled, An act for securing the protestant religion, and presbyterian church government.

Provided also, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if his said Royal Highness George Augustus Frederick, Prince of Wales, shall not continue to be resident in Great Britain, or shall, at any time, marry a papist, then, and in either of such cases, all the powers and authorities vested in his said Royal Highness, by virtue of this act, shall cease and determine.

Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that his Royal Highness shall not have or exercise any power or authority

to grant, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, any rank, title, or dignity, of the peerage of this realm, by letters patent, writ of summons, or in any other manner whatever, or to summon any person to the House of Lords by any title to which such person shall be the heir apparent, or to appoint any such rank, title, or dignity, which now is, or hereafter shall be, in abeyance, to any of the coheirs thereof.

Provided nevertheless, and be it enacted, that it shall be lawful for his said Royal Highness to grant, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, any rank, title, or dignity, of the peerage of this realm, to such of his Majesty's royal issue as shall have attained the full age of twenty-one years.

Provided also, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the said Regent shall not have power or authority to grant, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, any office or employment whatever in reversion, or to grant for any longer term than during his Majesty's pleasure, any office, employment, salary, or pension, whatever; save only that it shall be lawful for the said Regent to grant, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, all such offices and employments in possession, for the term of the natural life, or during the good behaviour, of the grantee or grantees thereof respectively, as by law must be so granted.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the said Regent shall not have power, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, to make any gift, grant, alienation, lease, or other assurance, to any person or persons, body poli-

tic or corporate, whatever, under the great seal of Great Britain, exchequer seal, seals of the duchy or county palatine of Lancaster, or any of them, or by copy of court roll, or otherwise, of any manors, messuages, lands, tenements, rents, tythes, woods, or other hereditaments, now belonging or hereafter to belong to his Majesty, or to any person or persons in trust for his Majesty, in possession, reversion, remainder, use, or expectancy, whether the same be, or shall be, in right of the crown of Great Britain, or as part of the principality of Wales, or of the duchy or county palatine of Lancaster, or otherwise howsoever, whereby any estate or interest whatsoever, in law or equity, shall or may pass from his Majesty; but that every such gift, grant, alienation, lease, or other assurance, shall be null and void, without any inquisition, *scire facias*, or other proceeding, to determine and make void the same, unless such grant, lease, or assurance, shall be made of such lands, tenements, and hereditaments, and none other, as have been usually demised within the space of ten years last past, or shall be made for the renewing of any grant, lease, or other assurance, now subsisting of the lands, tenements, or hereditaments aforesaid, according to the several provisions, regulations, and restrictions of an act, passed in the first year of the reign of Queen Anne, intituled, An act for the better support of her Majesty's household, and of the honour and dignity of the crown: provided always, that this act, or any thing herein contained, shall not extend to disable the said Regent to make any grant or restitution of any estate or estates hereafter to be forfeited

for any treason or felony whatever; or to disable the said Regent to grant, demise, or assign any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, which shall be seized or taken into his Majesty's hands upon any outlawry, at the suit of his Majesty or his subjects, in such manner as hath been usual; or any estate whatever, which is or shall be seized, extended, or taken in execution, for any debt owing or to be due to the Crown, as the said Regent, on the behalf of his Majesty, shall think fit; or to make any grants or admittances, which of right or custom ought to be made, of any copyhold or customary lands, tenements, or hereditaments, parcel of any manor or manors of his Majesty.

And be it also enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the said Regent shall not have power to grant or alienate any part of the personal estate to his Majesty belonging, but that every such grant or alienation shall be void and of none effect. Provided always, that this act, or any thing therein contained, shall not extend to disable the said Regent from exercising, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, all and every the rights, privileges, powers, and prerogatives, over the small branches of his Majesty's hereditary revenue herein-after mentioned; that is to say, the monies arising by fines for writs of covenant, or writs of entry, payable in the alienation office; the monies arising by the post fines: the monies arising by sheriff's proffers, and compositions in the exchequer, and seizures of prohibited and uncustomed goods, in like manner as the same are reserved to his Majesty, by virtue of an act, made and passed in the first year of his Ma-

jesty's reign, intituled, An act for the support of his Majesty's household, and of the honour and dignity of the Crown of Great Britain; or to disable the said Regent from remitting, mitigating, or pardoning, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, any penalty or forfeiture incurred, or to be incurred, of any sum or sums of money become, or which shall become, due or forfeited to his Majesty, which by law may be remitted, mitigated, or pardoned: provided also, that this act, or any thing therein contained, shall not disable the said Regent from issuing and applying all such monies as now are, or shall be applicable to the civil government of the realm, by virtue of any act or acts of Parliament made or to be made.

And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the several letters patent, letters of privy seal, and all other lawful authorities, of what nature or kind soever, which have been granted or issued by his Majesty, by virtue whereof any payments of any sum or sums of money are directed to be made out of the monies applicable to the use of his Majesty's civil government, for the use of the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, or for the use of any of the branches of his Majesty's Royal family, shall continue to be, and the same are hereby enacted to continue to be of full force and effect respectively, during the continuance of the Regency by this act established; and that warrants shall be issued by the lord high treasurer, or lords commissioners of the treasury, for the payment of the several sums therein respectively contained, which warrants the said lord high treasurer, or lords commissioners



of the treasury, are hereby respectively required to issue at the usual and accustomed times, and in the usual and accustomed manner.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the lord high treasurer, or the lords commissioners of the treasury, shall from time to time direct to much of the monies of the civil list revenues to be issued at the receipt of the exchequer, as shall be sufficient to pay the whole of the expences incurred in each quarter, in the several departments of his Majesty's household, in the same order, and in like manner as is directed by an act, made in the twenty-second year of his Majesty's reign, intituled, An act for enabling his Majesty to discharge the debt contracted upon his civil list revenues, and for preventing the same from being in arrear for the future, by regulating the mode of payments out of the said revenues, and by suppressing or regulating certain offices therein mentioned, which are now paid out of the revenues of the civil list; provided that the whole amount of such expences, at the end of each quarter, shall not exceed, by more than three thousand pounds, the amount of the expences of the said departments at the end of the corresponding quarter in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, and that the whole of the expence of any one year, from the fifth day of January to the fifth day of January in the succeeding year, shall not exceed the whole expence of the said departments in the year ending on the fifth day of January one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine.

Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that it shall and may be lawful for the

said Regent, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, to make any such grant or grants of, or charge or charges upon, the several and respective duties and revenues which are payable to his Majesty in that part of Great Britain called Scotland, as his Majesty can now lawfully make of such duties and revenues; save and except, that it shall not be lawful for the said Regent to make any grant or grants thereof, or charge or charges thereupon, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, for any longer time or term than during the pleasure of his Majesty.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the lord high treasurer, or lords commissioners of the treasury, shall direct, and they are hereby required annually to direct, on or before the twenty-seventh day of April, the sum of sixty thousand pounds to be issued out of the monies of the civil list revenue, to the keeper of his Majesty's privy purse for the time being; and that the said keeper of his Majesty's privy purse shall be, and he is hereby authorised and directed, during the continuance of the Regency by this act established, to issue and apply the sum of twelve thousand pounds in the year, in such yearly, half-yearly, or quarterly payments, to such persons, and in such manner, as he has issued and applied the same by the authority and direction of his Majesty; and that he shall pay, and he is hereby authorised and directed to pay, the sum of one thousand pounds, at the expiration of each and every quarter, to such person as her most Excellent Majesty the Queen shall, by an instrument signed and sealed by her Majesty, authorise and direct

to receive the same, to be by her Majesty's direction applied in such gifts, charities, and allowances, as her Majesty may judge the same would have been applied to by his Majesty, and that the remainder of the aforesaid sum shall be invested by the said keeper of his Majesty's privy purse in some of the public funds or government securities, in the name of the keeper of his Majesty's privy purse for the time being, in trust for his Majesty; and that the net surplus of the revenues of the duchy and county palatine of Lancaster shall be from time to time paid, under the order of the chancellor and council of the said duchy, into the hands of the keeper of his Majesty's privy purse, whose receipt shall be a sufficient discharge for the same, and shall by him be invested in some of the public funds or government securities, in manner aforesaid; and that the governor and company of the Bank of England shall place the said several sums on an account, to be raised in the books of the said governor and company, intituled, 'The account of the keeper of his Majesty's privy purse; and that upon the death, resignation, or removal, of the present and every other keeper of his Majesty's privy purse, hereafter to be appointed, all and every the said stock or stocks, and sum or sums of money arising from the dividends which shall accrue thereon, shall immediately vest in the successor of the present or any future keeper of his Majesty's privy purse respectively; and the keeper of his Majesty's privy purse for the time being is hereby required to lay out and invest the dividends, so accruing as aforesaid, from time to time, in the purchase of other stocks

and securities on the like account; and that the keeper of his Majesty's privy purse for the time being shall, from time to time, execute declarations of trust of all such funds and securities, declaring that the same are held in trust for his Majesty by instruments to be executed under his hand and seal, to be deposited with her Majesty.

Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the said keeper of his Majesty's privy purse shall, on or before the twenty-seventh day of April, one thousand seven hundred and ninety, and on or before the twenty-seventh day of April in every succeeding year, during the continuance of this act, take an oath before the barons of the exchequer, or one of them, in the form following:

" I A. B. do swear, that, according to the best of my knowledge, belief, or information, no part of the money which has been issued to me for the service of his Majesty's privy purse, by virtue of an act, intituled, An act to provide for the care of his Majesty's Royal person, and for the administration of the Royal authority, during the continuance of his Majesty's illness; between the            day of            and the            day of            has been applied, directly or indirectly, for the benefit, use, or behoof, of any member of the house of commons, or, so far as I am concerned, applicable, directly or indirectly, to the purpose of supporting or procuring an interest in any place returning members to Parliament. So help me God."

And whereas it is necessary that proper provision should be made for the care of his Majesty's Royal person,

son, during the continuance of his illness, and for the direction and government of his Majesty's household, in such manner as the circumstances of the case at present appear to require; be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the care of his Majesty's Royal person, during the continuance of his said illness, and the disposing, ordering, and managing, of all matters and things relating thereto, and also the direction and government of his Majesty's household, shall be, and the same are hereby vested in the Queen's most Excellent Majesty; and that her said Majesty shall have the full and sole power and authority, by an instrument in writing, signed and sealed by her Majesty, to nominate, appoint, or remove, the lord steward of his Majesty's household, the lord chamberlain of his Majesty's household, the master of the horse to his Majesty, and the master of the robes, and keeper of his Majesty's privy purse, the groom of the stole, the gentlemen and grooms of his Majesty's bedchamber, and the several officers in the respective departments aforesaid, whose appointment, nomination, or removal, have been heretofore made by his Majesty; and that the nomination and appointment of her Majesty, in the manner and form aforesaid, shall be valid and effectual, to all intents and purposes, as if the same had been made or done by his Majesty in the accustomed manner; and that the several persons so appointed shall be entitled to the like precedence, privileges, salaries, wages, profits, and all other emoluments, as the several persons now holding and enjoying the said offices are respectively entitled to.

And whereas the execution of the

weighty and arduous trusts hereby committed to the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, in respect of the care of his Majesty's Royal person, and of the disposing, ordering, and managing, of all matters and things relating thereto, may require the assistance of a council, with whom her Majesty may consult and advise in the discharge of the same; be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, that, in order to assist and advise her said most Excellent Majesty in the several matters aforesaid, there shall be, during the continuance of his Majesty's illness, a council, consisting of John Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Edward Lord Thurlow, William Lord Archbishop of York, Lloyd Lord Kenyon; the Lord Steward of his Majesty's household for the time being; the Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty's household for the time being; the Master of the Horse to his Majesty for the time being; and the First Gentleman of the bedchamber, and Groom of the Stole to his Majesty for the time being; which council shall, from time to time, meet, as her Majesty shall be pleased to direct; and if it should happen that any of them the said John Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Edward Lord Thurlow, William Lord Archbishop of York, and Lloyd Lord Kenyon, should depart this life, then, and in such case, it shall be lawful for the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by an instrument in writing, signed and sealed by her Majesty, revokable at her will and pleasure, to nominate and appoint some one person, being or having been a member of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, to be a member of the said council, to advise and assist her Majesty as aforesaid, in the room and place

of each and every of the said counsellors so departing this life; which nomination and appointment shall be forthwith certified by an instrument in writing, signed and sealed by her Majesty, to the Lords of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, and shall be entered in the books thereof.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that each and every such counsellor shall, within the space of one month after his appointment by virtue of this act, or by virtue of her Majesty's nomination and appointment, in manner aforesaid, take the following oath before his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council; who are hereby required and impowered to administer the same, and to enter the same in the books of the said Privy Council:

“ I A. B. do solemnly promise  
 “ and swear, that I will truly and  
 “ faithfully counsel and advise the  
 “ Queen's most Excellent Majesty,  
 “ according to the best of my judg-  
 “ ment, in all matters touching the  
 “ care of his Majesty's Royal person,  
 “ and the disposing, ordering, and  
 “ managing all things relating  
 “ thereto.

“ So help me God.”

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the said council, or any three or more of them, shall have power and authority at all times, when they shall judge it necessary, to call before them, and to examine upon oath, the physicians, and all other persons attendant on his Majesty during the continuance of his illness, touching the state of his Majesty's health, and all matters relating thereto; which oath any member of the said council is hereby authorized and impowered to administer.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any person, being a member of the House of Commons, shall accept of any office of profit from the Crown, by the nomination and appointment of her Majesty the Queen, by virtue of this act, or by the said Regent, in the name and on behalf of his Majesty, during the continuance of the Regency hereby established, his election shall be, and is hereby declared to be void, and a new writ shall issue for a new election, in such and the like manner as if such person had been appointed to such office by his Majesty.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if her Majesty the Queen shall depart this life during the time that the care of his Majesty's Royal person shall be committed to her Majesty, according to the provisions of this act, the said Regent shall forthwith order and direct a proclamation, under the great seal of Great Britain, to be issued and published, declaring the same, and, in case the parliament then in being shall then be separated by any adjournment or prorogation, directing that the said parliament shall forthwith meet and sit, or, if there shall be no parliament in being, then, and in such case, directing that the members of the last preceding parliament shall forthwith meet and sit.

And be it enacted, that the said members, so meeting and sitting, shall be deemed and taken to be the two houses of parliament, to all intents and purposes, as if the former parliament had not been dissolved; but that they shall not continue to sit as the said two houses, or be deemed and taken as such, for any longer time than six months after the day on which they shall so  
 meet,

meet, and that they shall be subject to be sooner prorogued or dissolved.

And be it also further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that, until due provision shall in such case have been made by parliament for the care of his Majesty's Royal person, all and every the powers and authorities in and by this act vested in her Majesty, touching the care of his Majesty's Royal person, and the disposing, ordering, and managing of all matters and things relating thereto, shall be, and the same are hereby vested in the council in and by this act appointed to assist and advise her Majesty in the execution of the trusts to her said Majesty committed by virtue of this act: provided nevertheless, that in such case nothing in this act contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to empower the said Regent, or the said council, to nominate, appoint, or remove any of the several officers of his Majesty's household herein mentioned, until due provision shall have been made by parliament in that behalf.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if his Royal Highness George Augustus Frederick, Prince of Wales, shall depart this life during the continuance of the Regency by this act established, the Lords of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council shall forthwith cause a proclamation to be issued in his Majesty's name, under the great seal of Great Britain, declaring the same, and, in case the Parliament then in being shall then be separated by any adjournment or prorogation, directing that the said Parliament shall forthwith meet and sit, or, if there shall be no Parliament in being, then and in such case directing that the members of the last preceding Parliament shall forthwith meet and sit.

And be it enacted, that the said members so meeting and sitting shall be deemed and taken to be the two houses of parliament, to all intents and purposes, as if the former parliament had not been dissolved, but that they shall not continue to sit as the said two houses, or be deemed and taken as such, for any longer time than six months after the day on which they shall so meet.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that when it shall appear to her Majesty the Queen, and to five of the council appointed by this act to assist her Majesty in the execution of the trust committed to her Majesty by this act, that his Majesty is restored to such a state of health as to be capable of resuming the personal exercise of the Royal authority, it shall and may be lawful for her said Majesty, by the advice of five of her said council, to notify the same, by an instrument under her Majesty's hand, and signed also by the said five of her Majesty's said council, and addressed to the Lord President of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council for the time being, or, in his absence, to one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State; and the said Lord President, or Secretary of State, shall, and is hereby required, on the receipt thereof, to communicate the same to the said Regent, and to summon forthwith a Privy Council; and the members of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council are hereby required to assemble in consequence of such summons; and the said Lord President, or, in his absence, the said Secretary of State, is required, in the presence of any six or more Privy Counsellors so assembled, to cause the said instrument

ment to be entered on the books of the said privy council, and immediately thereafter to send a copy of such instrument to the Lord Mayor of the city of London, and likewise to cause the same to be printed in the London Gazette.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if at any time after the said instrument under the hand of her Majesty, and of five of her said council, shall have been received and entered as aforesaid, his Majesty shall think proper, by an instrument under his sign manual, to require the Lord President of his Majesty's most honourable Privy council for the time being, or, in his absence, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, to summon a council in his Majesty's presence, consisting of any number of persons not less than nine, whom his Majesty shall name, not being members of the council appointed by this act to assist her Majesty, and who shall be, or shall have been, members of his Majesty's most honourable privy council, the said Lord President, or Secretary of State, shall, and he is hereby required to summon such persons accordingly, and as well the said Lord President, or Secretary of State, as the other persons so summoned, shall, and they are hereby required to attend at the time and place appointed by his Majesty, and such persons so assembled shall be, and be deemed to be, a privy council for the purpose herein-after mentioned.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if his Majesty, by the advice of six of such privy council so assembled, shall signify his Royal pleasure to resume the personal exercise of his Royal authority, and to issue a proclamation

declaring the same, such proclamation shall be issued accordingly, counter-signed by the said six of the said privy council; and all the powers and authorities given by this act shall from thenceforth cease and determine, and the personal exercise of the Royal authority by his Majesty shall be and be deemed to be resumed by his Majesty, and shall be exercised by his Majesty, to all intents and purposes, as if this act had never been made.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if the parliament in being at the time of the issuing such proclamation as aforesaid shall then be separated by adjournment or prorogation, the said parliament shall forthwith meet and sit, and if there shall be no parliament in being at the time of issuing such proclamation as aforesaid, then, and in such case, the members of the last preceding parliament shall forthwith meet and sit.

And be it enacted, that the said members so meeting and sitting shall be deemed and taken to be the two houses of parliament, to all intents and purposes, as if the former parliament had never been dissolved; but that they shall not continue to sit as the said two houses, or be deemed and taken as such, for any longer time than six months after the day on which they shall so meet, and that they shall be subject to be sooner prorogued or dissolved.

Provided always, and be it enacted, that so much of this act as provides that the said Regent shall not have power and authority to grant, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, any office or employment whatever in reversion, or to grant for any longer term than during his Majesty's pleasure any office, employment,

ployment, salary, or pension whatever, may be varied or repealed by any act or acts to be made for that purpose in this present session of parliament, in so far only as relates to the granting of any office, employment, salary, or pension, to any person appointed to the office of lord high chancellor of Great Britain; or to any person retiring, on account of age or infirmity, from the office of chief justice or justice of the courts of king's bench or common pleas, or chief baron or baron of the court of exchequer at Westminster.

Provided also nevertheless, and be it enacted, that the said limita-

tion of the power of the said Regent with respect to the granting, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, any rank, title, or dignity of the peerage of this realm, shall continue and be in force for and during the space of three years from the commencement of this act, and no longer.

And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that this act, and the several powers and authorities to be exercised by virtue of the same, shall commence and take effect from and after the eighteenth day of February one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine.





**CHARACTERS.**



# CHARACTERS.

*Some Account of Dr. Rundle \*, Lord Bishop of Derry in Ireland, in two of his Lordship's Letters to his particular Friends.—From Letters of the late T. Rundle, LL. D. to Mrs. Barbara Sandys.*

To the Reverend Dean † Clarke.

Barrington, Sept. 9, 1740.

My dear Friend,

“ IF I was not the most inactive mortal living, I would quickly come to you at Winchester, to assure you what esteem and affection for you have ever been in my heart; but, I believe, I must defer my visit to you till I can pay it in that city (Exeter), where I was educated, and which still continues the delight of my imagination. Though I think it by far the finest climate, and most agreeable place of residence in England, yet it never appeared in so fair a light to me, as it will, when I see you presiding in its cathedral. I have still some few valuable acquaintance left in that country, who will think themselves happy in your friendship, and rejoice to perform to you all the self-rewarding duties of good neighbourhood; and I am confident they will think themselves more obliged to

me for making them known to you, than for all the other civilities it has ever been in my power to shew them.

Your house there, as well as I remember, is large, but gloomily situated under the shadow of the church; crowded with houses in such a manner, as not to suffer you to have any gardens of value; but the variety of public walks round the town, and the beauty of the landscapes, and the warmth of the air, will make you ample amends for every inconvenience at home, if any such there be. But I am just informed that you have not yet taken possession of it. Whence this delay? I hope it is not from indifference. If you go down next spring, I will offer you my company, if that can make the journey more agreeable.—You will find there every thing that your hospitable heart can desire, in greater plenty, greater elegance, and at less expence, than in any city in England. and, I may almost say, Ireland, if I am not deceived by my memory and my friends. Pardon my indulging myself in the praises of my first love, to one who is to enjoy her beauties, whilst I am banished to Thulè, far from sunshine, and the conversation of those friends, whose company would make even Thulè pleasant,

\* *Secker* is decent, *Rundle* has a heart. POPE.

† Of Exeter.

and sunshine forgotten. If you have any taste for gardening, and cultivating and amassing any kind of vegetable riches, the trees there shoot with a more luxuriant verdure; the flowers glow with warmer colours; and the fruits ripen to a richer flavour, than in any part of this island; and the fig and the grape scarce desire better skies.

I am glad you are pleased with Colonel Folliot; he is a sensible, friendly, upright man; indefatigable in obliging those for whom he has conceived an esteem; and generous to the full extent of his fortune. He has a taste for the beauties of nature, and indulges himself in the enjoyment of every rational amusement of that kind, which he can purchase with discretion. You and he have many things in common, in the turn of your indefatigable charity, to relieve the distresses of mankind; and our hospital for invalids, by his dexterity and diligence, was raised from being *vox & præterea nihil*, into a comfort for many hundreds of unhappy wretches; and is now an honour to our kingdom; and whilst it continues so, will preserve to posterity an account of the fortitude, and virtue, and wisdom of Folliot.

I intend to continue here till the meeting of the parliament, and then to remove to Mr. John Talbot's, in Red Lion Square. You know me well enough, to be sure that the chief call I have into England is to enjoy the company of those friends, to whose family and affection I owe all the good fortune of my life. Inclination and gratitude united in determining me to undertake my present journey. I design to continue the winter and spring in London, and in the beginning of the

summer see my other friends, and then return to Ireland for ever. I grow too old, and too inactive, to propose any future expeditions. I have recovered my health and spirits, but not my strength. I am infinitely better than ever I expected, or could even hope for, without presumption; but yet the effects of a distemper, as well as the infirmities of old age, will disable me from any prospect of being hereafter fit for any thing, but talking in an elbow chair.

I own to you, my friend, my situation in Ireland is as agreeable to me as any possibly could be, remote from the early friendships of my life. I have been served as Plato in his Commonwealth would have Homer treated; "First," says the philosopher, "do him honours, reward his merit, and then—banish him." At Dublin I enjoy the most delightful habitation, the finest landscape, and the mildest climate, that can be described or desired. I have a house there rather too elegant and magnificent; in the north an easy diocese, and a large revenue. I have but thirty-five beneficed clergymen under my care, and they are all regular, decent, and neighbourly: each hath considerable and commendable general learning; but not one is eminent for any particular branch of knowledge. And I have rather more curates, who are allowed by their rectors such a stipend, as hath, alas! tempted most of them to marry; and it is not uncommon to have curates that are fathers of eight or ten children, without any thing but an allowance of forty pounds a year to support them.

The only discipline that I have as yet exerted, hath been to discard three out of my diocese, who, though refused

refused certificates by me and my clergy, have obtained good livings in America, and found room for repentance. If their former misfortunes have been a warning to them, I rejoice at their success; but if they are once more negligent of their conduct, there is no farther beneficial pardon for their follies in this life, though they should sincerely seek it with tears.

My dean, your kinsman, is much beloved at Derry, and is highly delighted with the preferment. That place was the first object of his fondness, and agrees with his constitution; his wife was born in it, and is related to great numbers near it. He is very generous, and a great economist; lives splendidly, yet buys estates; and equally takes care of his reputation and his family. The income is above 1300l. per ann. but he hath seven curates, to whom he is generous. It is a preferment which will increase daily, and the outgoings continue the same. It is now a clear 1000l. and will next year be probably better. I have only room to assure you that I am,

Yours most sincerely,  
T. D E R R Y.

Dr. Rundle had been a valetudinary through life, and his constitution, soon after this period, was perceptibly yielding to the inveteracy of the chronic disorder under which he laboured. His life was protracted a few years by medical assistance. He died at his palace in Dublin on the 14th of April, 1743, scarcely sixty years old. The subjoined letter, written a short time before, evinces the firmness with which he awaited the hour of dissolution.

To Archdeacon S.

Dublin, March 22, 1742-3.

Dear Sir,

“**A** DIEU—for ever—Perhaps I may be alive when this comes to your hands—more probably not;—but in either condition, your sincere well-wisher.—Believe me, my friend, there is no comfort in this world, but a life of virtue and piety; and no death supportable, but one comforted by Christianity, and its real and rational hope. The first, I doubt not, you experience daily—May it be long before you experience the second!—I have lived to be *Conspiciatur*,—*passed through good report and evil report*—have not been injured more than outwardly by the last, and solidly benefited by the former. May all who love the truth in Christ Jesus, and sincerely obey the Gospel, be happy! For they deserve to be so, who (*ἀληθεύειν ἐν ἀγάπῃ*) seek truth in the spirit of love.

Adieu!—I have no more strength.—My affectionate last adieu to your lady.

T. D E R R Y.”

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*Description and Character of the Turks and Greeks, inhabiting the Island of Candia, (anciently Crete.)—From M. Savary's Letters on Greece.*

To M. L. M.

“**T**HE beauty of man, Madam, his powers, and his health, depend, in general, on the climate he inhabits, his food, and the nature of his occupations. In Crete,

the Turk, who is not tormented by ambition, or the thirst of wealth, whose mind is never occupied by the chimeras of intrigue, who knows not envy, which debases the soul, nor exhausts himself in the pursuit of the sciences, to which we too often sacrifice our health; the Turk, I say, who lives on wholesome and simple aliments, and passes his days amid the flowery fields he cultivates, and in the bosom of his family who obey and revere him, grows and rises into a Colossus. The salubrity of the air he breathes, the sweet temperature he enjoys, the delightful scenes perpetually before his eyes, and the peaceful life he leads, all contribute to strengthen his body, and preserve his vigour even beneath the snows of age. Hither the sculptor, devoted to his art, and emulating the ancients, should come in search of models. He would see young men of eighteen or twenty, five feet six, or eight inches high\*, who possess all the graces peculiar to their time of life. Their muscles have still a little plumpness, which will soon assume a bolder character; their cheeks, gracefully rounded, display an animated carnation, and their eyes are full of fire; their chin is covered with a light down, never violated by the razor; their air is full of grace and dignity; and their whole carriage, and every gesture, bespeaks health and vigour.

In men arrived at maturity, the features and outlines are more developed. Their legs are naked; and when their robes are lifted up, the muscles appear boldly prominent: their arms exhibit those signs of strength which were visible in those

of the ancient Athletæ: their shoulders are broad, their chests full, and their necks, never straightened by the ligatures, which from infancy confine those of the Europeans, retain all the beautiful proportions assigned to that part by nature; no tight breeches, or garters, bind their legs below the knee; that part of their leg, therefore, is never distorted or contracted, nor is the knee too prominent. In a word, all their limbs, unaccustomed to the fetters which confine our motions, and which habit alone could render supportable, preserve their natural form, and that admirable symmetry which constitutes male beauty. When they stand erect, all parts of the body properly support each other. When they walk, they move with an air of dignity, and bodily strength and firmness of mind display themselves in every gesture. Their majestic eye announces that they are accustomed to command. Pride and severity may sometimes be apparent in their looks, but meanness never.

The Mahometans, who inhabit the island of Crete, are such, Madam, as I have here pourtrayed them. They are, in general, from five feet and a half to six feet high†. They resemble the ancient statues; and, in fact, such were the men the artists of antiquity took for their models. It is not, therefore, wonderful they should have surpassed us, having a more beautiful nature from which to copy. One day, as I was walking with an officer in the environs of Canea, he exclaimed, at the sight of every Turk that passed, Oh! were I only permitted to choose

\* About six feet English.

† French measure, answering to from five feet eleven inches to six feet five English.

here seven hundred men, I should have the finest regiment in France!

In a country where the men are so remarkable for bodily strength and dignity of aspect, you may justly conclude, Madam, that the women cannot be wanting in beauty and the graces. Their dress does not prevent the growth of any part of the body, but is accommodated to those admirable proportions with which the Creator has decorated the most lovely of his works. All are not handsome; all do not possess charms; but some of them are extremely beautiful, particularly among the Turks. In general, the Cretan women have a luxuriant bosom; a neck gracefully rounded; black eyes full of fire; a small mouth; a nose perfectly well made, and cheeks which health tinges with the softest vermilion. But the oval of their faces is different from that of the women of Europe, and the character of their beauty is peculiar to their nation. I will not attempt a parallel between the two. Whatever is beautiful deserves our homage, though delicacy of sentiment should ultimately fix the taste of a man of just feeling.

During the first year or two of my travels in the eastern countries, accustomed as I had been to the elegant head-dress of the ladies of France, their curls, and different coloured powder, I could not endure the black hair of the oriental women, and their dress seemed to me to give them a harsh and forbidding air. So difficult is it for reason to disengage itself from the fetters of habit, that I long continued the slave of this prejudice. But, after more mature reflection, their long black locks, artificially plaited, without either powder or pomatum,

and which neither spoil their dress, nor soil the furniture of their apartments, appeared to me well calculated to heighten their beauty. Their ebon colour seemed to give more lustre to the fairness of their complexions, and the glow of their cheeks. The rose-water, with which they wash their hair, exhaled an agreeable perfume; and I was delighted with the natural beauty of their tresses. I then changed my opinion, and could not help wishing the European women would not spoil one of their most charming ornaments with the colours of art, so much inferior to those of nature. How much more lovely would the fair beauty appear, adorned with the pale gold of her flowing locks! How would the dark hair of the brunette, arranged with art, set off the roses of her cheeks! These, Madam, are the observations of a traveller, who, by comparing the different customs of nations, has been able to banish his prejudices, and is convinced that nature alone is truly beautiful; but he sets little value on, and entreats your excuse for, the reflections in which he has here ventured to indulge.

You must not be surprized, Madam, that I have not mentioned the Greeks who inhabit the island of Candia, who partake with the Turks the advantages of a serene sky, a pure air, and happy temperature. They enjoy, indeed, in common with them, these precious blessings; but they are oppressed by tyrants. They live in perpetual anxiety and apprehension, and frequently terminate their miserable lives in despair. Excepting the Spachiots, who are less exposed to tyranny, these unfortunate beings have neither the lofty stature, nor the strength, nor the

beauty of the Turks. The stamp of servitude is visible in their faces; their looks are crouching, and their features distorted by knavery and meanness. Such is the character of those Cretans, who were once so jealous of their liberty; those experienced and intrepid warriors, who were courted by all nations; and those friends to the arts, which they cultivated amid their shady groves. At present, cowardly and indolent, they live in debasement, and we may read in their degraded countenances, that *they are slaves.*

I have the honour to be, &c."

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*Character of the late Cardinal Polignac.—From the \* Essays of the Marquis D'Argenson, translated from the French.*

"**I** See sometimes the cardinal de Polignac, and he always inspires me with the same sentiments of admiration and respect. He appears to me to be the last great prelate of the Gallic church, who professes eloquence in the Latin as well as the French language, and whose erudition is very extensive. He, alone, among the honorary members of the academy of Belles Lettres, understands and speaks the language of the learned of which this academy is composed; he expresses himself upon matters of erudition, with a grace and dignity proper and peculiar to himself. It may be remembered that M. Boffuet, whom the cardinal, at that time abby de Polignac, replaced in 1704, at the Academy Françoise, was the last prelate who had a distinguished rank among the theolo-

gians and polemical writers. The conversation of the cardinal is equally brilliant and instructive: he knows something of every subject, and relates with grace and perspicuity every thing he knows: he speaks upon the sciences, and upon matters of erudition, as Fontenelle wrote his worlds, in reducing the most abstracted matters to the capacity of the vulgar; and renders them in terms which men of education and refinement use in treating familiar subjects of ordinary conversation.

Nobody relates more elegantly than the cardinal, and without entreaty; but, in the most simple narratives, wherein erudition would be insipid from the mouth of another, it finds graces in his, from the aid of his person and elegant pronunciation. Age has deprived him of some of these advantages, but he preserves still enough of them, especially when we call to mind the many great occasions in which his graces and natural talents have shone. My uncle, the bishop of Blois, who was nearly his cotemporary, has frequently spoken to me of his younger days. Never was a course of study made with more reputation than his: not only his themes and compositions were excellent, but he had time and facility to assist his fellow students, or, rather, to do their duty for them; so much so, that the four pieces which gained the two premiums and the *accessits*, in the college of Harcourt, where he studied, were all composed by him. When he was engaged in philosophy, at the same college, he would maintain, in his public theses, the system of Des-

\* These essays were written in 1736, but not published until lately.



cartes, which it was then found difficult to establish: he acquitted himself with great reputation, and confounded all the partisans of old opinions. Nevertheless, the ancient doctors of the university having taken it ill that he should have combated Aristotle, and not having been willing to give a degree to the enemy of the preceptor of Alexander, he consented to maintain another thesis, in which he read his recantation, and made Aristotle triumph over the Cartesians themselves.

No sooner was he received doctor in theology, than the cardinal de Bouillon took him to Rome, to the conclave of 1689, wherein the Pope, Alexander VIII. was elected. As soon as the abby de Polignac was known in this capital of the Christian world, which was then the centre of the most profound erudition and refined policy, he was generally loved and esteemed. The French cardinals and ambassador judged him the most proper person to make the pope hearken to reason upon the articles of the famous assembly of the clergy of France in 1682. It was difficult to persuade the court of Rome to swallow this pill; yet the wit and eloquence of the abby de Polignac brought it about: he was charged to carry the news of it to France, and had, on this occasion, a private audience of Lewis XIV. who said of him, in French, what the pope, Alexander VIII. had said in Italian: *This young man has the art of persuading you to believe every thing he pleases; whilst he appears at first to be of your opinion he is artfully maintaining a contrary one, but he gains his end with so much address, that he finishes always by convincing you he is right.*

He had not yet put the finishing stroke to this great affair before the pope recalled him to Rome. He assisted again at the conclave wherein Innocent XII. was elected, and he returned to France the following year 1692.

About two years afterwards the king named him ambassador to Poland, a very delicate appointment, from the particular circumstances at that period. John Sobieski was in a very declining state of health; Lewis XIV. wished not only to preserve some credit in Poland, but to give, for a successor to the declining king, a prince devoted to France. The prince of Conti had offered himself, and Lewis XIV. charged secretly the abby de Polignac to endeavour to get him elected, notwithstanding the opposition to the queen dowager, who was a French woman, but who, with much reason, favoured her children, in spite of all contrary cabals. The abby, keeping his instructions very secret, arrived at the court of Sobieski a year before his death; he delighted all the Polanders by the facility with which he spoke Latin; he might have been taken for an envoy from the court of Augustus, if he had not been heard to speak French to the queen, who was seduced by his wit and appearance; but she could not abandon, on his account, the interest of her family. Sobieski died, and the general diet assembled to chuse a successor. The eloquence of the abby de Polignac, the promises and hopes with which he allured the Polanders were, at first, attended with so much success, that a great part of the nation, headed by the primate, proclaimed the prince of Conti; but in the same moment, the sums which the elec-

tor of Saxony had distributed, caused a double election, in which this German prince was chosen. Both pretending to the crown, they both arrived to support their party, and continued to employ the means which had, at first, been successful; but those of the elector were more effectual and solid. He had money and even troops; the prince of Conti, on the contrary, after having received kingly honours at the court of France, went on board a French vessel at Dantzick, where he stayed six weeks, but without any other means of proving the legality of his election, than the good face and eloquence of the abby de Polignac. These resources were soon exhausted; the prince of Conti, and even the abby, were obliged to return to France.

Although the court of France was too just and well informed not to perceive that it was not the fault of the ambassador if his mission was not crowned with a more brilliant success, he was, notwithstanding, exiled from Versailles for four years. He employed this time usefully, to encrease his mass of knowledge, which was already very great. Finally, in 1702, he was sent to Rome in quality of auditor of the Ro a \*. He now found new opportunities of distinguishing himself, and gaining admiration, for which he was recompensed by a no-

mination to the cardinalship, by James, king of England.

He was upon the point of enjoying the honours of his new rank, when he was recalled to France on account of some very critical circumstances. He was obliged, in 1710, to go with the marshal d'Huxelles to Gertrudenberg, charged by Lewis XIV. to propose to the enemies of this monarch, his submission to the most humiliating conditions, in order to terminate the war. Unhappily all the wit and eloquence of the future cardinal was there ineffectual. At length, after two years were elapsed, he was named plenipotentiary to the famous congress of Utrecht; it must be remarked that he was at that time named, at Rome, cardinal *in pectore*, and, though all the people knew who he was, he did not appear as an ecclesiastic, either in dress or title: his dress was secular, and he was called the Comte de Polignac. It was in this situation of an *incognito*, that he was present at all the negociations of Utrecht, to the moment of signing the treaty; he then declared it was not possible for him to sign the exclusion of a monarch from his throne, to whom he was indebted for the cardinal's hat; he withdrew, and came to enjoy, at the court of France, the honours of the cardinalship.

\* The name of an ecclesiastical court at Rome, composed of twelve prelates, one of whom must be a German, another a Frenchman, and two of them Spaniards; the other eight are Italians, three of whom must be Romans, and the remaining five, a Bolognese, a Ferraran, a Milanese, a Venetian, and a Tuscan.

This is one of the most august tribunals in Rome, and takes cognizance, by appeal, of all suits in the territory of the church; as also, of all matters beneficiary and patrimonial.

TRANSLATOR.

The new political system which was adopted, after the death of Lewis XIV. exiled him to his abby of Anchin, in Flanders. These good Flemish monks trembled to see him arrive in their monastery; but they were afflicted even to despair when he left them, after the death of the cardinal Dubois and of the regent. They were not capable of appreciating his wit, nor of understanding his erudition; but they had found him mild and amiable, and so far from plundering them, he embellished their church, and re-established their house.

He was obliged to return to Rome at the death of Clement XI. and he assisted at the conclaves wherein Innocent XIII. Benoit XIII. and Clement XII. were elected. During the two first pontificates he was charged with the affairs of France at that court. This city was ever the finest theatre of his glory: one would have thought its ancient grandeur entered with him into the capital. On his part, when he returned, he appeared charged with the spoils of Rome, subdued by his wit and eloquence; and it may literally be said, that, in his last journey, he transported a part of ancient Rome to Paris, by placing in his hotel a collection of antique statues and monuments taken from the palaces of the first emperors.

I cannot see the cardinal de Polignac without recollecting all he has done and learned for sixty years past; I remain as it were in ecstacy, when near him, and in the greatest admiration of every thing he says. It is observed that his manner is become old as well as his person; it is true that his tone has outlived the mode. But is it not because we have absolutely lost the habitude of

hearing the language of science and erudition, that the cardinal begins to be tiresome to us? for, otherwise, nobody treats these matters with less pedantry than he does: if he quotes, it is always *a-propos*, because, having a prodigious memory, it furnishes him with what is necessary to support conversation in every point, let the subject be what it may. For my part, who have finished my studies, but who have yet a great deal to learn, I declare I never received more agreeable lessons than those he gives in conversation.

Being a good deal taken up about the cardinal, I have just read his discourse of admission at the Academy Françoise, in 1704. Nothing can be more elegant and noble; and this immense collection, begun almost an hundred years ago, contains no discourse equal to his: it is the most perfect model for those who have a like task to fulfil, observing always that the academicians, whom they succeed, and the circumstances in which this kingdom is, at the time they speak, may infinitely increase the difficulties of it. The abby de Polignac had difficulties to encounter, but he got over them in such a manner as gained him universal applause; and, had it been customary at that time, the academy would have rung with their plaudits.

The cardinal has a pupil and friend, thirty years younger than himself, who, consequently, cannot be reproached with having manners different from the fashion: this is the abby de Rothelin. He has a good deal of wit, a strong memory, and much knowledge, but not so extensive as that of the cardinal; he spent with him several years at Rome, and

and has been twice his conclavist. There he saw what honour erudition conferred on the cardinal; he endeavoured to tread in his steps, and is become, like him, a member of the Academy Françoise, and honorary of that, *des Inscriptions* and *des Belles Lettres*. But his eloquence is neither so natural or noble, as that of his master. He has more vivacity in conversation, which sparkles with more strokes of wit; he has, perhaps, received more from nature than the cardinal, but he does not know how to employ so well what was acquired from others, nor to reap the fruit of his studies.

The cardinal has undertaken a Latin poem, which he intitles *Anti-Lucretius*, and is a refutation of the system of materialists. He recites passages from it to persons whom he thinks capable of judging of their merit; and his eminence has done me the honour to repeat several of them.

They are admirable paintings and descriptions. If one knows the Latin ever so little, and remembers the authors of the Augustan age, he would imagine that he read them over again by hearing these passages. But a poem against Lucretius, of equal length with the original, and divided into nine books, requires the life of a man to carry it to perfection. The cardinal began too late, and cannot flatter himself with the hope of living to finish it. It is said he means to charge the abby de Rothelin with this task, who, from vanity, will not refuse it, and will think it an honour to put the work of his respectable friend in a state to appear before the public. But, to this end, the aid of some able professor of the university will be necessary; the abby will never accomplish it of

himself. Moreover, when the *Anti-Lucretius* appears, it will undoubtedly do honour to the cardinal's abilities, as well as the abby's, and even those persons who shall have assisted him in finishing it. But who, at present, will read a Latin poem entirely philosophical, of five or six thousand lines? Scarcely would a translation of it, in prose or verse, be turned over. Greek is entirely forgotten; it is to be feared the Latin will soon be so, and that the cardinal de Polignac, the abby de Rothelin, and a certain M. le Beau, coming up in the university, will be called *the last of the Romans*. Even the Jesuits begin to neglect Latin; they find it more easy to write in French; this gains them more honour and profit.

The figure of the cardinal and that of the abby are still more different than their turn of mind. That of the first is elegant and noble, and announces what he is, and has been. If we were to paint from idea a great prelate, a learned cardinal, a wise and worthy ambassador, a famous Roman orator, we should seize the features of the cardinal de Polignac. The abby de Rothelin has, on the contrary, a fine and sensible countenance, but appears to have delicate lungs; his figure is agreeable, but quite modern; that of the cardinal is, at present, a beautiful and precious antique."

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*Character of Fontenelle, Montequieu, and Henault.—From the same.*

“ I F I have received some reproaches upon my pretended indifference for people with whom I live

I live habitually, three of them deserve many more, and I do not esteem them less on this account—their names are well known in the world, since the first is M. de Fontenelle, the second the president de Montesquieu, and the third, the president Henault. The first is charged with and convicted of a kind of apathy, perhaps blameable with respect to others, but excellent for his own preservation; being taken up with himself only, and amiable enough to make others concerned for his welfare, he has by managing his weak and delicate constitution, always indulging his ease, pushed his career to eighty years of age, with the pleasing hope of seeing the whole revolution of the century. Each year gives him a new degree of merit, and adds to the interest his friends have in his existence. They look upon him as one of those master-pieces of art, carefully and delicately wrought, and precious preserved, because it is impossible to make their equal. He makes us not only recollect the brilliant age of Lewis XIV. the end of which some of us saw, but also the wit of Buiserade, Saint-Evremont, Scudery, and the tone of the hotel de Rambouillet, the air of which we may believe he has breathed upon the spot. He has this tone, but softened, improved, and adapted to the present age, less obscure and pedantic than that of the *Beaux-Esprits*, which founded the Academy; less finical than that of Julie d'Augennes, and his mother. His conversation is highly agreeable, mixed with sentiments less refined than striking, and with pleasing anecdotes, without being satirical, because they never relate but to literature or gallantry, and society.

All his tales are short, and for this reason more striking; they finish by something witty, which is a necessary condition of such narratives. The eulogiums which he pronounces at the Academy of Sciences, have in them the same spirit as his conversation; they are consequently delightful; but I do not know if his manner of presenting them be such a one as he ought to make use of: he attaches himself to the persons of academicians, strives to characterize, to paint them; even enters into details of their private life; and as he is an agreeable painter, his portraits are admired: but might not some of them be compared to fine engravings, found at the head of the works of certain heroes? they present us with their physiognomy, but leave us with a wish that they had done something more.

It seems to me that the eulogium of an academician, should be the extract or crayon only of his academical works. It may be objected to this, that there are academicians whose works and talents furnish not matter of great eulogium: but on one hand, even the barrenness or refusal of eulogiums, is one means of preventing the Academy from admitting subjects incapable of doing it much honour: on the other, the protection which those who are honorary members only, have granted to the sciences, the favours they have procured for the learned, may be advantageously spoken of in their behalf, and at least their zeal applauded.—It must, however, be agreed, that Fontenelle in artfully passing over the dryness of matters to which those who were the subjects of his encomium applied themselves, says generally what is necessary. It is

to

to be feared, his successors and imitators will find it easiest to speak but little upon the subject, otherwise they will fail in it entirely.

To return to the personality of Fontenelle, we know he loves nothing to a great degree; but I pardon him his indifference, and love him better on account of it; we love him for himself only, without requiring a return or being flattered by it.—We may say of him what Madame de Defiant said of her cat—“ I love her exceedingly, because she is the most amiable creature in the world; but I trouble myself little about the degree of affection she has for me: I should be very sorry to lose her, because I feel that I manage and perpetuate my pleasures, by employing my cares to prolong her existence.”

The president de Montesquieu is not so old as Fontenelle, but has full as much wit, although of quite another kind—it seems as if more ought to be expected in society from the president, because he is more lively, even appears more active, more susceptible of enthusiasm. At bottom, these two minds are tempered alike; Montesquieu never makes himself uneasy for any body, he has no ambition on his own account; he reads, travels, and gathers knowledge; at length he writes, and solely for his pleasure. Being a man of great sense, he makes an agreeable use of what he knows, but there is more wit in his books than in his conversation, because he is never anxious to shine in it. He has preserved the Gascon accent, which he has from his country (Bordeaux) and thinks it in some

measure beneath him to strive to get rid of it. He is careless in his style, which is more ingenious and sometimes more nervous than pure; there is no order nor method in his works, which are for this reason more brilliant than instructive. He had an early taste for a kind of bold philosophy, which he has combined with French gaiety and levity, and which has made his *Lettres Persannes* truly a delightful work. But if on one hand, this book has been much admired, it has on the other, been justly complained of; there are passages which a man of wit may easily conceive, but such as a prudent man ought never to let appear in print: these passages have, notwithstanding, established the reputation of the book and the author. He would not have been of the Academy without this work, which ought to have excluded him from it. The cardinal de Fleury, so prudent in other respects, shewed on this occasion a pusillanimity which may be attended with great consequences. The president resigned his employment, that his non-residence at Paris might not be an objection to his being received a member of the Academy. His pretext was, that he was going to apply himself to a great work upon the spirit of laws. The president Henault, on quitting his employ, gave the same reason. These gentlemen were rallied by their friends, who told them, “ They quitted their professions in order to learn it.”

The fact is, Montesquieu wished to travel, to make philosophical remarks upon men and nations, already known by his *Lettres Persannes*: he was warmly received in Germany, England and Italy. We do

do not know the whole extent of the observations and reflections he made in different countries.—Since his return, he has published but one work, printed in 1734, intitled, *Considerations sur les causes de la grandeur et de la decadence des Romains*. In this work he appears more sensible, enlightened and reserved than in his *Lettres Persannes*, the matter keeps him from wandering. It is said, he is preparing to publish his great work upon the spirit of laws: I know already some parts of it, which, supported by the reputation of the author, cannot but augment its credit; but I fear the whole will not have this effect, and that there will be more agreeable chapters to read, more ingenious and seducing ideas, than true and useful instructions upon the manner in which we ought to digest and understand the laws. It is, however, a book which has been, and still is greatly wanted, although much has been written upon the subject.

We have good institutes of the Roman civil laws; we have tolerable ones in the French laws; but we have none published of general, or universal ones. We have no *Esprit des Loix*, and I doubt much of our friend Montesquieu's giving us one which will serve as a guide and compass to all the legislators of the world. I know him to have all possible art; he has acquired vast knowledge in his travels, and in his retreats to the country; but I predict once more, that he will not give us the book we want, although there will be found, in what he is composing, many profound ideas, new thoughts, striking images, fallies of wit and genius, and an infinity of curious facts, whose appli-

cation suppoies still more taste than study.

I now return to the character he bears in society; great mildness and gaiety, a perfect equality, an air of simplicity and good-nature, which, considering the reputation he has already acquired, is a peculiar merit. He is sometimes absent, and strokes of *naiveté* escape him, which make him appear more amiable, as they form a contrast with his acknowledged wit. I forgot to speak of his little poem in prose in the Grecian taste, intitled *Le Temple de Guide*. I know not if the reputation of the president gained by his *Lettres Persannes*, has not contributed to make this trifle esteemed above its merit: it contains much wit, sometimes grace and voluptuousness, whose touches in some places are rather strong, and there reigns a kind of philosophical observation, which characterises the author, but it is different from those of his other works.—Fontenelle certainly could not have written *Les considerations sur les Romains*; but *Le Temple de Guide* would have been better constructed by him than by Montesquieu.

I will not oppose the gallantry of the president to that of Fontenelle, because Montesquieu had none: he writes little or no poetry, but he is found amiable in society, independent of gallantry and poetry. Fontenelle has, on the contrary, need of these resources; the gracefulness and manner in which he delivers that which from the mouth of any other man would be insipid, make his science and erudition appear to advantage, although they are perhaps not very profound.

The president Henault will not perhaps hold so distinguished a place in the temple of memory as the two others, but I find he deserves to be preferred to them both in society: he is younger than Fontenelle, and less troublesome, because he requires less complaisance and attention; he is on the contrary, very complaisant himself, in the most simple, and at the same time elegant manner. This virtue seems to cost him nothing; for which reason there are people unjust enough to believe him indiscriminate and prodigal in the use of it; but those who know him well and are near to him perceive that he knows how to distinguish; and that a sound judgment and great knowledge preside at the distribution. His character, especially when he was young, appeared formed to succeed with women; he had wit, grace, delicacy and refinement—he cultivated successfully music, poetry, and light literature; his music was not of a profound composition, but agreeable—his poetry was not sublime; however, he undertook a tragedy; it is weak, but neither ridiculous nor tiresome. His other poetry is like that of Fontenelle, harmonious and witty; his prose, easy and flowing; his eloquence is neither masculine nor sublime, although he gained premiums at the *Academie Françoise*, thirty years ago. It is never strong or elevated, dull or insipid: he was sometime father of the oratory, and has contracted in that society a taste for study, and acquired some erudition; but this without the least pedantry. I have been assured, that in a court of judicature, he was a good judge, without having a perfect knowledge of the laws, because he has an upright mind and a sound

judgment. He never had magisterial haughtiness, nor the vulgarity of the limbs of the law. He does not pride himself upon his birth or illustrious titles: he is rich enough to be independent, and in this happy situation, using no pretensions, he wisely places himself below insolence, and above meanness. There are women of sufficient consideration, who have overlooked his want of birth, even of personal advantages and vigour. He has ever conducted himself on these occasions with modesty, never carrying his pretensions too far; nothing was ever required of him which was improper he should do,—at fifty years of age, he declared he would confine himself to a studious and devout life; he made a general confession of all his sins, and it was on this occasion he permitted himself the following pleasantry, “we are never so rich as when we remove.” His devotion is as free from fanaticism, persecution, souness and intrigue, as his studies are from pedantry.—He applies himself to compose an *Abrige Chronologique* of our history, which will have the merit of an exact chronology, well composed tables, and a summary of facts methodically arranged, and yet without being dry, sterile, insipid, or tiresome. We may not only seek and find therein every thing necessary to fix in our minds the principal epochs of our history; but we shall be able to read with pleasure this abridgment from beginning to end; the author having prepared for the reader resting places, if I may be allowed the expression, in the long route he has to get through. The most interesting facts will be related with clearness and precision, and particular

remarks



remarks will determine at each epocha, what were then our manners and principles: finally, this book, excellent in itself, will serve as a model, according to which many other good and useful books may be composed. There is reason to believe, that all the different histories will soon be written in the same manner, and that this first work will be the basis of a new and instructive kind. I agree, nevertheless, that the literary reputation of the president Henault, will never equal that of Fontenelle or Montesquieu; but I am of opinion, that his only work will be more useful than all theirs; because it will open a new career to the progress of science; whilst the others, will only produce bad imitations, who will go astray, in endeavouring to tread in their steps. But to reduce to a few words the character of the president Henault:—he is accommodating without deceit; mild without insipidity; officious without interest or ambition; complaisant without meanness; a good friend, without enthusiasm or prejudice: in short, he is as perfect a model in society as his book is in its kind.”

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*Character of Sidi Mahomet, the reigning Emperor of Morocco.—Translated from the French of M. Chenier.*

“SIDI Mahomet, endowed with penetration and judgment,

would have been susceptible of all the high qualities necessary to govern men, had education brought to perfection those gifts which nature had bestowed. His age is somewhere about seventy-six\*, his height five feet eight inches, his symmetry tolerable; he squints a little, which gives his aspect some severity; his constitution being naturally strong, and his mode of life sober and frugal, his body is become very capable of supporting the fatigue of a life so laborious as the government of this empire requires. He is tolerably easy of access; foreigners he receives with politeness, and converses with them willingly; but the cool or warm reception he gives, alike, are directed by some motive of personal interest. His favour is not constant, but varies according as such like interested sensations vary.

However marked the attachment of Sidi Mahomet to riches may have been, he has seldom employed those means, for the accumulation of them, which violence or cruelty might have suggested. This emperor will not leave so rich a treasury at his decease as his love for economy might forebode, and that because his reign has been exposed to heavy expences; his empire, gradually exhausted, has no longer in itself the same resources. Independent of the heavy sums expended on the siege of Mazagan, that of Melilla, and the maintenance of

\* It is not customary among the Moors to register the birth of children, not even that of princes; their age is remembered by certain accidents, or events, which the parents commit to memory. A Moor very naturally says, he was born in the dry summer, the wet winter, or mentions any other similar accident.

The reigning emperor was at Mecca, in 1727, when Muley Ithinael died; he was not then married, and, as he has always perfectly remembered this journey, it may well be supposed he was at that time about sixteen or eighteen, and that he must have been born in or near the year 1710. This is the mode I have taken to calculate his age, in which I am confirmed by the oldest people in the country.

his forces, Sidi Mahomet has also built towns and fortresses, mosques, and public markets, exclusive of his palaces, which he has embellished. He likewise purchased in Malta and the Italian states, numerous Mahometan slaves, in 1782, the greatest part of whom were not his subjects; and he has further sent to Constantinople, in 1784, more than four million of livres (or a hundred and sixty-six thousand pounds) which it is supposed he, out of respect to his religion, either appropriated to the temple of Mecca, or the defence of the Ottoman empire, for which, knowing the ambition of its neighbours, he seems to have some fears.

Covetous as he appears to have been of wealth, Sidi Mahomet will leave little to posterity, except these monuments of his devotion, his charity, and his precaution. More humane, more accessible, and less exigent than his ancestors, Sidi Mahomet has ever treated the Christians, whom the fate of war has put into his power, with compassion, and on some among them he has bestowed marks of his confidence. After the taking of Mazagan, he sent thirty-eight slaves to the grand master of the knights of Malta, who were subjects of the grand duke of Tuscany, and the grand master returned a like number of Moors.

Quick and penetrating, this emperor has often made very just observations on the characters of nations, judging by the slaves whom he had in his possession, and who happened to be about his person. Perceiving how active the French were in their labours, he chose them in preference for the execution of any sudden project; observing, at

the same time, that they were restless and turbulent, he held it necessary they should be employed, that they might neither quarrel among themselves nor with the other slaves. It cannot be said that, under his government, slaves have been worked to excess; it will likewise be perceived, that monarchs, who number the ransom of slaves as one part of their revenues, have an interest in their preservation.

During thirty years that Sidi Mahomet has sat on the throne, his reign has been happy. It would be rash to prophesy what shall happen after his death: although it be true that similar causes will produce similar effects, we must not always judge of the future by the past; the smallest difference of circumstances, either in the times, or the characters of those men who head insurrections, will change the state of things, and decide on the destiny of nations. Nevertheless, when we behold in Morocco a multitude of princes, each desirous of governing, each having nearly an equal claim to govern, it should seem that like dissensions may well again be feared, and like revolutions to those which, under preceding reigns, so often have rent this empire.

The succession is not fixed in Morocco, either by law or custom, but depends entirely on concurring accidents. It is well understood, among the Moors, that the eldest son ought to inherit the crown, because that his experience renders him the most proper to govern; but, as there is no determinate law on this head, and as there is neither divan nor council in the empire to deliberate on affairs of state, the election of the emperor depends entirely on chance, on the character of the candidates,

candidates, the opinion of the people, the influence of the soldiery, the support of the provinces, and most particularly on the possession of the treasury. He who has money may have soldiers, and he who has soldiers can make himself feared.

We have seen that, under Muley Abdallah, one province and one faction would elect this sovereign, another that; and like anarchy may well be expected, whenever there are a great number of candidates for the throne; at least, unless the governors of provinces should all unite to protect one alone. This is a thing most difficult to be accomplished, among the Moors, where men do nothing, and where Providence regulates all.

Of ten or twelve male children, to whom the emperor is father, there are several who are capable of government; nor can I doubt but that, informed as they must be of former revolutions, they all aspire with equal confidence to that crown to which birth, the voice of the people, or a concatenation of incidents, may give each an equal right."

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*Some Account of the Dress and Manners of the Women of the Cities of Morocco.—From the same.*

"THE Moorish women seldom leave the house, and always veiled. The old very carefully hide their faces, but the young and handsome are somewhat more indulgent; that is to say, toward foreigners, for they are exceedingly cautious with the Moors. Being veiled, their husbands do not know them in the street, and it is even impolite to endeavour to see the faces of the

women who pass, so different are the manners and customs of nations.

There are very fine women found among the Moors, especially up the country; those of the northern parts by no means possess the same degree of grace and beauty: it would be difficult to give any physical reason for this difference: transmigrations have continually happened among the different tribes of the empire, of whose descent and origin we are ignorant. These tribes marry only with those of their own tribe, by which they are preserved without intermixture.

As females in warm countries sooner arrive at puberty, they are also sooner old; and this, perhaps, may be the reason why polygamy has been generally adopted in such climates. Women there sooner lose the charms of youth, while men still preserve their passions, and the powers of nature.

The Moorish women are not in general very reserved. Climate has a vast influence on the temperament of the body; and licentiousness is there more general and less restrained, though, as in other places, its disorderly pleasures incur its attendant pains; not but that the disease attending illicit amours is less poisonous, and slower in its operations, among the Moors, than in Europe, because of the heat of the climate, and the great temperance of their mode of living.

The women of the south are in general the handsomest, and are said to be so reserved, or so guarded, that their very relations do not enter their houses, nor their tents. Yet, such is the contradictory custom of nations, that there are tribes, in these same provinces, among whom it is held to be an act of hospitality

to present a woman to a traveller. It may be, there are women who dedicate themselves to this species of devotion as to an act of benevolence, for it is impossible to describe all the varieties of opinion among men, or the whims to which the human fancy is subject.

The Moorish women who live in cities are, as in other nations, more addicted to shew and finery in dress than those of the country; but, as they generally leave the house only one day in the week, they seldom dress themselves. Not allowed to receive male visitors, they remain in their houses employed in their families, and so totally in dishabille, that they often wear only a shift, and another coarser shift over the first, tied round their waist, with their hair plaited, and sometimes with, though often without a cap.

When dressed, they wear an ample and fine linen shift, the bosom embroidered in gold; a rich caftan of cloth, stuff, or velvet, worked in gold; and one or two folds of gauze, streaked with gold and silk, round the head, and tied behind so as that the fringes, intermingled with their tresses, descend as low as the waist; to which some add a ribband of about two inches broad, worked in gold or pearls, that encircles the forehead in form of a diadem. Their caftan is bound round their waist by a crimson velvet girdle, embroidered in gold, with a buckle of gold or silver, or else a girdle of tambered stuff, manufactured at Fez.

The women have yellow slippers, and a custom of wearing a kind of stocking of fine cloth somewhat large, which is tied below the knee and at the ankle, over which it falls in folds. This stocking is less calcu-

lated to shew what we call a handsome leg, than to make it appear thick: for to be fat is one of the rules of beauty among the Moorish women. To obtain this quality, they take infinite pains, feed when they become nubile on a diet somewhat like forced-meat balls, a certain quantity of which is given them daily; and, in fine, the same care is taken among the Moors to fatten young women, as is in Europe to fatten fowls. The reason of a custom like this may be found in the nature of the climate, and the quality of the aliments, which make the people naturally meagre. Our slender waists and fine-turned ancles would be imperfections in this part of Africa, and, perhaps, over all that quarter of the globe; so great is the contrast of taste, and so various the prejudices of nations.

The Moors present their wives with jewels of gold, silver, or pearl, but very few wear precious stones; this is a luxury, of which they have little knowledge. They have rings in silver or gold, also ear-rings in the form of a crescent, five inches in circumference, and as thick as the end of the little finger. They first pierce their ears, and introduce a small roll of paper, which they daily increase in thickness, till at length they insert the kernel of the date, which is equal in size to the ear-ring.

They wear bracelets in gold and solid silver, and silver rings at the bottom of their legs, some of which I have seen considerably heavy. There are youths among the sharifs, or nobility, who wear at one ear a gold or silver ring from four to five inches in circumference; but this custom is more general among the blacks belonging to people of some distinction.

All these trinkets, which the women are exceedingly desirous to obtain, were originally signs of slavery, which men, to render its yoke more sufferable, have thus insensibly changed to ornaments. Europe received such tokens of dependence from Asia, embellished them with all the riches of nature, and the decorations of art, till at length ear-rings and bracelets, first worn as badges of servitude, are now become the paraphernalia of the empire of beauty.

The use of white paint is unknown among the Moorish women, and that of red but little. It is much more common to see them dye their eyebrows and eyelashes; which dye does not add to the beauty of the countenance, but considerably to the fire of the eyes. They trace regular figures with henna, of a saffron colour, on their feet, the palm of the hand, and the tip of their fingers.

On their visiting day, they wrap themselves in a clean fine haick, which comes over the head, and surrounds the face so as to let them see without being seen. When they travel, they wear straw hats to keep off the sun, and in some parts of the empire the women wear hats on their visits, which is a fashion peculiar to the tribes coming from the south, who have preserved their customs, for the Moors do not change modes they have once adopted\*. They are in no wise susceptible of that continual change of fashion so studied and so rapid in Europe, and

which; particularly in France, is become so vast an object, more burthenome, perhaps, than useful, of industry and intercourse."

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*A general View of the Character of the Chinese.—From the Translation of Abbé Grosier's Description of China.*

“ONE must have been cotemporary with the ancient Chinese, to be able to speak with any certainty of their primitive character. That which they have at present, has been acquired, it is the fruit of long discipline, and of four thousand years habitude. Montaigne has said, that custom becomes a second nature; it is at least certain, that it impairs and greatly corrupts the first. The following we consider as a striking example. If we take a survey of all the different provinces of France, we shall find in each particular, features and marks of character, which distinguish their various inhabitants, and which even point out their difference of origin. It would be in vain to expect any information of this kind from rank or dignity. If, in the like manner, we cast our eye over the Chinese empire, a perfect uniformity will be observed in the whole, and all will appear to have been cast in the same mould. Hence it happens that the Chinese, in general, are a mild and affable people; polite even to excess; circumspect in all their actions, and always at-

\* The hat is common to men and women among the Moors who travel, and the custom of wearing it came from Africa to Europe. The Spaniards, because of the heat of their climate, still, as much as they can, wear it flapped, and have called it *sombrero*, or shady. The French gave it the name of *chapeau*, because it supplied the use of the cape or hood of their ancient *dreis*, which they called *chapel*.

tentive to weigh the consequences of every thing they are about to attempt; more careful not to expose their prudence to danger, than to preserve their reputation; as suspicious of strangers, as they are ready to take advantage of them; too much prepossessed with a notion of their own importance, to be sensible of their defects, and entertaining too high ideas of their own knowledge, to seek for instruction from others. We must consider this nation as an ancient monument, respectable by its duration; admirable in some of its parts, defective in others; the immutable stability of which has, however, been attested by a duration of four thousand years.

This base, so solid, is supported by one single pillar; that progressive submission, which rises gradually from the bosom of a family, even to the throne. In other respects, the Chinese have their passions and caprices, which even the law does not always attempt to repress. They are naturally litigious, and in China, as well as in other countries, a man may, if he chooses, ruin himself by too often giving employment to the tribunals. They are fond of money, and what in France or England would be accounted usury, is only a retribution, authorised in China. A Chinese is vindictive, though not fond of pursuing violent means to satiate his revenge; these are prohibited, but he generally gains his end by craftiness or stratagem, and consequently with impunity. Great crimes are very uncommon among the Chinese, vices much less so, and the law neither searches after nor punishes them, but when they offend against, and violate public decency.

The manners of the Tartars,

who subdued China, differ considerably from those of the conquered nation. They have borrowed its customs, but they still retain their original character. A Tartar is obliging and liberal, an enemy to every species of dissimulation, and more desirous of enjoying his fortune than of increasing it. In all affairs, even in those of the cabinet, he discovers a penetration and acuteness which greatly lessen their difficulties; and in transactions of smaller moment, he displays that expeditious activity which may be justly called the soul of business. His ready and quick judgment accomplishes its purpose better, and more in season, than the profound and slow meditation of the Chinese. In a word, the superiority which the Tartars have over the Chinese in point of arms, is not the only thing which distinguishes them; they can even dispute the prize with them in other respects.

But if we are desirous of finding, among the Chinese, openness of temper, benevolence, friendship, and, lastly, virtue, we must not seek for it in cities, but in the bosom of the country, among that class of men who have devoted themselves to labour and agriculture. A Chinese rustic often discovers moral qualities, which would add a lustre to the character of men of the most exalted rank. It appears that rural life naturally inspires sentiments of benevolence; by continually receiving the gifts of nature, the mind is enlarged, and men are insensibly accustom'd to diffuse them to those around them. In short, one must have very little knowledge of the Chinese annals, to be ignorant that China has produced great men of every kind, and taken from all classes.

ses. These people, indeed, such as they exist at present, are, to every other nation of the earth, the most curious monument that has been handed down to us by the remotest antiquity."

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*Observations on the Character and National Taste of the French.—From Letters from Barbary, France, Spain, Portugal, &c. By an English Officer.*

"**T**O draw the French character with the justice and precision I could wish, would require more penetration and labour than I can claim, or have leisure to bestow. I mean to give you only a few of the striking features as I pass, and to deal more in blemishes than in beauties.

When we travellers can be honest enough to give you things as they strike us at sight, I fear that the faults will always stand first. The foibles and defects of this people must make the first and strongest impression. I believe there is no great danger of the two nations soon becoming very fond of each other. The one values itself on the kinds of merit which are neither esteemed nor wanted by the other. The French must despise the English solid sense, and independent spirit, perhaps as much as we do their *esprit, graces, agrements*. They must dislike our sullen, proud, awkward manner, as much as we do their conceit, vanity, — *leur manieres avantageuses, l'envie de se faire valoir, leur fatuité, &c.* It requires some time to discover, through their politeness, how much they dislike us.

Yet, if it were not for a war now and then, I should fear our assimila-

ting too much towards these our agreeable neighbours, and our meeting them more than half-way. Though few of them will probably ever have good sense enough to be much pleased with ours; many of us are apt to have good-nature enough to like both their manner and their manners, *leur franchise, leur habil*, and many other less important agreeable nothings about them.

They may hate us, while we despise them, and contempt may be full as powerful in its effects as hatred. Yet, I believe, we shall generally find many more English in France, than French in England. Perhaps some of us come here in order to get rid of our ill-humour, or to vent it on them, like those who keep an humble dependant to scold at. Although we may reciprocally improve by intercourse, and it might be better for mankind were nations to mix more with each other, yet one would wish each to retain their native character,—that national stamp which discriminates it from the rest. In order to this, it may be well to dwell on the faults we would wish to avoid. I shall therefore go on as at first proposed, picking up a few of them *en passant*.

Though the national or prevailing character here, like that of other human beings, is mixed, and made up of good, bad, and indifferent qualities; yet such parts predominate, as make the composition of a Frenchman very distinguishable from that of any other:—but to know him, you must live with him; reading about him is insufficient. You will find, for example, *qu'il ne se suffit pas à lui même*, but lives by the breath and opinion of others more than on his own.

He will sacrifice every other comfort of life to the ornament of his person. The lodging of a very fine *petit maître* here, is often too mean and dirty for a taylor's journeyman with you.

In them, all is borrowed, *postiche*, and very little natural; *ils veulent toujours représenter*—their life is a mere parade. Yet they only copy from each other (*tres moutonniers*), while we are always flying off into singularity, hunting after nature or reality, but perhaps with less success in our attempts than they in theirs.

They seem ever changing, but are still the same. It is only we that really change, with all our apparent steadiness and gravity.

The Frenchman, though sociably disposed, with all that enviable *gaieté de cœur*, and affected goodness and consideration for others; yet as he is not in the habit of doing any thing essential for the public, and but little for his neighbour, and it is, perhaps, the lot of that kind of vivacity and flow of spirits, to be capable of but little feeling or humanity; he is probably, on the whole, therefore a more selfish being than the *sulky Englishman*. I think I see here, instances of the selfish prevailing over the friendly qualities, rather more than with us;—the economical, or parsimonious, over the generous,—the cruel and unfeeling over the humane,—*Petourderie* over sentiment,—a false taste, or *gout postiche*, over that of nature. Besides particular instances, one sees it in generals,—as in the severity, and negligent composition of some laws, and in the mode of execution:—in the general preference given to *hifereus* over any fixed future provision for posterity, or relations.

Perhaps we might infer some want of feeling or humanity, from their want of taste for the simple beauty of nature and of action; and we may perceive, in the different degrees of art, passion, or music, that they feel nothing, till the expression is carried to an outrageous and vulgar extreme, certainly beyond our line of beauty. But they like it, and that is a short and sufficient answer to all our objections. It is needless to dispute about taste. While they can relish only those degrees of violence and expression, they may laugh at our criticisms.

The degree of expression in all the arts must be tempered to the tone of mind of the spectators, more than to the true nature of the passion to be expressed. In a state of ease and tranquillity, a refined audience will not readily admit of the violence of real passion, nor of any of its distortions, beyond a certain limit of the graceful and temperate. This limit may be extended, but should never be broken, by previously warming up the mind by successive or accumulating impressions. The French will never probably understand the natural repose of true and graceful dignity.

Without the constant force of some foreign aid and intercourse, national character and taste must perhaps generally revert into some confined tract or circle. And when national pride, conceit, and ignorance, are planted, they readily spread, and tend, like other evils, to perpetuate themselves.

Though many of the French are now liberal, and willing enough to get rid of the shackles of nationality in taste and character; yet, after a certain age, it is perhaps more impracticable with them, than with those



those of any other nation, to succeed. Some of them satirize and abuse their own nation, and praise others;—affect to extol the the Italian school in painting and music;—imitate English manners; and all the while remain mere Frenchmen. In order to change or improve their taste, they would have to combat many inveterate habits, of which they are not aware; and the causes of their peculiarities they themselves are unfit to investigate. In short, they appear to us a different species, *une race apart*; this they forget, or never perceive. Their authors talk of man and woman, and fancy they speak generally of the whole race, and know not that they speak only of French men and women; fancying all the world like themselves; forgetting that French nature is not human nature, and that few of their qualities are common to the species. Only a chosen few of them seem to have any *minds*, the rest have only *senses*: nor can I yet find any one term in their language to express what I here mean by *mind*. Even their senses appear to us defective, or different from ours, as if too quick and too weak; they can perceive only certain things and distances: though more lively, and perhaps sensible of some things which escape us, yet I think we have many perceptions which they overlook, or do not reach. Unfit for meditation, in the exercise or agitation of the senses consists their chief happiness, and particularly in that of the sight; they are all eyes, and can sacrifice real comforts to please that sense. When that agitation ceases, *ils s'endorment ou s'ennuyent à la mort*.

The numerous clergy and military form the life of society in France, and, together with the la-

dies, assume the direction of every thing. The female graces, and facility of expression, are as remarkable as their influence. I think you will find vanity the universal, or ruling passion here."

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*Wit, Manners, Character, and Taste of the Spaniards.—From the same.*

"THE Spaniards in general, and the Andalusians in particular, with imaginations so warm and fertile, have a powerful taste and disposition for wit, and many of both sexes are great adepts in that way: with the most composed and steady countenance they will long keep the table in a roar, and are infinitely amusing: but as is usual with warm and impetuous fancy, there is often a want of delicacy, of sound taste, and judgment: they attempt and relish all species of wit, and often prefer the lower and coarser kinds: but let us beware of becoming too difficult to please, which we English, I believe, often are: we may refine too much, and must lose by being too nice and squeamish. A good strong appetite will digest all natural food; and genuine wit, when not too loathsome with indecency, flattery, or soured with severity, ought always to please. Tho' greatly changed and Frenchified since their Bourbon connection, they have not yet lost all those enthusiastic and romantic notions which once distinguished and raised them, however ridiculously, above other mortals. In every rank we yet find some of those old and dignified characters, with a certain elevation of soul, and many lofty ideas, though accompanied with what our modern

delicacy may consider as a ridiculous pride.

Though politically they are now of small consideration, except in their own ideas, and but little of their former national greatness or character may remain, besides their pride, yet individually the country still abounds in valuable characters, or rather in materials of which such characters may be readily formed when wanted. We meet with as excellent and amiable qualities of mind as in the most polished and enlightened nations: this is often, I believe, the case in rude and misgoverned countries; virtues arise as they are wanted, where the soil and materials are good, and here they are excellent. Wise nature seems solicitous in bringing every condition of society nearly to a level of happiness. If you live any time among them, you will meet with souls capable of every virtue, but may observe how few occasions or motives there are to practise any, in this state of society and government. They are obviously made for generosity, probity, magnanimity, resolution, perseverance, and still retain a certain cool and habitual equanimity of temper and sound judgment, which we find in no other nation, joined to such warmth of heart and fancy. But, even on this foundation, you will too often find a structure of vice and ignorance; especially in the lower classes, degrees of indolence, idleness, malevolence, depravity of taste and disposition, which exhibit at once to view the powers of habit and of a bad government, and the dregs or ruins of a most respectable national character. The Spaniards, though naturally deep and artful politicians, have still something so nobly

frank and honest in their disposition, that they are not, I think, in proportion, politically insidious or treacherous, unless the French make them so. Of the modern national characters, I am inclined to place the Spanish and English, so nearly alike, among the first. I believe there is likewise something rather superior still perceptible in the modern Roman character, as well as in their language and manner; and also in the Mahinotes, or modern Lacedæmonians, and in the Macedonians.

The manners of the politer societies here, and of the higher ranks, are already too closely copied from the French, who, you know, are not naturally delicate nor sentimental, but artificially refined by fashion. By means of the ladies in Spain, who readily adopt the liberty of French manners, which, engrafted on their own, they carry beyond the original, this nation will gradually be Frenchified, in spite of all the old Dons and old antipathies. The women being, of late, admitted to more freedom and society, and at a period of loose manners, retaining all their old habits of art and intrigue, the freedom of intercourse between the sexes will probably be carried farther here than in the more polished countries, whose vices they have acquired, without passing through the same *media* or degrees of civilization and arts of luxury. Vice, in various shapes, seems already here to stalk forth almost naked and alone, unrestrained by habits and refinements, which elsewhere grow up with it. All leads to a coarse and unadorned kind of materialism in pleasure, to degrees of depravity and satiety, in which they will overtake their more refined

finer neighbours, who began the same career so long before them. However, the fair sex, as usual, are still far more refined and sentimental than the men, and as they are gaining more influence in society, may retard or regulate the progress of depravity. Every stranger who stays long enough to understand them, is captivated with the spirit, grace, and humour, of their conversation. You know something of the romantic force of their passions, their strong and inviolable attachments, especially when heightened by the difficulties of intrigue. Though the jealousy of husbands seems now worn out of fashion, the spirit of it is preserved among the lovers, and love is still an object of the first importance in Spain. Their numerous love-songs have still many graces, and, though tinged with the hyperbolic false taste of the times, are often highly expressive, refined, and laconic.

There are, as elsewhere, more vices in their sea-ports and capital towns, than in the rest of the country, where their ancient character and distinguishing manners have not yet entirely disappeared; and we English are generally pleased and proud to cherish and to relish such remains, in opposition to the French; while they, with a sneer of contempt, despise both the Spaniards and us for our bad taste in not preferring every thing that is French; in their idea, *nous ne sommes que des barbares tous les deux.*

These two nations are, to be sure, as opposite in almost every thing as nature could well make such near neighbours. Even the actual state and taste of female beauty is widely different in the two countries. After observing the prevalent style of

beauty in France, we can readily conceive, that Monsieur cannot much admire that of this nation; nor relish or comprehend all the numerous Spanish graces of person, manner, language, nor the high expressions of physiognomy, so different from, and I think far superior to, those of his own nation. Among the fine faces here, consisting of features generally large and strongly expressive, he finds nothing like the little round or rather square face, with the snub nose and pigeon's eye, which is the style of beauty the most common and the most esteemed in France.

Where we find such fine abilities and natural good sense, joined to so much ignorance and false taste, such loose manners and unrestrained vices, with great inquisitorial severity in religious observances, it is plain, that the church, their only school, aims not at the improvement of morals or of learning, but at power: nay, I think the most superstitious nations are the most wicked and debauched, and we may almost measure their degrees of vice by the apparent ardour of their devotion. There is, perhaps, more probity, though less appearance of religion, in London, than in any other great town in Europe."

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*Character of the Portuguese.—From the same.*

"**F**EW of the men, though often of a good square make and active appearance, and possessing many other good qualities as men and soldiers, are capable of any great and continued exertions of strength, resolution, or perseverance. There is a kind of female levity, weakness,

weakness, and sensibility of character, which renders them more subject to sudden fits of passion than to lasting habits.—Peculiarly disposed to love and devotion; with more sensibility than wisdom; *pocos y locos*, the Spaniards say of them, they resemble the French in many ways, and are very different from the Spaniards. I believe we rather confound these two neighbouring nations, and fancy a character of both which suits neither.

Though the same kind of government and religion, a similarity of manners and opinions, may have brought them to an apparent resemblance in the eyes of strangers; yet on examination, they are obviously of a different race and character. The Portuguese is naturally the most docile and complaisant of all creatures, and the Spaniard the most obstinate: the one seems to be moved by a kind of volatile feminine spirit of sensibility, and the other by one of a nature more masculine, steady, obdurate, and determined: the one obsequious, obedient *muy rendido hasta derriuirse*; his manner and language the most feeling and *carinoja*; generally desirous to please, ready enough to learn and receive impressions, and may be formed to what you desire; though, by turns, equally careless and indolent, weak, changeable, superstitious, he forgets sooner than he had learned. Whereas the Spaniard is ever the same proud, obstinate, lazy, but manly character, and will not easily receive or follow any impressions or motives but his own: by his religion and loyalty he has been enslaved, which by any other means would have been very difficult: with a high sensibility, and a determined character, he may be

led to be vindictive and cruel; with strong nerves, and a persevering mind, he may be very fit for a desperate enterprise and conquest. But as such qualities are not now the chief requisites in the character of a soldier, nor so well adapted to the ready obedience and activity of modern discipline, I would perhaps now rather chuse to recruit in Portugal than in Spain. Indeed, we have lately seen a great officer, count de la Lippe, form a very good little army of these people, in less time than could probably have been done with the people of almost any other nation. But they will soon lose their best habits and discipline, if the least neglected, and will relapse into their usual sloth and indolence, of which there is already too much appearance: already lulled to sleep by false policy and religion, every thing seems now neglected except the church: their most devout sovereigns amuse them with religious processions, with building convents, and churches; while the army, the garrisons, the navy, are all neglected, and half the commissions left vacant. If such measures are continued, they cannot long be fit for war, and hence not very long a nation.

In every country something of importance may be learned. To follow the ideas of that great officer count de la Lippe, and see what he did, and intended, for the defence of this country, would be one of the finest military lessons you could have. You should see Elvas, which he fortified, and examine all his excellent ideas of fortification and artillery: his safe flanks, parapets, resources, carriages, modes of economising power and space, of making powder; in short, his excellent

ideas

ideas on almost every military subject: and then his general plans of defending this frontier, and of attacking Spain."

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*Specimens of original Anecdotes of Czar Peter the Great; with a Letter of the Czar's, written immediately after the Battle of Pultowa.—From M. Stæhlin's original Anecdotes of Peter the Great, collected from the Conversation of several Persons of Distinction at Petersburg and Moscow.—N. B. At the Conclusion of every Anecdote is the Name of the Relator of it to M. Stæhlin.*

*Anecdote respecting the Czar's forging with his own Hands a Quantity of Iron in Bar.*

"**P**ETER the Great, desirous of forming useful establishments in his dominions, and of encouraging those already existing, visited the different workshops and manufactories with much assiduity. Among others that he visited frequently, were the forges of Muller at Istia, on the road to Kalouga, at ninety werks distance from Moscow. He once passed a whole month there, during which time, he drank chalybeate waters; and after having given due attention to the affairs of the state, which he never neglected, he amused himself not only with seeing and examining every thing in the most minute manner, but also with putting his hand to the work, and learning the business of a blacksmith. He succeeded so well, that one of the last days of this excursion he forged alone eighteen poods of iron (the pood is equal to forty pounds) and put his own particular

mark on each bar. The boyars and other noblemen of his suite were obliged to blow the bellows, to stir the fire, to carry coals, and perform all the other offices of journeymen blacksmiths.

Some days after, on his return to Moscow, he went to see Verner Muller, bestowed great praise on his establishment, and asked him how much he gave per pood for iron in bar, furnished by a master blacksmith. "Three copecks or an altin," answered Muller. "Well then," said the Czar, "I have earned eighteen altins, and am come to be paid." Muller immediately opened his bureau, took out eighteen ducats, and counting them before the prince, "It is the least," said he, "that can be given to such a workman as your majesty." But the emperor retuled them: "Take again your ducats," said he, "and pay me the usual price; I have worked no better than another blacksmith; and this will serve to buy me a pair of shoes, of which I am in great want." At the same time his majesty showed him those he wore, which had already been soled, and stood in need of another repair. He took the eighteen altins, went directly to a shop, bought a pair of shoes, and took great pleasure in showing them on his feet, saying to those who were present; "I have earned them well, by the sweat of my brow, with hammer and anvil."

One of these bars of iron forged by Peter the Great, and authenticated by his mark, is still to be seen at Istia, in the same forge of Muller. Another, forged also with his own hand, is shown in the cabinet of the Academy of Sciences at Petersburg: but this latter was forged

at

at a later period at Olonetz, on the lake of Ladoga.

Peter Muller, son of the above-mentioned master blacksmith.

*A striking Example of the Severity with which the Czar administered Justice in criminal Cases.*

The sage legislator of Russia, always shewed by his own example, the rigour with which the laws should be observed. He was inexorable in criminal matters, especially when the offence bore any marks of premeditated malice. Whoever committed a murder had no pardon to hope for: the Czar used to say; —“ Blood that has been spilt cries out for vengeance, and a murder that goes unpunished is a wound given to the state.”

Miss Hamilton, maid of honour to the empress, was much addicted to gallantry, and delivered herself of two children, with so much secrecy, as to escape suspicion of any one at court. But the same thing happening a third time, brought her to the scaffold.

The dead child was found, and all the circumstances bore witness against her. She was taken into custody by order of the Czar, and confessed in prison, that this was the third child she had murdered. Sentence of death was pronounced on her, and confirmed by the emperor, contrary to her expectation; for the great number of solicitations in her favour, and the friendship with which he had always honoured her, so far even as to raise suspicions of amorous motives, made her hope for pardon. All, however, was ineffectual; Peter, determined to keep up in his dominions the respect due to laws both human and divine.

On the day of execution, the offender appeared dressed in a white silk gown, trimmed with black ribbons, and was conducted to the scaffold. The emperor came thither, took leave of her, and gave her a kiss: —“ I cannot,” said he, “ violate the laws to save your life. Support your punishment with courage, and, in the hope that God may forgive you your sins, address your prayers to him with a heart full of faith and contrition.” Miss Hamilton kneeled down, and prayed, and the Czar having turned aside, she was beheaded.

Vccius, cabinet maker at court, present at the execution.

*Peter the Great declares that he took the Czar Iwan Waffilowitch II. for a Model in the Art of Government.*

It is well known that the Czar Iwan Waffilowitch II. is generally represented as a cruel tyrant, and that the world unjustly adds these odious titles to his name. Peter the Great formed a very different judgment of this prince. He often said in conversation that he deserved the name of Great, and brought proofs in support of his assertion. He one day avowed this opinion publicly, on an occasion I am going to relate.

At the illumination of the city of Moscow, on account of the peace with Sweden in 1721, the Duke of Holstein, afterwards the Czar's son-in-law, erected a triumphal arch of coloured lamps before his palace. On one side Peter the Great was seen in a car, and on the other the Emperor Iwan Waffilowitch, who formed the vast empire of Russia out

of a number of small principalities, was represented with a shield emblazoned with the arms of the petty princes he had subdued. Peter the Great had also a shield, ornamented with those of the provinces he had conquered.

This idea did not please every body. Many people said it was an egregious blunder to couple a prince, considered as a barbarous tyrant, with an emperor to whom the senate had decreed the title of father of his country. Peter walking that evening to enjoy the sight of the different illuminations, when he came to the Duke's residence, examined attentively the two compartments of the triumphal arch, and conceived at once the sense that was meant to be conveyed.

At the same instant the Duke of Holstein advanced to salute his majesty, and to thank him for honouring that quarter of the town with his presence. He also apologized for having done no better, which he attributed to the short notice given, and the want of painters. The Czar, who was pleased with the transparent paintings, embraced the duke, and told him in the hearing of every body present, that he had seen nothing so happily invented or so well executed in Moscow. "The ideas of your highness" said he, "correspond wonderfully with mine. This prince was my forerunner and model. I have always endeavoured to imitate his bravery, and the wisdom of his government, but I am far from being his equal. He can be called a tyrant by none but men of weak minds, who neither know the circumstances he was in, the nation he governed, nor the greatness of his abilities."

He then went into the Duke's house, spoke a long while on this subject, and after drinking a cheerful glass, retired.

Count Brummer, lord marshal to the great duke, and then at Moscow with the duke of Holstein.

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*Instructions of Peter the Great to his Envoys in foreign Courts.*

After the peace of 1721, which terminated the war between Russia and Sweden, it became necessary for the Czar to send a minister to Stockholm. He chose for this employment Michaila Petrowitch Bestoucheff, afterwards count and lord marshal of the court, in the reign of the empress Elizabeth, and ordered him to come at four o'clock in the morning to receive his last instructions. He was likewise ordered to apply to Andrew Iwanowitch Ostermann for those of the council of state, to bring them with him at his return, and above all not to forget his tablets.

M. Bestoucheff, on his return from court, went directly to Mr. Ostermann, to communicate to him the emperor's orders. That gentleman gave him his instructions, which they perused together, article by article. As it was already ten o'clock, Ostermann told Mr. Bestoucheff, that it was not worth while to go to bed, as they were to wait on the emperor at four in the morning.

They therefore joined a party of their friends, supped, and passed the rest of the night with great gaiety. At half past three they repaired to the Czar's antichamber, where they found nobody but the *deutchschick* in waiting, who told them that the

Czar

Czar had been half an hour awake, but refused to announce them before the appointed time.

Precisely at four o'clock, the emperor, being informed they were come, ordered them to be admitted, received them, as usual, in a friendly manner, and asked them what was the hour. On hearing it had just struck four, he said it was well.

He then asked count Ostermann if he had delivered the instructions to Mr. Bestoucheff, and if he had looked them over with him. "Have you read them," said he to Bestoucheff, "do you understand them, and have you no farther questions to ask relative to their contents?" Mr. Bestoucheff answering that he understood them perfectly, the Czar asked him several difficult questions respecting them, and was fully satisfied with his answers. "It is well," said he, "you know what to do, and what to avoid, in the name, and for the advantage of my empire: now take your tablets, and write down my own commissions, and private instructions, that they may not escape your memory."

He then gave him a list of the different things he wanted from Sweden, and the neighbouring countries, desiring him in the first place to send him a certain number of good workmen; such as gardeners and farmers (whom he expected to find very useful at Peterburgh, on account of the similarity of climate) woodmen, carpenters, masons, locksmiths, and, above all, some good armourers, well skilled in making locks for muskets, and springs in general, brass founders, steel manufacturers, &c.

When he had done dictating, he

bade Mr. Bestoucheff read what he had written, that he might be sure nothing was forgotten.—"You will make your reports," added he, "to the council of state, as far as relates to the instructions you have received from them; but in regard to the commissions written in your tablets, you will write to me without ceremony, as you do to any other correspondent, addressing simply to Peter Alexiewitsch. Farewell, I wish you a good journey: fulfil the duties of your appointment faithfully, and with all the diligence you can. If you behave as I wish, be assured that I will take care of your interests; but if you deceive my expectations, you may depend upon it, that you will have in me as implacable an enemy, as you have now a truly affectionate friend." Then embracing him; "Go," said he, "and God be with you."

Lord Marshall, Count Michaila Petrowitsch Bestoucheff.

*Peter the Great's Conduct towards a Senator rendered criminal by his Patriotism.*

Peter loved his country, and in all his projects had the good of his subjects so much at heart, that the greatest faults, and even crimes, if occasioned by an excess of patriotism, not only found him an indulgent judge, but likewise obtained his thanks and a reward.

When he began the canal of Ladoga, he ordered all the landholders of the governments of Novogorod and Petersburgh to send their peasants to work on it, and signed an ukase to that effect in full senate.

Prince



Prince Jacob Feodowitch Dolgoroukow\*, one of the principal senators, and a man in whom the Czar reposed much confidence, was not present when the ordinance was registered, being employed that day on other business of the state.

The following day the senate assembled, and was proceeding to the publication of the edict, when Dolgoroukow, who was ignorant of what had passed, made inquiry into the matter. The registers were presented to him, and he found therein an order to send the peasants of the governments of Novogorod and Petersburg to dig the canal of Ladoga.—“No,” cried he, “this is not possible; representations must be made to the emperor, or these provinces, which have already suffered so much, will be ruined without resource.”—After saying this, Dolgoroukow, transported by his zeal for the poor peasants, prepared to tear the ordinance. It was represented to him in vain, that it was too late to make any opposition, or to propose modifications, as the emperor had already signed it. Notwithstanding these reasons, his patriotism got the better of his prudence, and he tore the edict, to the great astonishment of the senate.

The whole assembly rose full of alarm, and asked him if he knew what he had done, what he exposed himself to, and the misfortunes that threatened him?—“Yes,” answered he, “and I will answer for it

“before God, the emperor, and my country.”

At this moment the Czar made his appearance. Surprised at the exclamations he had heard, and to see the whole senate standing, he asked what all this signified?—The attorney general trembled while he told him that the ordinance he had signed the day before had been torn to pieces by Dolgoroukow.—Peter turned to Dolgoroukow, and asked him, with much warmth, what had induced him to oppose his authority in so unheard-of a manner?—“My zeal for your honour, and the good of your subjects,” answered the intrepid senator. “Do not be angry, Peter Alexiewitch, that I have too much confidence in your wisdom to think you wish, like Charles the Twelfth, to desolate your country. Your ordinance is inconsiderate, and you have not reflected on the situation of the two governments it regards. Do you not know that they have suffered more in the war than all the provinces of your empire together; that many of their inhabitants have perished; and are you unacquainted with the present miserable state of the people? What is there to hinder your taking a small number of men from each province to dig this canal, which is certainly necessary? The other provinces are more populous than the two in question, and can ea-

\* This Prince Dolgoroukow is the same who studied the profession of arms with the Czar in his youth, and who bore away the palm from his fellow pupil on several occasions. He was made prisoner in 1703, at the unfortunate affair of Narva, and was sent to Sweden; but he found means to escape, and returned safe to his master.

He is also the same, who prevailed on the Czar to leave the alarming solitude, in which his grief made him so obstinately remain, on the death of his son.

“ sily furnish you with labourers,  
 “ or at least without suffering the  
 “ same difficulties as the provinces  
 “ of Novogorod and Petersburgh  
 “ alone. Besides, have you not  
 “ Swedish prisoners enow to employ,  
 “ without oppressing your subjects  
 “ with works like these?”

The Czar listened to this remon-  
 france with great tranquillity, and,  
 convinced of its propriety, turned  
 towards the other senators—“ Let  
 “ the publication of the ukase be  
 “ suspended,” said he: “ I will  
 “ consider farther of this matter,  
 “ and let you know my inten-  
 “ tions.”—Here the affair drop-  
 ped.

Peter took other means to cut the  
 canal of Ladoga, and, without  
 doubt, following the idea of Dolgo-  
 roukow, ordered some thousands of  
 Swedish prisoners to work there, al-  
 most all of whom perished in that la-  
 borious and unhealthy employment.

Mr. Reister, counsellor for the  
 mines, then at Petersburgh.

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*The Secret divulged.*

Peter, after having brought the  
 Swedish war to a glorious conclu-  
 sion, determined to avail himself of  
 the troubles in Persia, and to march  
 against the Sophy. He discovered  
 his design to none but the empress,  
 and his favourite Menchicoff, with  
 whom he was quite alone.—“ I  
 “ have entrusted my secret,” said  
 he, “ to none but you, and forbid  
 “ you to speak of it to any one.”

Some days after, being alone with  
 one of his *denttschicks*, and med-  
 itating on the means of executing  
 his great designs with success, he asked  
 if there were any news?—“ None,  
 “ Sire, except that we are going to  
 “ march against the Persians.”—

“ What!” replied the emperor,  
 with surprise: “ march against the  
 “ Persians! Tell me immediately  
 “ from whom you had that fal-  
 “ sity!”—“ From the empress’s  
 “ parrot, Sire: I heard it yester-  
 “ day, while I was in the anticham-  
 “ ber, repeat several times, *Ei*  
 “ *Perfi padiom*, We will march into  
 “ Persia.”

Peter sent immediately for Prince  
 Menchicoff to attend him to the  
 apartment of the empress, and told  
 them both, that, as the secret he  
 had entrusted to them was divulged,  
 he insisted on knowing to whom they  
 had mentioned it. Catherine and  
 Menchicoff protested they had not  
 opened their mouths on the subject.  
 The Czar, convinced of their inno-  
 cence, turned towards the parrot—  
 “ Here,” said he, “ is the traitor:  
 “ it is one of my *denttschicks* who  
 “ told me. In our conversation we  
 “ frequently said, *We will march*  
 “ *into Persia*, and the rogue has re-  
 “ membered and repeated it. You  
 “ must remove him from your  
 “ apartment,” added he to the em-  
 press, laughing; “ for it is ne-  
 “ cessary that we should be on our  
 “ guard both against traitors and  
 “ babblers.”

Count Iwan Gregorovitsch  
 Tchernitshoff.

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*Weakness and Generosity of Peter the  
 Great.*

The Czar had the weakness inci-  
 dent almost to every hero: he was  
 passionately fond of the fair sex.  
 Being one day at dinner at a fo-  
 reign merchant’s, whose daughter  
 was very beautiful, he fell violently  
 in love, and pressed her to make  
 a return to his passion. But the  
 young lady, as virtuous as beautiful,  
 firmly

firmly refused the most seducing offers, and, dreading his solicitations, resolved to leave Moscow by night, without acquainting her parents. Taking some provisions and a little money with her, she travelled several miles on foot, and at last reached a small village, the abode of her nurse. She discovered herself to her foster sister, whom she informed of her intention to remain concealed. Her nurse's husband, a carpenter by trade, conducted her to a neighbouring wood, where, on a little rising ground, surrounded by a morass, he hastily built a hut for her residence.

The day after her flight the Czar sent for her parents, who were inconsolable for her loss. He at first thought it a concerted scheme; but the violence of their grief undeceived him, and he promised a large reward to any one who should discover the fugitive: all search, however, was vain, and her parents went into mourning.

A year after, an accident a little uncommon occasioned her discovery. A colonel, who was absent from his regiment on leave, made his way into the midst of the wood in pursuit of game, came to the morass, and met the lady. Struck by her beauty, he became immediately enamoured of her, and, after a few questions, found that she was the person whose loss had made so much noise. He consoled her by telling her that the Czar's heart was engaged elsewhere; offered to wait on her parents, and concert with them the means of taking her from her solitary abode. She consented to his proposal, and accepted his assistance with gratitude, that led the way to foster sentiments. Her parents, overjoyed at finding their

daughter, determined to apply to Mrs. Catherine; for this was the name then given to the celebrated woman whom Peter afterwards placed upon his throne.

Catherine spoke to the Czar, and represented, in such lively colours, all that a delicate girl must have suffered, shut up for a whole year in a hut in the midst of a morass, that he was much affected, reproached himself severely with the pain he had given her, and determined to make her amends. He desired to see her, her parents, and deliverer; to the latter of whom he presented her—"Receive from my hand," said he, "the most amiable and virtuous of women: I settle upon her and her heirs three thousand roubles a year."

This respectable woman went often to court in full possession of his favour, and the veneration of the public.—"I have the story from her own mouth," says the chevalier Bruce, from whose memoirs it is borrowed.

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*Letter of Peter the Great, written on the field of battle at Pultowa the 27th of June, 1709, at nine o'clock in the evening, to Admiral Feodor Matweitsch Apraxin.*

This is to inform you, that, by God's blessing and the bravery of my troops, I have just obtained a complete and unexpected victory without much effusion of blood. These are the particulars of the action.

This morning the enemy's cavalry and infantry attacked my cavalry, which gave way with considerable loss, after a brave resistance.

The enemy then formed themselves in line of battle exactly opposite our camp. I drew immediately our infantry out of the entrenchments to oppose the Swedes, and placed our cavalry on the two wings.

The enemy, on seeing this, made a movement to attack us. Our troops advanced to meet them, and received them in such a manner, that the enemy deserted the field of battle after little or no resistance, leaving us in possession of a number of cannon, colours, and standards. Field-marshal general Reinschild, generals Schlippenbach, Stackelberg, Hamilton, and Rosen, are among the prisoners; as are also count Piper, prime minister, secretaries Imerlin and Cederheim, and several thousand officers and soldiers. I will send you in a little time a more circumstantial account; at present I am too busy to satisfy your curiosity entirely. In few words, the enemy's army has met with the fate of Phaeton. I can give you no account of the king, not knowing whether he be in the number of the living, or gone to sleep with his fathers. I have sent prince Galitzin and Bawer with part of the cavalry in pursuit of the runaways. I congratulate you on this good news, and beg all the magistrates and officers of my empire to consider it as a happy omen.

P E T E R.

P. S. Thank God the foundations of Petersburg are firmly laid.

Translated from the original in the Russian tongue by Jacob Staehlin.

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*Character of Joseph Baretti, Esq.—  
Extracted from the Gentleman's  
Magazine for 1789.*

“ JOSEPH Baretti was a native of Piedmont, with little patrimony, except his education. To his education he was indebted for his knowledge of the Latin language. To his own industry, for the acquisition of French, English, Spanish, and Portuguese. Greek he was not acquainted with, and was never ashamed to confess and lament it; nor is it improbable, but that the facility he naturally experienced in acquiring modern languages, added disgust to the difficulty of making a proficiency in Greek. In the languages he did possess, his knowledge was not merely superficial or colloquial, but accurate and critical to a great degree; and though his countrymen have sometimes denied him the credit of possessing the Tuscan purity in his Italian writings, he failed possibly in those little niceties of the dialect, which none but a native can discover; and certain it is, that he had laboured so earnestly to attain that excellence, as totally to neglect the Piedmontese, and become incapable of conversing in it with fluency and propriety. It is no small testimony of his industry or abilities, that he was a publisher in the Italian, French, and English languages. Of his proficiency in English, we are the best judges; and if we say that he failed in the manner, rather than the language and phrase of our best writers, we must still leave him the merit of being able to amuse, delight, and instruct;—a merit, perhaps, none will deny him who have read his “*Travels in Spain*,” or his “*Remarks upon Mr. Sam. Sharpe's Letters from Italy*.” His “*Travels in Spain*” is the work by which his friends would wish him to be remembered; and, as he received 500*l.* for this work from the booksellers, it might have

have been a lesson to teach him, that, where profit was most attainable, it was most creditable likewise, and ought to have deterred him from commencing that style of invective by which he was ever a loser. Large supplies, however, like this, were not the produce of every day. We ought not to be surpris'd, therefore, if we find Baretti engaged in the humbler offices which almost every man must submit to who has no profession but his pen. It was want that comell'd him to be a corrector of the press for Spanish or Italian works, to frame dialogues for instruction in those languages, or compile dictionaries in the service of bookfellers, in order to find the means of a regular support. The latter labours of his life, which claim the title of originality, were, "A Letter to M. de Voltaire," in French, treating very freely his strictures upon Shakspeare — his "Tolondron," in English, a severe invective against Mr. Bowle, the translator of "Don Quixote," — and some remarks, in Italian, upon the conduct of the Bishop of Pistoia, who is supposed to be instigated by the present Duke of Tuscany to prepare the minds of his subjects for throwing off the spiritual tyranny of Rome. Of the first of these works little need be said to recommend it to Englishmen, when they are told it is in defence of Shakspeare, the god of their idolatry. But it is in reality a sensible work, combating the volatile and impetuous Frenchman on his own grounds, and proving, to a demonstration, that, though ignorant of English and Italian, he had, without scruple, written in the one language, and criticised the authors of the other. The "Tolondron" contains a series of the grossest abuse upon

Mr. Bowle, which nothing could justify, unless Mr. Bowle was the author of the publications in the Gentleman's Magazine, imputing the crime of murder to a man assaulted by pickpockets in the streets of London. Baretti certainly thought Mr. Bowle the author of those charges, and took therefore this severe, though perhaps unwarrantable, mode of retaliation. It is not even good of its kind, but must appear far more reprehensible to those who are not aware of the provocation. The publication in Italian relating to the Bishop of Pistoia, the writer of this account never saw, and can therefore pass no judgment upon it. Having said this of his writings, it may be necessary to add something of his fortunes. He has himself been heard to say, that he was induced to come to England first, about six and thirty years ago, by an Irish nobleman (Lord Charlemont, it is supposed) to whom he had had the opportunity of shewing some civilities in Italy. What were the prospects held out to him are not so evident; but certain it is, from his first setting foot on English ground (though he has been reproached with not loving the English nation) his attachment to the country and people was fixed, and incapable of diminution. It was after this first arrival that he returned to Italy, and commenced the publication of his "Frustra Literaria," which brought him in a considerable profit, but rais'd such a flame in Venice, as to make his stay in that country at least disagreeable, if not dangerous. With the profits of this work, and with unabated love to England, he returned to this country, and had the address or good fortune to introduce himself to the

acquaintance of Dr. Johnson \*, Mr. Burke, Mr. Garrick, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and most of those who were distinguished for their talents or professional abilities in the metropolis. How he supported himself before he was master of the English language is uncertain; but his spirit and moderation were such, that he was under pecuniary obligations to very few of his acquaintance, that he sought the assistance of no one by servility, and, when he received it, was in that absolute distress which his friends could not fail to discover, and which they were ever more ready to afford than he to accept. It was not distress that compelled him to take refuge in the hospitality of Mr. Thrale (as has been suggested): he had lately received 500*l.* for his "Spanish Travels," but was induced by Dr. Johnson (contrary to his own determination, of never becoming a teacher of languages) to undertake the instruction of Mr. Thrale's daughters in Italian. He was either nine or eleven years almost entirely in that family, though he still rented a lodging in town; during which period he expended his own 500*l.* and received, in return for his instruction, the participation of a good table, and 150*l.* by way of presents †.

The cause of mutual disgust, which took place between Mrs. Piozzi and Baretto, is before the public, in the letters addressed to that lady in the European Magazine; the invective

contained in those letters is not to be justified, and the puerility which sometimes presents itself, in the midst of the severest reproaches, is a confirmation of what has been already advanced, that though Baretto had obtained the *idiom* of our language to a sufficient degree of correctness, he had not acquired the *manner* of our best writers: he was told this by a friend, whose opinion he asked upon the publication of the first letter, who added, that he would never read a second if written in the same style. Baretto received the reproof with good-humour, but his mind was too far engaged to alter his plan.—The greatest want he ever experienced was probably the immediate months after the rupture with Mr. Thrale's family. Like a true author, he had grown indolent under the seducing influence of luxury: his own 500*l.* was expended—his mind long diverted from labour—his pen long unemployed. The correction of the press became his resource, and the hospitality of his friends one of the means of supporting life; these resources were scanty; he wanted little, but that little was not in his power to obtain; and the extremity of distress came upon him so fast soon afterwards, that, if Mr. Cator had not stepped forward to assist him, he must, in all probability, have sunk under the burden. There is reason to suppose that this gentleman, who was one of Mr. Thrale's executors, had commenced

\* Dr. Johnson's letters to Mr. Baretto, when abroad in 1761 (now extant), are of the most friendly kind.

† In a letter from Dr. Johnson to Mr. Boswell, is the following paragraph relative to Mr. Baretto's quitting Mr. Thrale.—"Baretto went away from Thrale's in some whimsical fit of disgust or ill-nature, without taking any leave. It is possible he finds in any other place as good an habitation, and as many conveniences. He has got 25 *guineas* by translating Sir Joshua's discourses into Italian; and Mr. Thrale gave him 100 in the spring, so that he is yet in no difficulties." acquaintance

acquaintance with him at Streatham, and it is no small testimony to Baretti's conduct, that it met with approbation from the most confidential friend of the family. Mr. Cator, in serving Baretti, clothed the naked, fed the hungry, and relieved the necessitous; not content with this, he endeavoured to prevent the return of his calamities, and, by his powerful recommendation to Lord Hawkebury, obtained for him a pension of fourscore pounds a year. This essential service to Baretti was accomplished in the latter part of Lord North's administration; and let this humble tribute of gratitude be returned to his Lordship, and those concerned in the application, for preventing a foreigner, approaching to his seventieth year, from perishing by want. All his own schemes for averting this evil had failed: among these, was that of inducing Mr. Philidore to set the *Carmen Seculare* of Horace to music; it was Baretti's hope to bring this annually before the public in Lent, and share the profit; it was presented one season at Free-Masons hall, and supposed to be successful; but the profits arising to Baretti from it did not pay for the cloaths he made up for his appearance. After the important business of the pension was settled, he became an independent, and indeed a happy man; his time, for great part of the year, was divided between Mr. Cator's at Beckenham, and Mr. Gaulor's at Way-Hall; he had in both houses what he peculiarly wished, an opportunity of mixing in company, and his œconomy rendered his pension the means of support for the remainder of the year almost to the extent of his wishes. Some disappointments at the close of his

life possibly advanced his departure from the situation of public affairs; his pension was nearly three quarters in arrear: the Italian Dictionary, which was reforming for the booksellers, and for which he was to receive 100*l.* did not become productive so soon as he expected it; Mr. Gaulor and Mr. Cator both stepped in to his relief, by divining his distress; still, however, he felt it so pungently, and magnified the weight of his debts so much to his imagination, that vexation produced the gout in his stomach. His perverseness in sickness was well known to all his friends, and, having conceived that ice or cold water was a sovereign remedy in all diseases, he persisted in taking great draughts of the latter, till all medical assistance was in vain. The family in which he lodged, and where he was regarded as a friend or parent, were convinced he was sinking rather under distress than disease: in this extremity a friend undertook to apply for the 50*l.* still remaining due on account of the Dictionary. Mr. Cadell, upon the first application, liberally undertook to procure the payment of it. "I went back to him," (said his friend, these were his own words) "I told him "to be comforted, for the money "should be paid him the next morning." He pressed my hand with the cold sweat of death upon his palm. "My dear friend," said he, "I thank you for your kind offices, "but it is now too late." He spoke but little after this, except to accuse himself for having taught young people to think lightly of medical knowledge, and confessing that by his contempt of it he had been the cause of his own death. He died that evening, in the seventy-

first year of his age; the 50*l.* was paid the next morning. His funeral was attended by a few friends, and some members of the Royal Academy, to which he was secretary for foreign correspondence (a place without profit), and he was committed to the earth in the upper burying-ground of Mary le Bone parish. It is but justice to add, that by means of the 50*l.* just mentioned, and the arrears of his pension, every debt he had is covered, and that he died without a claim upon him more than he was able to discharge if he had lived. After the account here given of Baretti, a character of him may appear superfluous; but, as every author, while living, hopes for a friend to perform that office rather than an enemy, let friendship be an excuse for the following sketch.

The person of Baretti was athletic, his countenance by no means attractive, his manners apparently rough, but not unfocial; his eye, when he was inclined to please, or be pleased, when he was conversing with young people, and especially young women, cheerful and engaging; he was fond of conversing with them, and his conversation almost constantly turned upon subjects of instruction: he had the art of drawing them into correspondence, and wished by these means to give them the power of expression and facility of language, while he himself conveyed to them lessons on the conduct of life; and the best answer that can be given to all those accounts, which have represented him as a man of a brutal and ferocious temper, is the attachment which many of his young friends felt while he was living, and preserve to his memory now he is no more. He was not impatient of

contradiction, unless where contempt was implied, but alive in every feeling where he thought himself traduced, or his conduct impeached. His Tolondron, and letters to Mrs. Piozzi, bespeak this temper; and, as invective always finds its way to notice more readily than other subjects, it is not to be wondered at, if these have left more impression on the public than his other works. But let it be remembered, that in both instances he was attacked. Mr. Bowle treated him (or was believed to treat him) as a murderer; Mrs. Piozzi, as a man of an unfeeling and ungrateful heart: he suffered by his irritability on these and other occasions. His letter to Voltaire produced him nothing but a few copies to give to his friends; his Tolondron never sold; his letters in the European Magazine he gave to the printer. In every other intercourse with the world, he was social, easy, and conversible; his talents were neither great or splendid; but his knowledge of mankind was extensive, and his acquaintance with books in all the modern languages which are valuable, except the German, was universal. His conduct in every family where he became an inmate, was correct and irreproachable; neither prying, nor inquisitive, nor intermeddling; but affable to the inferiors, and conciliatory between the principals; in others, which he visited only, he was neither intrusive nor unwelcome; ever ready to accept an invitation when it was cordial, and never seeking it where it was cold and affected. His love to the English nation was sincere and unbounded. He might have lived in want at home, probably as much as he experienced in England; but,



but, if his conversation may be depended on, he preferred his humble pension here, to double the amount in his own country. His assistance to every Englishman who wished to visit Italy, his readiness to give or procure recommendations was constant, and many have received civilities and attentions from his family, who were unconscious that requests for that purpose had been transmitted. His friendship with Dr. Johnson was unbroken for five and twenty years; the coolness which arose just before the Doctor's death, he has stated with great simplicity in his Tolondron. It is an additional proof of his impatience under slight or contempt; but his reverence of the abilities and worth of his friend was unimpaired to the last moment of his life. They had been friends in distress; and one evening, when they had agreed to go to the tavern, a foreigner in the streets, by a specious tale of distress, emptied the Doctor's purse of the last half guinea it contained; they took their supper, however, as they had agreed, but when the reckoning came, what was the Doctor's surprise upon his recollecting that his purse was totally exhausted! Baretti had fortunately enough to answer the demand, and has often declared that it was impossible for him not to reverence a man who could give away all that he was worth, without recollecting his own distress.—In point of *morals*, Baretti was irreproachable; in regard to *faith*, he was rather without religion, than irreligious: the fact was, possibly, that he had been disgusted with the religion of Italy before he left it, and was too old, when he came to England, to take an attachment to the purer doctrines of the Protestant

church: but his scepticism was never offensive to those who had settled principles, never held out or defended in company, never proposed to mislead or corrupt the minds of young people. He ridiculed the libertine publications of Voltaire, and the reveries of Rousseau; he detested the philosophy of the French *pour les femmes de chambre*, and, though too much of a philosopher (in his own opinion) to subscribe to any church, he was a friend to church establishments.

If this was the least favourable part of his character, the best was his integrity, which was in every period of his distresses constant and unimpeached. He had once trespassed upon Mr. Cadell's liberality to the amount of 70*l.* with little hope of discharging the obligation; fortune relieved him, by bringing him an Eastern present from a young lady, who had been one of those he took a pleasure to instruct; she was just married to Mr. Middleton in Bengal, and transmitted him, among other treasures, a diamond of some value; the use he made of it, was to lodge it in Mr. Cadell's hands till it could be sold, and the debt discharged. His regularity in every other claim was equally conspicuous; his wants he never made known but in the last extremity; and his last illness, if it was caused by vexation, would doubtless have been prevented, by the intervention of many friends who were ready to supply him, if his own scruples, strengthened by the hopes of receiving his due from day to day, had not induced him to conceal his immediate distress till it was too late to assist him.

Such was the character of Joseph Baretti, as it appeared to the writer

of these anecdotes. Those who never lived with him, may perhaps draw contrary inferences from his disputes with Mr. Bowle and Mrs. Piczzi; but if any of those who knew his course of life, should think more has been said of him than he deserves, the press is open to their remarks. A panegyrist might think himself called upon to reply to them;

but the writer of this account, knowing what he has said is the truth, cannot object to other truths being laid before the public. It may be some satisfaction to his numerous correspondents to be informed, that every letter in his possession was burnt without inspection."

# NATURAL HISTORY.

*Having inserted in our Annual Register for 1787, the Observations of John Hunter, Esq; tending to shew that the Wolf, Jackal, and Dog, are all of the same Species, we shall add his Supplementary Letter, addressed to Sir Joseph Banks, Bart. in Proof of that Fact.—From Vol. lxxix. of the Philosophical Transactions.*

S I R,

“ **I**N the year 1787 I had the honour of presenting to this learned society, a paper to prove the Wolf, the Jackal, and the Dog to be of the same species. But as the complete proof of the wolf being a dog, which consisted in the half-bred puppy breeding again, had not been under my own inspection, although sufficiently well-authenticated, I saved a female of one of the half-bred puppies, mentioned in that paper, in hopes of being myself a witness of the fact; but when the period of impregnation arrived, we unluckily missed that opportunity. However, another half-bred puppy has had young, which is equally satisfactory to me as if my own had bred. John Symmons, esq; of Milbank, has had a female wolf in his possession for some time, who was lined by a dog, and brought

forth several puppies, which I had the honour of seeing with you. This was a very short time after the brood had been produced by Mr. Gough's wolf, the subject of my former paper, therefore the puppies were nearly of an age with mine. These puppies Mr. Symmons has reared; only one of them was a female, and she had much more of the mother or wolf in her than any of the rest of the same litter. I communicated my wish to Mr. Symmons, that either his puppy or mine should prove the fact to our own knowledge; which he immediately, with great readiness, acceded to. On the 16th, 17th, and 18th of December, 1788, this bitch was lined by a dog, and on the 18th of February she brought eight puppies, all of which she now rears. If we reckon from the 16th of December, she went 64 days; but if we reckon from the 17th, the mean time, then it is 63 days, the usual time for a bitch to go with pup. These puppies are the second remove from the wolf and dog, similar to that given by my Lord Clanbrassil to the Earl of Pembroke, which bred again. It would have proved the same fact if she had been lined by either a wolf, a dog, or one of the males of her own litter.

I may just remark here, that the wolf seems to have only one time in the

the

the year for impregnation natural to her, and that is in the month of December; for every time Mr. Gough's wolf has been in heat was in this month, and it proves to be the same month in which Mr. Symmons's wolf was in heat; for his half-bred wolf is nearly of the same age with mine, and the time she was in heat was also the same with that of her own mother, and the present brood corresponds in time with the brood of Mr. Gough's wolf.

I am, &c.

JOHN HUNTER."

*An Account of the Moving of a Bog, and the Formation of a Lake, in the County of Galway, Ireland. By Ralph Ousley, Esq; M. R. I. A. —From the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy.*

“ ON Tuesday, March 28, 1745, O. S. a very remarkable and extraordinary event happened at the bog of Addergoole, about a mile and an half from the town of Dunmore, county of Galway. As James Carroll, Esq; \* of Killeeny, superintended his men cutting turf, about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, the day being very sultry, he observed a sudden and alarming gathering of the clouds just over his head, and had scarce time to warn his labourers of the approaching storm, when the most violent and surprizing rain, ever remembered, assailed them, accompanied with a dreadful though unknown noise, not so loud, but as tremendous as thunder, a little to the east of where they stood: though the men ran in-

cessantly towards an adjacent village, they were wet to the skin before they got half way.

This shower, or water-spout rather, continued little more than an hour, at the conclusion of which the turf-cutters were presented with a phenomenon much more extraordinary; they saw the turbary they had just left, containing about ten acres, floating as it were after them, till it subsided at last upon a piece of low pasture of near thirty acres by the river's side, called Higgins's Park, where it spread and settled, covering the whole, to the astonishment of numbers, and the very great loss of Major Carroll; as it instantly became, and still continues, the wettest and most unprofitable piece of bog in the whole country.

Another and more considerable injury immediately succeeded this; the moving bog completely choked up the river, which consequently overflowed the back grounds, and before evening a lough or lake of near fifty-five acres covered the adjacent fields. Major Carroll's fine bottom meadow of thirty acres was in a few hours perfectly transformed into water: fifteen acres also of meadow, of the lands of Addergoole, belonging to poor tenants, shared the same fate, which, with the ten acres of bog that moved, make up the number mentioned above; forming a considerable lough in half a day's time, to the great prejudice of many, and surprize as well as terror of the neighbourhood.

The lake naturally increasing every hour, Major Carroll in a few days collected a great number of labourers, and began to make a

\* A brevet major in Queen Anne's reign.

large drain to carry the water by the shortest cut to the bed of the river, now dry: but perceiving the new-formed lough forcing itself into another line, he assisted its operations, and without much trouble formed the present course of the river to its junction with the antient channel, below the late formed bog. Before the passage was finished, and the lake let run, it was supposed to have covered three hundred acres; but in seven or eight days it diminished to fifty or sixty acres, of which extent it still continues. The river below the new bog was nearly dry for more than a mile, and children of ten or twelve years old destroyed all the fish, even in the deepest holes.

Most of the grounds mentioned here, are bounded by the estate of the present Earl of Louth, who has been often on the premises, and is well acquainted with the above particulars."

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*An Account of an Aurora Borealis seen in full Sunshine. By the Rev. Henry Usher, D. D. F. R. S. and M. R. I. A. — From the same Work.*

“THE following phenomenon being very uncommon, if not entirely new, I think it worth communicating to the Academy, principally with a view to learn whether any other person has observed a similar one at any time.

On Saturday night, May 24, 1788, there was a very bright aurora borealis, the coruscating rays of which united, as usual, in the pole of the dipping needle. I have always observed that an aurora borealis renders the stars remarkably unsteady

in the telescope. The next morning, about eleven, finding the stars flutter much, I examined the state of the sky, and saw whitish rays ascending from every part of the horizon, all tending to the pole of the dipping needle, where at their union they formed a small thin and white canopy, similar to the luminous one exhibited by an aurora in the night. These rays coruscated or shivered from the horizon to their point of union.

These effects were distinctly seen by three different people, and their point of union marked separately by each of them.

There is certainly no reason for confining the effects of aurora borealis to the night, although it then makes its most magnificent display, contrasted by the darkness of the sky.

The tumultuous motion of the stars at certain times in serene skies has been taken notice of by the Abbé De La Caille, at the Cape of Good Hope; and M. De La Lande remarks, that sometimes, when a south-west wind prevails at Paris, the same effect is produced. An aurora borealis in this country is generally succeeded by a south-west wind, and frequently the wind veers round to that point during its appearance; now if this phenomenon, as suggested by an ingenious member of this Academy, should be inflammable air in a state of inflammation, the water so produced by such inflammation might satisfactorily account for this unsteadiness of the rays, whether we suppose it either in the act of absorption, or in the state of vesicular vapour descending from the upper regions of the atmosphere.

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That inflammable air, at least some species of it, contains iron, cannot well be disputed, as its effect on an infusion or tincture of galls shews the presence of iron. That there is some connection, hitherto unexplored, between magnetism and the aurora borealis seems highly probable. The unsteadiness of the magnetic needle during the appearance of this phenomenon is known to every one, and indicates such connection; the union of the radii of a strong aurora borealis in the pole of the dipping needle strengthens the same conjecture, which is still further confirmed by the situation of the luminous northern arch, generally the first symptom of a strong aurora, and from whence, in all probability, the name was taken; for the highest point of this arch is always found in the magnetic meridian.

This phenomenon is certainly more common now than it was a century or even half a century ago; this I find most people, even the most illiterate, agreed in. Upon examining the accounts of the authenticated appearances of the aurora borealis, so carefully collected by the celebrated De Mairan, I perceive a chasm in the list of observations for about forty years in the last century, in the middle of which chasm, nearly, is the year 1661, in which year we are told the variation of the needle at Paris was 0. We seem also to collect from the same author's researches that the fre-

quency of this appearance seems to have decreased with the diminution of the eastern variation, and it now seems to increase with the increasing western variation. What real connection there may be between the *variation* of the needle and the aurora borealis, or the cause of it, I acknowledge myself entirely ignorant; but perhaps this trifling hint may engage the attention of others, who have both more leisure and abilities for such an interesting disquisition."

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*A Table containing an authentic Statement of the Population of China, divided into Provinces; made in the 27th Year of the Reign of Kien-Long; i. e. in 1761.—From the Translation of Abbé Grosier's Description of China.*

“ THIS state of the population of China, which may be considered as peculiarly authentic, was taken from the Tribunal of Lands there, and received in France in 1779. It is written in Chinese characters; but an explanation of these characters is added by Chinese words corresponding to them, which were translated into French at Pe-king. A copy of this original piece follows; but it must be read from top to bottom, because the Chinese lines are vertical. It is also necessary to observe, that the *ouan* of the Chinese is equal to ten thousand.

CHONG MIN CHOU:

ALL THE PEOPLE NUMBERED.

I.

FONG-TIEN\*.

Ching, province  
 Ta, great  
 Siao, little  
 Nan, men  
 Niu, women  
 Kong, in all  
 Leou, } sixty  
 Che, }  
 Leou, six  
 Ouan, ten thousand  
 Pa, eight  
 T'fien, thousand  
 Pa, eight  
 Pei, hundred  
 Ou, } fifty  
 Che, }  
 Eul, two  
 [668,852.]

II.

T'CHE-LY †.

Ching, province  
 Ta, great  
 Siao, little  
 Nan, men  
 Niu, women  
 Kong, in all  
 Y, one  
 T'fien, thousand  
 Ou, five  
 Pei, hundred  
 Eul, } twenty  
 Che, }  
 Eul, two  
 Ouan  
 Eul, two  
 T'fien, thousand

Kieo, nine  
 Pei, hundred  
 Se, } forty  
 Chi, }  
 [15,222,940.]

III.

NGAN-HOEI\*.

Ching, province  
 Ta, great  
 Siao, little  
 Nan, men  
 Niu, women  
 Kong, in all  
 Eul, two,  
 T'fien, thousand  
 Eul, two  
 Pei, hundred  
 T'fi, } seventy  
 Che, }  
 Leou, six  
 Ouan  
 Y, one  
 T'fien, thousand  
 San, } thirty  
 Che, }  
 [22,761,030.]

IV.

KIANG-SOU.

Ching, province  
 Ta, great  
 Siao, little  
 Nan, men  
 Niu, women  
 Kong, in all

Eul, two  
 T'fien, thousand  
 San, three  
 Pei, hundred  
 Y, one  
 Che, ten, } sixteen  
 Leou, six, }  
 Ouan  
 Y, one  
 T'fien, thousand  
 Se, four  
 Pei, hundred  
 Kieou, nine  
 [23,161,409.]

V.

KIANG-SI.

Ching, province  
 Ta, great  
 Siao, little  
 Nan, men  
 Niu, women  
 Kong, in all  
 Y, one  
 T'fien, thousand  
 Y, one  
 Pei, hundred  
 Ouan  
 Leou, six  
 T'fien, thousand  
 Leou, six  
 Pei, hundred  
 Se, } forty  
 Chi, }  
 [11,006,640.]

VI.

T'CHE-KIANG.

Ching, province  
 Ta, great  
 Siao, little

\* Kiang-nan is divided into two provinces; one of which is called Ngan-hoei; the other, Kiang-sou.

\* Leao-tong.  
 † Or Pe-tcheli.

Nan,





Leou, *six*  
 Ouan  
 Pa, *eight*  
 T sien, *thousand*  
 Y, *one*  
 Pei, *hundred*  
 Pa, } *eighty*  
 Che, }  
 Kieou, *nine*  
 [9,768,189.]

XIII.

SI-NGAN\*.

Ching, *province*  
 Ta, *great*  
 Siao, *little*  
 Nan, *men*  
 Niu, *women*  
 Kong, *in all*  
 Tsi, *seven*  
 Pei, *hundred*  
 Eul, } *twenty*  
 Che, }  
 Pa, *eight*  
 Ouan  
 Tsi, *seven*  
 T sien, *thousand*  
 Se, *four*  
 Pei, *hundred*  
 Se, } *forty*  
 Che, }  
 San, *three*  
 [7,287,443.]

XIV.

KAN-SOU †.

Ching, *province*  
 Ta, *great*  
 Siao, *little*  
 Nan, *men*  
 Niu, *women*  
 Kong, *in all*  
 Tsi, *seven*

Pei, *hundred*  
 Se, } *forty*  
 Che, }  
 Y, *one*  
 Ouan  
 Eul, *two*  
 T sien, *thousand*  
 Y, } *fourteen*  
 Che, }  
 Se, }  
 [7,412,014.]

XV.

SE-TCHOUEN.

Ching, *province*  
 Ta, *great*  
 Siao, *little*  
 Nan, *men*  
 Niu, *women*  
 Kong, *in all*  
 Eul, *two*  
 Pei, *hundred*  
 Tsi, } *seventy*  
 Che, }  
 Pa, *eight*  
 Ouan  
 Eul, *two*  
 T sien, *thousand*  
 Kieou, *nine*  
 Pei, *hundred*  
 Tsi, } *seventy*  
 Che, }  
 Leou, *six*  
 [2,782,976.]

XVI.

QUANG-TONG.

Ching, *province*  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 Kong, *in all*  
 Leou, *six*  
 Pei, *hundred*  
 Tsi, } *seventy*  
 Che, }

Kieou, *nine*  
 Ouan  
 Tsi, *seven*  
 T sien, *thousand*  
 Ou, *five*  
 Pei, *hundred*  
 Kieou, } *ninety*  
 Che, }  
 Tsi, *seven*  
 [6,797,597.]

XVII.

QUANG-SI.

Ching, *province*  
 Ta, *great*  
 Siao, *little*  
 Nan, *men*  
 Niu, *women*  
 Kong, *in all*  
 San, *three*  
 Pei, *hundred*  
 Kieou, } *ninety*  
 Che, }  
 Se, *four*  
 Ouan  
 Tsi, *seven*  
 T sien, *thousand*  
 Se, *four*  
 Pei, *hundred*  
 Y, } *fourteen*  
 Che, }  
 Se, }  
 [3,947,414.]

XVIII.

YUN-NAN.

Ching, *province*  
 Ta, *great*  
 Siao, *little*  
 Nan, *men*  
 Niu, *women*  
 Kong, *in all*  
 Eul, *two*  
 Pei, *hundred*  
 Tsi, *seven*  
 Ouan  
 Pa, *eight*

T sien,

\* Or Chen-si.

† Kan-sou is a part taken from the province of Chen-si.

T'fien, *thousand*  
Pa, *eight*  
Pei, *hundred*  
Eul, *two*

[2,078,802.]

XIX.

KOEI-TCHEOU.

Ching, *province*  
Ta, *great*  
Siao, *little*

Nan, *men*  
Niu, *women*  
Kong, *in all*  
San, *three*  
Pei, *hundred*  
Se, } *forty*  
Che, }  
Ouan  
Eul, *two*  
T'fien, *thousand*  
T'fi, *seven*  
Pei, *hundred*

Eul, } *twenty*  
Che, }  
Eul, *two*

[3,402,722.]

KIEN-LONG.

Eul, } *twenty*  
Che, }  
Leou, *six*  
Nien, *year*

If we add all these quantities, we shall have, for the sum total of the inhabitants of China in 1761, which was the twenty-sixth year of the reign of Kien-long, one hundred and ninety-eight millions, two hundred and fourteen thousand, five hundred and fifty-three.

[198,214,553.]

This register was accompanied with a comparative state of the population in the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth years of the reign of *Kien-long*, or in 1760 and 1761. In the former, there were found to be in China 196,837,977 *mouubs*; in the second, 198,214,553; there was therefore an increase of 1,376,576 in the course of one year only. But, twenty years have elapsed since the epocha of this numeration; and,

as it can be proved by facts, that the population of China, for a long time past, has been progressively increasing, may we not thence presume, that this empire contains at present two hundred millions of inhabitants? It will, no doubt, be allowed, that there is no sovereign in the universe who commands so many people united in the same society, and governed by the same laws."

*The Manner of making Porcelain.—*  
*From the same.*

"THE fine Porcelain of China is so celebrated, that we cannot omit giving some account of the manner of preparing the paste of which it is made. This substance is produced by the mixture of two sorts of earth; one of which is called *pe-tun-tse*, and the other, *kao-lin*; the latter is intermixed with small shining particles; the other is purely white, and very fine to the touch. These first materials are carried to the manufactories in the shape of

bricks. The *pe-tun-tse*, which is so fine, is nothing else but fragments of rock taken from certain quarries, and reduced to powder. Every kind of stone is not fit for this purpose. *The colour of that which is good, say the Chinese, ought to incline a little towards green.* A large iron club is used for breaking these pieces of rock; they are afterwards put into mortars; and, by means of levers headed with stone bound round with iron, they are reduced to a very fine powder. These levers are put in action either by the labour of men, or by water, in the same manner as the

the hammers of our paper-mills. The dust afterwards collected, is thrown into a large vessel full of water, which is strongly stirred with an iron shovel. When it has been left to settle for some time, a kind of cream rises on the top, about four inches in thickness, which is skimmed off and poured into another vessel filled with water; the water in the first vessel is stirred several times, and the cream which rises is still collected, until nothing remains but the coarse dregs, which, by their own weight, precipitate to the bottom: these dregs are carefully collected, and pounded anew.

With regard to what is taken from the first vessel, it is suffered to remain in the second until it is formed into a kind of crust at the bottom. When the water above it seems quite clear, it is poured off, by gently inclining the vessel, that the sediment may not be disturbed; and the paste is thrown into large moulds proper for drying it. Before it is entirely hard, it is divided into small square cakes, which are sold by the hundred. The colour of this paste, and its form, have occasioned it to receive the name of *pe-tun-tse*.

The *kao-lin* which is used in the composition of porcelain, requires less labour than the *pe-tun-tse*. Nature has a greater share in the preparation of it. There are large mines of it in the bosoms of certain mountains, the exterior strata of which consists of a kind of red earth. These mines are very deep, and the *kao-lin* is found in small lumps, that are formed into bricks, after having gone through the same process as the *pe-tun-tse*. Father d'Entrecolles thinks that the earth called *terre de Malte*, or *St. Paul's earth*, has much

affinity to the *kao-lin*, although those small shining particles are not observed in it which are interspersed in the latter.

It is from the *kao-lin*, that fine porcelain derives all its strength; if we may be allowed the expression, it stands it in stead of nerves. It is very extraordinary, that a soft earth should give strength and consistency to the *pe-tun-tse*, which is procured from the hardest rocks. A rich Chinese merchant told F. d'Entrecolles, that the English and Dutch had purchased some of the *pe-tun-tse*, which they transported to Europe, with a design of making porcelain; but, having carried with them none of the *kao-lin*, their attempt proved abortive, as they have since acknowledged. *They wanted*, said this Chinese, *laughing, to form a body the flesh of which should support itself without bones.*

The Chinese have discovered, within these few years, a new substance proper to be employed in the composition of porcelain. It is a stone, or rather species of chalk, called *boa-che*, from which the physicians prepare a kind of draught that is said to be detergent, aperient, and cooling. The manufacturers of porcelain have thought proper to employ this stone instead of *kao-lin*. It is called *boa* because it is glutinous, and has a great resemblance to soap. Porcelain made with *boa-che* is very rare, and much dearer than any other. It has an exceeding fine grain, and, with regard to the painting, if it be compared with that of the common porcelain it appears to surpass it as much as velum does paper. This porcelain is, besides, so light, that it surprises those who are accustomed to handle other kinds; it is also much more brittle; and it

is very difficult to hit upon the proper degree of tempering it.

*Boa-che* is seldom used in forming the body of the work; the artist is contented sometimes with making it into a very fine size, in which the vessel is plunged when dry, in order that it may receive a coat before it is painted and varnished: by these means, it acquires a superior degree of beauty.

When *boa-che* is taken from the mine, it is washed in rain or river water, to separate it from a kind of yellow earth which adheres to it. It is then pounded, put into a tub filled with water, to dissolve it, and afterwards formed into cakes like *kao-lin*. We are assured, that *boa-che*, when prepared in this manner, without the mixture of any other earth, is alone sufficient to make porcelain. It serves instead of *kao-lin*; but it is much dearer. *Kao-lin* costs only ten pence sterling; the price of *boa-che* is half-a-crown: this difference therefore greatly enhances the value of porcelain made with the latter.”

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*Curious Account of a young Leveret nurtured by a Cat. — Extracted from the Natural History and Antiquities of Selborne, in the County of Southampton, by the Rev. Mr. White.*

“**W**E have remarked in a former letter how much incongruous animals, in a lonely state, may be attached to each other from a spirit of sociality; in this it may not be amiss to recount a different motive which has been known to create as strange a fondness.

My friend had a little helpless leveret brought to him, which the ser-

vants fed with milk in a spoon, and about the same time his cat kittened, and the young were dispatched and buried. The hare was soon lost, and supposed to be gone the way of most fondlings, to be killed by some dog or cat. However, in about a fortnight, as the master was sitting in his garden in the dusk of the evening, he observed his cat, with tail erect, trotting towards him, and calling with little short inward notes of complacency, such as they use towards their kittens, and something gambolling after, which proved to be the leveret, that the cat had supported with her milk, and continued to support with great affection.

Thus was a graminivorous animal nurtured by a carnivorous and predateous one!

Why so cruel and sanguinary a beast as a cat, of a ferocious genus of *felines*, the *murium leo*, as Linnæus calls it, should be affected with any tenderness towards an animal which is its natural prey, is not so easy to determine.

This strange affection probably was occasioned by that desiderium, those tender maternal feelings, which the loss of her kittens had awakened in her breast; and by the complacency and ease she derived to herself from the procuring her teats to be drawn, which were too much distended with milk, till, from habit, she became as much delighted with this fondling as if it had been her real offspring.

This incident is no bad solution of that strange circumstance which grave historians, as well as the poets, assert, of exposed children being sometimes nurtured by female wild beasts that probably had lost their young. For it is not one whit more marvellous that Romulus and Remus,

in their infant state, should be nursed by a she-wolf, than that a poor little sucking leveret should be fostered and cherished by a bloody grimal-kin."

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*Some Account of the poisonous Serpents and Plants in the Country of the Hottentots.—Extracted from a Narrative of Four Journeys into the Country of the Hottentots and Caffraria, in the Years 1787, 8, 9, by Lieutenant Paterfon.*

"THE Horned Snake, is the most poisonous of these reptiles; it is of a greyish colour, and about eighteen inches long: its head, which is very flat, is large in proportion to the size of the body, with small scales, which the inhabitants call horns, rising over its eyes.

This serpent, so truly formidable from the mortal nature of its bite, particularly abounds in the country of the Boshmen and Nimiqua Hottentots, who use its poison in preference to that of all others, for poisoning their arrows. The Boshmen, indeed, who have no cattle of their own, and depend entirely on their bows for subsistence, seem to have been furnished by nature with this poison as their only defence against their numerous enemies. Impelled by hunger, they often quit the mountains and plunder the Dutch peasants of their cattle; and, were it not for these poisonous weapons, they would be unable to withstand or escape from the parties which in these cases are sent against them; but thus armed, several of the Dutch have been killed, and many have barely escaped with life from their wounds.

The usual mode of preparing this

poison, is by bruising the whole snake till it becomes of the consistence of a gum: a small quantity of this substance is then tied on the point of the arrow with small sinews: two or more barbs are formed in the arrow to prevent its quitting the flesh.

This poison is sometimes mixed with others, to form a preparation called rot poison, which, as I was informed by a peasant of the country, produces a mortification without much pain. The wife of a Dutch peasant travelling to the Cape, was attacked in the night by a party of Boshmen, who came to steal her cattle; she received a wound from an arrow on her shoulder; and so rapid was the effect of the poison, that before she reached the Cape, her breasts came off, and a cure was impossible. This and many other instances have been related to me by the country people. I shall not attempt to vouch for the truth of them; but they are generally believed at the Cape. Many Hottentots die of the bite of poisonous serpents; but I have seen several who had recovered; though, from what I could learn, they had no mode of cure but the actual cautery.

The *Koufe-band*, or *Garter-snake*, is another of the poisonous reptiles of that country: It is particularly dangerous to travellers, as it resembles the soil so much in colour, that it is not readily perceived. The *Koufe-band* is small, and seldom exceeds eighteen inches in length. I imagine it to be the *Covra Manilla* of the East Indies. This tribe is said to occasion almost instant death. But, as all snakes lose a considerable portion of their poisonous quality by repeating the bite, there may be times when the poison is not so strong,

strong, or so mortal. I had an opportunity of seeing a farmer, at the hot baths near the Cape, who had been bitten by a koufe-band in the foot. For some time after the circumstance happened, he found great benefit from bathing the wounded part with cold water, mixed with a large quantity of salt. When I saw him he had been lame for two years. Whenever he took much exercise, it occasioned a swelling in the leg, to which the warm bath afforded a temporary relief.

The *Yellow Snake*, which differs only in colour from the *Cobra Capella*, or hooded snake of India, is frequently found here. Though extremely poisonous, their size and bright yellow colour renders it easy to avoid them. They are from four to eight feet in length. The yellow snake is mostly found in rat-holes. After eating these animals, which form the chief part of its food, it takes possession of their holes: this renders it dangerous for travellers to lie down in any place where there are traces of this destructive reptile.

The Hottentots procure the poison of this snake by dissecting the bag from its mouth, and dipping sinews, which they afterwards tie on the points of their arrows, in the liquid it contains.

The *Puff Adder*, which has its name from blowing itself up to near a foot in circumference, is of a greyish colour, and about three feet and a half in length: it is considerably thicker than any I ever saw in that country: its head is large and flat; the poison-teeth about an inch long, and hooked. The puff adder is extremely dangerous to cattle. In one of my excursions in the country, a horse of mine was bit by one of

them in the mouth, while grazing, and survived the wound but two days.

The *Spring Adder* is a very dangerous, but uncommon snake; it is jet black, with white spots, from three to four feet long, and proportionably thick. When colonel Gordon (now commander in chief at the Cape) was in that country, in the year seventeen hundred and seventy-five, he mentioned to me a circumstance of his having met two slave boys chased by a spring adder, which seemed to be gaining ground upon them, when he shot it through the middle.

The *Night Snake*, which is more beautiful than any of the others, is from eighteen to twenty inches long, and very thin: it is belted with black, red, and yellow; and when near, at night, has the appearance of fire. The Hottentots call it kill-men.

These six species of serpents, about the Cape of Good Hope, I had the opportunity of seeing; and brought home specimens of most of them, preserved in spirits, for further inspection. I however regret much, that, as my chief object was the collection of plants, I had it not in my power to remain long enough in any one place to make such experiments on their several poisons as might have enabled me to have given a clear account of their effects from my own observation. There are, I have no doubt, many other snakes in that country with which we are as yet unacquainted. One, which is called the *Spoog Slang*, or *Spitting Snake*, has been mentioned to me by the inhabitants of the country, who say it will throw its poison to the distance of several yards; and that people have been blinded by them; but this never

never came under my own inspection.

The *Black* or *Rock Scorpion*, is nearly as venomous as any of the serpent tribe. A farmer who resided at a place called the Parle, near the Cape, was stung by one in the foot, during my stay in the country, and died in a few hours.

Doctor Syde, one of the Cape physicians, informed me that several people had been brought to him stung by scorpions, and that he found oil to be the best antidote he ever tried. The natives of India hold the part wounded as near to the fire as possible, for a considerable time, which, they say, produces a perfect cure.

I shall here add a few observations, which occurred to me while serving in the southern army in the East Indies, respecting some of our soldiers who were bitten by snakes in that campaign.

The southern countries of Indostan abound with the small snake called the *Cobra Manilla*, which is well known to be very poisonous. The Bramins tell us that they can administer complete relief in the most desperate cases; but their mode of practice has hitherto been kept a secret from Europeans. Colonel Fullarton, however, procured a small box of their pills from the reverend Mr. Swartz, a missionary at Tanjore; and at the siege of Carrere, we had an opportunity of proving the effects of them. One of our Sepoys was bitten, and so ill that we despaired of his life. The colonel gave him one of the pills, which seemed to act as a very strong opiate for some time, and threw him into a delirium; in two days, however, the man was perfectly recovered.

We had also a second proof of

their utility, though the man did not appear to be so ill as on the former occasion. I was witness to a third case, where we could not procure these pills. A servant of lieutenant Smith, in the same regiment with myself, was bitten. The lieutenant gave him nothing but brandy and hot Madeira wine, and kept him in a state of intoxication for twenty-four hours; the next day the pain was gone, but the man continued indisposed for some time.

A soldier in the seventy-eighth regiment, after a wound from a serpent, was so ill that his whole body was discoloured, and he was considered as incurable by all the surgeons in the army. In this case we could not have recourse to the Bramin's pills; and it was thought that nothing but the strength of his constitution could have saved him.

Another circumstance, respecting the bite of snakes, which happened near Bengal, will not, I flatter myself, be deemed unworthy of attention:—When a brigade was cantoned, the houses had not been inhabited for some time before. Soon after they went in, there were some men found dead in the morning; for which fact they were totally unable to account. The disaster, however, was soon discovered to proceed from the bite of snakes. On searching, they found vast numbers of these animals in the holes of the mud-walls; the greatest part of which they killed. They were then advised to lay a quantity of onions and garlick about their rooms, in the inside; and after that, no further traces of them were perceived.

It is much to be wished that any certain remedy for the bite of those poisonous animals could be discovered, and such as might be carried in

the traveller's pocket, when proceeding on a long journey. Botanists, or naturalists, are more exposed than any other class of men, as they are constantly wandering in the fields among shrubs and grass, where they cannot discover those reptiles so readily as those who confine themselves to beaten paths. It is seldom they can carry a bed with them; and when lying on the ground, they are in danger of turning themselves on those venomous creatures, who often creep near the human body for the sake of warmth. It is not uncommon for them to get into beds, as I have myself observed in the East Indies.

Though there are few countries in the world which abound more with deleterious vegetables than the country adjacent to the Cape of Good Hope, yet the principal danger, to the traveller, results from the animated part of the creation; he can always avoid the one, when he cannot apprehend the other. I am only acquainted with four of the former kind, which are commonly employed as instruments of destruction.

The first is a large bulbous plant, *Amaryllis Disticha*, which is called mad poison, from the effects usually produced on the animals which are wounded by the weapons impregnated with it. The natives prepare this poison in the following manner: they take the bulbs, about the time when they are putting out their leaves, and cutting them transversely, extract a thick fluid, which is kept in the sun till it comes quite of the consistence of gum. It is then put up for use; and the method of laying it on their arrows has been already described.

The hunters employ this species

of poison chiefly for the purpose of killing such animals as are intended for food, such as antelopes and other small quadrupeds. After they are wounded, they can, and do in general, run for several miles; and it frequently happens that they are not found till the next day, notwithstanding the poisonous substance having penetrated the muscular parts.

When the leaves of this plant are young, the cattle are very fond of them, though they are instant death; the farmers therefore are very cautious not to suffer them to enter into the tracts which are suspected of producing this plant.

The second is a species of *Euphorbia*, which is found in that part of the country which is inhabited by Boshmen, and in the Great Nimiqua Land. The gum of this is also used for arrows; but the plant is more commonly used for poisoning the water where the animals resort to drink; and a stranger, who travels in that country, must be very careful in examining the spring before he drinks.

This plant grows from about fifteen to twenty feet in height, sending out many branches full of strong spines. The natives cut off as many of the branches as they think necessary for the destruction of the animals they intend to poison. They generally conduct the water a few yards from the spring into a pit made for the purpose; after which they put in the euphorbia, and cover the spring, so that the creatures have no choice: and in that country water is very scarce; sometimes it is twenty miles from one spring of water to another.

The only animal I ever saw poisoned by this means, was a Zebra; it had scarcely proceeded half a mile from



from the water before it dropped; and I was assured by the natives that none escaped which drank of such water, though they declared the flesh was not injured by the poison.

The third vegetable poison proceeds from a species of *Rhus*, which is only found near the Great River, or Orange River; and is said to be very dangerous. When this poison is extracting, the operators cover their eyes, as the least drop touching that organ would certainly deprive them of sight. It is sometimes used for arrows.

The fourth is the only poison really useful to the European inhabitants; it is a small shrubby plant, producing a nut, called by the Dutch, *Wolf Gift*, or wolf poison, which they use for poisoning the Hyenas.

The method of preparing this, is by taking the nuts and roasting them as they do coffee, after which they pulverize them: they afterwards take some pieces of meat, or a dead dog, which they stuff full of the powder, and throw them into the fields. The voracious hyenas meeting with any thing of this kind, soon devour it, and in general are found dead the following day."

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*Some Account of the Natural History of New South Wales.—From a Narrative of the Expedition to Botany Bay, by Captain W. Tench, of the Marines.*

“**T**O the geographical knowledge of this country, supplied by captain Cook, and captain Furneaux, we are able to add nothing. The latter explored the coast from Van Diemen’s Land to the latitude of 39° south; and Cook from Point Hicks, which lies in 37° 58’

to Endeavour Streights. The intermediate space between the end of Furneaux’s discovery and Point Hicks, is, therefore, the only part of the south-east coast unknown; and it so happened on our passage thither, owing to the weather, which forbade any part of the ships engaging with the shore, that we are unable to pronounce whether, or not, a straight intersects the continent hereabouts: though I beg leave to say, that I have been informed by a naval friend, that when the fleet was off this part of the coast, a strong set-off shore was plainly felt.

At the distance of 60 miles inland, a prodigious chain of lofty mountains runs nearly in a north and south direction, further than the eye can trace them. Should nothing intervene to prevent it, the governor intends, shortly, to explore their summits: and I think there can be little doubt, that his curiosity will not go unrewarded. If large rivers do exist in the country, which some of us are almost sceptical enough to doubt, their sources must arise amidst these hills; and the direction they run in, for a considerable distance, must be either due north, or due south. For it is strikingly singular that three such noble harbours as Botany Bay, Port Jackson, and Broken Bay, alike end in shallows and swamps, filled with mangroves.

The general face of the country is certainly pleasing, being diversified with gentle ascents, and little winding vallies, covered for the most part with large spreading trees, which afford a succession of leaves in all seasons. In those places where trees are scarce, a variety of flowering shrubs abound, most of them entirely new to an European, and surpassing in beauty, fragrance, and

number, all I ever saw in an uncultivated state: among these, a tall shrub, bearing an elegant white flower, which smells like English May, is particularly delightful, and perfumes the air around to a great distance. The species of trees are few, and, I am concerned to add, the wood universally of so bad a grain, as almost to preclude a possibility of using it: the increase of labour occasioned by this in our buildings has been such, as nearly to exceed belief. These trees yield a profusion of thick red gum (not unlike the sanguis draconis) which is found serviceable in medicine, particularly in dysenteric complaints, where it has sometimes succeeded, when all other preparations have failed. To blunt its acrid qualities, it is usual to combine it with opiates.

The nature of the soil is various. That immediately round Sydney Cove is sandy, with here and there a stratum of clay. From the sand we have yet been able to draw very little; but there seems no reason to doubt, that many large tracts of land around us will bring to perfection whatever shall be sown in them. To give this matter a fair trial, some practical farmers capable of such an undertaking should be sent out; for the spots we have chosen for experiments in agriculture, in which we can scarce be supposed adepts, have hitherto but ill repaid our toil, which may be imputable to our having chosen such as are unfavourable for our purpose.

Except from the size of the trees, the difficulties of clearing the land are not numerous, underwood being rarely found, though the country is not absolutely without it. Of the natural meadows which Mr. Cook mentions near Botany Bay, we can

give no account; none such exist about Port Jackson. Grass, however, grows in every place but the swamps with the greatest vigour and luxuriance, though it is not of the finest quality, and is found to agree better with horses and cows than sheep. A few wild fruits are sometimes procured, among which is the small purple apple mentioned by Cook, and a fruit which has the appearance of a grape, though in taste more like a green gooseberry, being excessively sour: probably were it meliorated by cultivation, it would become more palatable.

Fresh water, as I have said before, is found but in inconsiderable quantities. For the common purposes of life there is generally enough; but we know of no stream in the country capable of turning a mill: and the remark made by Mr. Anderson, of the dryness of the country round Adventure Bay, extends without exception to every part of it which we have penetrated.

Previous to leaving England, I remember to have frequently heard it asserted, that the discovery of mines was one of the secondary objects of the expedition. Perhaps there are mines; but, as no person competent to form a decision is to be found among us, I with no one to adopt an idea, that I mean to impress him with such a belief, when I state, that individuals, whose judgments are not despicable, are willing to think favourably of this conjecture, from specimens of ore seen in many of the stones picked up here. I cannot quit this subject without regretting, that some one capable of throwing a better light on it, is not in the colony. Nor can I help being equally concerned, that an experienced botanist was not sent out, for  
the

the purpose of collecting and describing the rare and beautiful plants with which the country abounds. Indeed, we flattered ourselves, when at the Cape of Good Hope, that Mason, the king's botanical gardener, who was employed there in collecting for the royal nursery at Kew, would have joined us; but it seems his orders and engagements prevented him from quitting that beaten track, to enter on this scene of novelty and variety.

To the naturalist this country holds out many invitations.—Birds, though not remarkably numerous, are in great variety, and of the most exquisite beauty of plumage, among which are the cockatoo, lory, and parroquet; but the bird which principally claims attention is, a species of ostrich, approaching nearer to the emu of South America, than any other we know of. One of them was shot, at a considerable distance, with a single ball, by a convict employed for that purpose by the governor; its weight, when complete, was seventy pounds, and its length from the end of the toe to the tip of the beak, seven feet two inches, though there was reason to believe it had not attained its full growth. On dissection, many anatomical singularities were observed: the gall-bladder was remarkably large, the liver not bigger than that of a barn-door fowl, and, after the strictest search, no gizzard could be found; the legs, which were of a vast length, were covered with thick strong scales, plainly indicating the animal to be formed for living amidst deserts; and the foot differed from an ostrich's by forming a triangle, instead of being cloven. Goldsmith, whose account of the emu is the only

one I can refer to, says, “that it is covered from the back and rump with long feathers, which fall backward, and cover the anus; these feathers are grey on the back, and white on the belly.” The wings are so small as hardly to deserve the name, and are unfurnished with those beautiful ornaments which adorn the wings of the ostrich: all the feathers are extremely coarse, but the construction of them deserves notice—they grow in pairs from a single shaft, a singularity which the author I have quoted has omitted to remark. It may be presumed, that these birds are not very scarce, as several have been seen, some of them immensely large, but they are so wild, as to make shooting them a matter of great difficulty. Though incapable of flying, they run with such swiftness, that our fleetest greyhounds are left far behind in every attempt to catch them. The flesh was eaten, and tasted like beef.

Besides the emu, many birds of prodigious size have been seen, which promise to increase the number of those described by naturalists, whenever we shall be fortunate enough to obtain them; but among these the bat of the Endeavour river is not to be found. In the woods are various little songsters, whose notes are equally sweet and plaintive.

Of quadrupeds, except the *Kangaroo*, I have little to say. The few met with are almost invariably of the opossum tribe, but even these do not abound. To beasts of prey we are utter strangers, nor have we yet any cause to believe that they exist in the country. And happy it is for us that they do not, as their presence

presence would deprive us of the only fresh meals the settlement affords, the flesh of the kangaroo. This singular animal is already known in Europe by the drawing and description of Mr. Cook. To the drawing nothing can be objected but the position of the claws of the hinder leg, which are mixed together like those of a dog, whereas no such indistinctness is to be found in the animal I am describing. It was the Chevalier de Perroufe who pointed out this to me, while we were comparing a kangaroo with the plate; which, as he justly observed, is correct enough to give the world in general a good idea of the animal, but not sufficiently accurate for the man of science.

Of the natural history of the *Kangaroo* we are still very ignorant. We may, however, venture to pronounce this animal a new species of opossum, the female being furnished with a bag, in which the young is contained; and in which the teats are found. These last are only two in number, a strong presumptive proof, had we no other evidence, that the kangaroo brings forth rarely more than one at a birth. But this is settled beyond a doubt, from more than a dozen females having been killed, which had invariably but one formed in the pouch. Notwithstanding this, the animal may be looked on as prolific, from the early age it begins to breed at, kangaroos with young having been taken of not more than thirty pounds weight; and there is room to believe that when at their utmost growth, they weigh not less than one hundred and fifty pounds. A male of one hundred and thirty pounds weight has been killed, whose dimensions were as follows:

	Ft.	In.
Extreme length	7	3
D° of the tail —	3	4½
D° of the hinder legs —	3	2
D° of the fore paws —	1	7½
Circumference of the tail at the root —	1	5

After this perhaps I shall hardly be credited, when I affirm that the kangaroo, on being brought forth, is not larger than an English mouse. It is, however, in my power to speak positively on this head, as I have seen more than one instance of it.

In running, this animal confines himself entirely to his hinder legs, which are possessed with an extraordinary muscular power. Their speed is very great, though not in general quite equal to that of a greyhound; but when the greyhounds are so fortunate as to seize them, they are incapable of retaining their hold, from the amazing struggles of the animal. The bound of the kangaroo, when not hard pressed, has been measured, and found to exceed twenty feet.

At what time of the year they copulate, and in what manner, we know not: the testicles of the male are placed contrary to the usual order of nature.

When young, the *Kangaroo* eats tender and well flavoured, tasting like veal, but the old ones are more tough and stringy than bull-beef. They are not carnivorous, and subsist altogether on particular flowers and grass. Their bleat is mournful, and very different from that of any other animal: it is, however, seldom heard but in the young ones.

Fish, which our sanguine hopes led us to expect in great quantities, do not abound. In summer, they are tolerably plentiful, but for some months

months past very few have been taken. Botany Bay in this respect exceeds Port Jackson. The French once caught near two thousand fish in one day, of a species of grouper, to which, from the form of a bone in the head resembling a helmet, we have given the name of light horseman. To this may be added bass, mullets, skait, soles, leather-jackets, and many other species, all so good in their kind, as to double our regret at their not being more numerous. Sharks of an enormous size are found here. One of these was caught by the people on board the *Sirius*, which measured at the shoulders six feet and a half in circumference. His liver yielded twenty-four gallons of oil; and in his stomach was found the head of a shark, which had been thrown overboard from the same ship. The Indians, probably from having felt the effects of their voracious fury, testify the utmost horror on seeing these terrible fish.

Venomous animals and reptiles are rarely seen. Large snakes beautifully variegated have been killed, but of the effect of their bites we are happily ignorant. Insects, tho' numerous, are by no means, even in summer, so troublesome as I have found them in America, the West Indies, and other countries.

The climate is undoubtedly very

desirable to live in. In summer the heats are usually moderated by the sea breeze, which sets in early; and in winter the degree of cold is so slight as to occasion no inconvenience; once or twice we have had hoar frosts and hail, but no appearance of snow. The thermometer has never risen beyond 84, nor fallen lower than 35, in general it stood, in the beginning of February, at between 78 and 74 at noon. Nor is the temperature of the air less healthy than pleasant. Those dreadful putrid fevers, by which new countries are so often ravaged, are unknown to us: and, excepting a slight diarrhoea, which prevailed soon after we had landed, and was fatal in very few instances, we are strangers to epidemic diseases.

On the whole (thunder storms in the hot months excepted) I know not any climate equal to this I write in. Ere we had been a fortnight on shore, we experienced some storms of thunder, accompanied with rain, than which nothing can be conceived more violent and tremendous, and their repetition for several days, joined to the damage they did, by killing several of our sheep, led us to draw presages of an unpleasant nature. Happily, however, for many months we have escaped any similar visitations."

## USEFUL PROJECTS.

*An Account of the Method of making the Otter of Roses, as it is prepared in the East Indies. Communicated in a Letter from Donald Monro, M. D. of London, to Mr. John Robinfon, Profefor of Natural Philofophy in the Univerfity of Edinburgh.—From Vol. II. of the Tranfactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.*

London, Jermyn Street, July 10, 1783.

SIR,

I Had the following receipt for making the Otter of Roses, as it is prepared in the East Indies, from major Mackenzie of Coull, in the county of Rofs, who told me he got the account from an officer of his corps, who was up in the country where it is prepared, and affifted in making it himfelf.

Take a very large glazed earthen or ftone jar, or a large clean wooden cask; fill it with the leaves of the flowers of rofes, very well picked, and freed from all feeds and ftalks; pour on them as much pure fpring water as will cover them, and fet the vefTel in the fun in the morning at funrife, and let it ftand till the evening, when take it into the houfe for the night; expofe it in this manner for fix or feven fucceffive days, and, at the end of the third or fourth day, a number of particles, of a fine yellow oily matter, will float on the furface, which,

in two or three days more, will gather into a fcum, which is the Otter of Roses. This is taken up by fome cotton, tied to the end of a piece of ftick, and fqueezed with the finger and thumb into a fmall phial, which is immediately well ftopped; and this is repeated for fome fucceffive evenings, or while any of this fine effential oil rifes to the furface of the water.

N. B. I have been informed that fome few drops of this effential oil have been more than once collected by diftillation, in the fame manner as the effential oils of other plants here in London.

I am, Sir,

Your moft obedient

humble fervant,

D. MONRO.

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*The following Letter from Mr. Boote, addreffed to the Secretary of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, on the comparative Merits of the Drill and Broad-caft Husbandry, received the Gold Medal (the Premium offered by the Society on that Subject.) The very fatisfactory Information it contains, will moft probably determine a Point which has fo long divided the Opinions of the moft experienced and inquisitive Agriculturifts.—From Vol. VII. of the Tranfactions of the Society*

Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.

SIR,

AS my former accounts of experiments comparatively made between drilling and broad-casting, in order to discover which was the most advantageous method of cultivating land, have met with a favourable reception by the Society of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, I am induced to lay before them a further statement of my success in drilling, upon a scale of three hundred and twenty-three acres, in the year 1788 (which makes the third year of my practice at large, in the drill system, upon my farm) viz. wheat seventy, barley ninety, oats seven, beans fifty-two, peas twenty-eight, turneps seventy, cole six acres.

The comparative experiments which I made in the year 1787, between drilling and broad-casting four acres of each with wheat, was upon cold clay, that being the only soil upon which I entertained at that time any doubts of the drill system having a superiority over the broad-cast; and, having repeatedly and successfully derived an uniform superiority in favour of drilling, on light sands and dry loams, it was my intention never to give myself the trouble of repeating a comparative experiment on such soils: but, reflecting on the attention which the Society have paid to my former letters on the subject of drilling, by giving them a place in their Transactions; and considering that the Society, by continuing to offer a premium for the comparative culture of drilling and broad-casting, was desirous of still further experiments

than those I have already communicated; I determined to sacrifice the profits of sixteen pounds, which, from the result of former experiments, I had reason to believe I should lose, by sowing four acres broad-cast, to the pleasure and satisfaction I might have in furnishing the Society with the result of a comparative experiment between drilling and broad-casting four acres of each upon a sandy loam, agreeably to the terms proposed by the Society for making such ascertainment.

Accordingly I fixed upon a twenty-acre piece, which was trench-ploughed for a turnep-fallow in the beginning of November 1786, and dunged about Christmas following; afterwards ploughed three times, at proper intervals; also harrowed occasionally, and drilled with turneps, in rows twelve inches apart: the turneps were well hoed three times, and produced an exceeding good crop; which was eat off by sheep in autumn: the land was afterwards trench-ploughed, four acres of which were drilled with four bushels of wheat; the same day four acres adjoining (the soil as similar as possible) were sown broad-cast with ten bushels of wheat, in order to make the comparative experiment.

In the first week of April 1788, the drilled wheat was hoed, and repeated the last week in the same month; at which time the broad-cast was also hoed, with hoes of a proper size for the purpose, in order to give it every advantage: at harvest the crops of the respective four acres were separately reaped, each laid by itself in the barn, and separately thrashed, in order to ascertain, with the greatest accuracy, the difference of each produce. The result

result as follows; which also appears in the numbers 14 and 15 of the next ascertainment.

Produce of four acres drilled, one hundred and nineteen bushels, one gallon, and four pints; produce of four acres broad-cast, ninety-four bushels, two gallons, and four pints—difference in favour of drilling, twenty-four bushels, seven gallons, which, at five shillings and six pence per bushel, together with six bushels of seed saved by drilling, which cost me seven shillings and four pence halfpenny per bushel, amounts to nine pounds one shilling and three farthings. Deduct the extra expences of drilling four acres at six-pence, and extra hoeing at eighteen pence per acre, amounting to eight shillings, the net profit in favour of drilling will be eight pounds thirteen shillings and three farthings, or two pounds three shillings and three pence per acre.

From the apparent disproportion between the real advantages in favour of drilling, as above, and my apprehension, in a former letter, of losing sixteen pounds by sowing four acres broad-cast, it may at first sight be inferred, that I must have been very much mistaken in my calculations respecting the real advantages of drilling, compared with those of broad-casting; on which account I have to observe, that toward the latter end of April 1788, when the four acres drilled, three weeks after it had been hoed, gained such a decided superiority over the adjoining four acres broad-cast, which was self-evident by the strength of the plants, and being of a darker green, that I determined to give the broad-cast every advantage: accordingly I had it as well hoed as was practicable to be done;

which is, in fact, doing all that can be done for any broad-cast crop: this evidently improved the four acres broad-cast; otherwise I am decidedly of opinion, that, in case the hoeing of the four acres broad-cast had not taken place, but the weeds had been suffered to grow, the four acres drilled would have exceeded the four acres broad-cast more than one third; from whence I cannot see that I have any reason to make the least abatement respecting my assertions in a former letter, that I was apprehensive I should lose sixteen pounds by sowing four acres broad-cast. Hoeing of broad-cast corn is nothing new with me, or others; it is commonly done in Berkshire, and other places; and was my uniform practice for twelve or thirteen years of my broad-cast farming: but, as it cannot be performed so effectually in a broad-cast crop as in a drilled one, it is unreasonable to expect equal advantages from it, since, after all the care and pains that can be taken in hoeing a broad-cast crop, there will be many weeds left growing, being so mixed and interwoven with the corn, as not to be cut up without cutting up the corn also. I must own, that neither the produce of the above four acres drilled, nor the produce of the four acres broad-cast, came up to my expectations, considering the due preparation of the soil. This I attribute entirely to the dryness of the season: there is nevertheless this inference to be drawn from it, that, in whatever proportion any drilled crop may suffer in a dry season, for want of moisture, the broad-cast crop will suffer still more, by reason of the seed being deposited in improper depths; for the plants of those feeds



in particular which were sown too near the surface of the land, will be almost parched up for want of moisture in a dry season.

In my attempts to ascertain the difference between drilling and broad-casting, I am somewhat surprised it should never occur to me, before now, to ascertain the difference in quality as well as quantity of grain produced from both methods of culture, by weighing equal quantities of each. In the above comparative experiment the drill has no material advantage over the broad-cast; a bushel of the latter being nearly equal in weight to a bushel of the former: this I attribute to the circumstance of the broad-cast crop being hoed, particularly as my neighbour Mr. William Greenway informs me, that, from the result of his experiments of last year, in order to ascertain the difference between drilling and broad-casting, the grain of his drilled crop was superior to that of his broad-cast, not only in quantity, but also in quality, two pounds weight per bushel; and his broad-cast crop was not hoed: from whence I conclude, that the grain of his broad-cast crop was imperfectly vegetated, and not brought to full maturity, by reason of the injury done to it by the weeds, or for want of the soil being pulverized by the hoe.

In one of my early experiments in drilling, I found that hoeing the intervals between the rows or drills was indispensably necessary; otherwise, where land was foul with weeds, or caked upon the surface, so as to exclude the air from the fibres of the plants, or hinder the extension of the fibres in the soil, the advantages of drilling were, upon the whole, not worthy of no-

tice. On the contrary, and by the same experiment, I found that, by hoeing the intervals, cutting up the weeds, and pulverizing the soil at seasonable times, a surprising and almost incredible advantage might be derived: this left me no alternative but that of declining the drill system altogether, except for beans and peas, at wide distances, where the horse-hoe, or shim, might work; or of submitting to the formidable expence of hand-hoeing the intervals of drills at nearer distances. To the advantages gained by hoeing, I was at that time no stranger; and I was not long in finding out that the value of seed saved by drilling, would more than defray the expences of hoeing; and the hoeing, I was confident, would insure a superior crop: from whence I concluded that the only obstacle that lay between me and success, in the drill system, upon a large scale, was the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of procuring a sufficient number of labourers to perform the business of hoeing, just at the time required: and, as I apprehended, so it has turned out: the difficulty in procuring a number of hands in due time, and, in ticklish seasons, perhaps at an hour's notice, is very considerable; exclusive of the attention required in seeing that the work was done in a husbandmanlike manner, and the fear of the crops of corn growing too high to admit of the use of the hoe: the weeds at the same time committing such horrid depredations, without a possibility of retrieving the loss, must needs create no little anxiety of mind.

Anxious, however, as I may have been, at intervals, on this account, for three years last past, I have now the pleasure of saying, that all the  
above

above fears and anxieties, are done away, being now in possession of an instrument, viz. a horse-hoe, the ingenious invention of the Rev. Mr. Cooke, to whom a large share of public praise is certainly due, not only for this instrument, and his improved drill, but also for his spirited exertions, and indefatigable labour, in introducing the drill system at large. Of the utility of the above horse-hoe I am inclined to entertain a very high opinion, having already tried it upon a piece of drilled wheat; and find that the inventor has, by a most simple contrivance, enabled the person who attends the instrument, to guide it so as to avoid cutting up the rows of corn. Its effects appear to be superior to those of hand-hoeing; and, so far as I have experienced, I have reason to be-

lieve that two men, or one man and a boy, with two horses, working alternately, will effectually hoe ten acres a day.

It is not usual with me to decide hastily and prematurely, for or against any instrument not yet sufficiently tried: I am nevertheless inclined to think, that by this invention the drill system will soon be brought to perfection, at least to such a degree of perfection as to enable every husbandman, of common capacity only, to understand and practise it.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

JOHN BOOTE.

Atherstone upon Stower, near Stratford upon Avon, Jan. 31, 1789.

Mr. MORE.

ACCOUNT of the different Sorts of Grain produced from Seed sown by the Rev. Mr. Cooke's  
 DRILL MACHINE, on the Estate of Mr. John Boote, of Atherton upon Stour, near  
 Stratford upon Avon, in the County of Warwick, in the Year 1788.

	Land measured.		Produce of the Land measured.		Produce per Acre.	
	A.	R.	Bush.	Gal. Pints	B.	G. P.
N <sup>o</sup> 1. Beans drilled upon loamy sand, after barley	0	1	13	5	6	42 1 5
2. Ditto ditto	0	1	14	6	6	38 0 3
3. Barley drilled upon loamy sand, after turneps	0	2	36	5	4	61 5 0
4. Barley drilled upon sandy land, after peas	0	1	13	7	3	52 5 4
5. Ditto ditto	0	1	15	2	7	66 4 5
6. Ditto ditto	0	1	35	2	3	62 6 5
7. Beans drilled upon sand and mixed soil, after barley	0	1	27	18	4	44 2 0
8. Peas drilled upon marl and mixed soil, after wheat	0	2	10	17	7	31 6 1
9. Ditto ditto, upon mixed soil, after wheat	0	0	38	10	0	42 2 3
10. Wheat drilled upon marl and mixed soil, after clover	0	1	1	7	4	29 4 4
11. Ditto, upon clay and mixed soil, after fallow	0	0	31	6	0	31 2 2
12. Wheat drilled upon loamy sand, after clover	0	2	7	22	3	41 2 2
13. Oats drilled upon loamy sand, after turneps	0	2	35	44	5	62 1 3
14. Wheat drilled upon loamy sand, after turneps	4	0	37	120	1	29 6 3
15. Wheat sowed broad-cast, upon loamy sand, after turneps, and adjoining the drilled in the same ground	4	2	11	107	6	23 4 5

The above land was measured, and the workmen examined, by me

JOSEPH BARBER.

Wimpstone, near Stratford upon Avon,  
 Jan. 28, 1789.

*Mr. Eccleston's Account of his Improvement of Martin Meer, in the County of Lancaster, inclosed in a Letter to the Society \* for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.—From the same.*

“**M**ARTIN Meer was formerly a large pool, or lake of fresh water, of an irregular form, surrounded chiefly by mosses or boggy land, containing near one thousand seven hundred and seventeen acres, of eight yards to the pole, which is the customary measure of the neighbourhood (about three thousand six hundred and thirty-two statute acres). It lies in the different manors of Scarisbrick, Burfcough, North-Meols, Tarleton, and Rufford.

About the year 1692, Mr. Fleetwood, of Bank-hall, proposed to the several other proprietors to drain Martin Meer, on condition that a lease (for the whole) of three lives and thirty-one years should be granted him; which they agreed to; and Mr. Fleetwood obtained an act of parliament the same year to empower him to effect it. The following year he began the work: his plan was, to discharge the waters immediately into the sea, at the mouth of the river Ribble, which before had forced themselves a passage into the river Douglas, when the Meer waters were raised above their usual height by the land floods, as is noted by Camden in his *Britannia*.

The intermediate ground between

Martin Meer and the Douglas, lying considerably higher than the Meer, occasioned the stagnation, and kept it continually full.

Mr. Fleetwood began the undertaking, by making a canal, or sluice, twenty-four feet wide, of a depth sufficiently lower than the Meer, which he cut from the Ribble mouth through an embanked salt marsh, and then through a moss or bog in North Meols, about a mile and a half in length; and he continued it through the lowest parts of the Meer. To prevent the sea from rushing up the canal, and overflowing the Meer, which lies ten feet lower than high-water mark, at the spring tides, he erected in his canal, near the sea, a pair of flood-gates, which shut when the sea waters rose higher than those in the canal, and opened again by the sluice stream when the sea retired. In this place, the mouth of the Ribble is nearly five miles over at the spring tides; but the bed of the river at low water is no more than a furlong in breadth; and it lies under the Lytham, or opposite shore to the flood-gates, about the distance of four miles from them. This is a very unfavourable circumstance to the draining of the Meer, as it greatly diminishes the effect of the out-fall by the length of the way the waters have to run over a very flat, loose, slyng, sandy coast, before they can disembogue into the river. These sands, in a few years after the drainage was finished, drifting by the winds into the out-fall sluice, soon obstructed the flow of the waters, and in a short time

\* The Society presented their gold medal to Mr. Eccleston, “for his spirited exertions on the improvement of *Martin Meer*, by which three thousand six hundred and thirty-two acres of land have been gained and protected from the inundation of the sea.”

choaked up the passage, which had been made sufficiently deep to carry them off.

The spring tides in boisterous weather brought up great quantities of mud to the flood-gates; here it lodged in sediment for want of a powerful current in dry seasons to wash it away: thus the wished-for effect of so much labour was frustrated, for the Meer was once more nearly reduced into its primitive state. In order to remove this destructive obstacle of mud and sand, the managers for Mr. Fleetwood, in the year 1714, thought it most advisable to raise the sill or threshold of the flood-gates, which they elevated twenty inches: this, with some other measures then adopted, did, for some time, enable them to keep the flood-gates free from the above-mentioned obstructions.

But it proved very detrimental; for so much fall was lost, that the arable and meadow grounds upon the Meer diminished greatly in value, by the water remaining upon them all the winter, and very late oftentimes in the spring season.

By a gradual, continual loss of out-fall amongst the sands, and by the sluice on the marsh and other parts wrecking up, the Meer lands for many years were only made use of as a poor, fenny, watery pasture for the cattle of the neighbourhood, and that for a part of the summer months only.

Some time after, Mr. Fleetwood's executors continued their sluice farther upon the shore, and erected a new pair of flood-gates, winged with stone walls, considerably nearer to the out-fall; and they found great benefit from it, as the gates were much less liable to be obstruct-

ed by the sand and mud brought up with the tide.

About the year 1750 Mr. Fleetwood's lease expired; and in 1755 the flood-gates and walls were washed down by a very uncommon high tide, but were rebuilt (fourteen feet wide) at the joint expence of the proprietors, in whose hands it remained in a neglected state for many years; for, as before, from inattention to the cleansing of the sluice, and from the narrow passage at the flood-gates, which were still liable to be choaked with mud, &c. and much of the out-fall being lost, the lands upon the Meer became again of little value, being covered with water all the winter, and liable to be flooded by very trivial summer rains.

In this condition the best Meer lands let for a few shillings the large acre only.

In the year 1778 I settled here; and, as the most extensive and valuable share of the Meer belonged to this estate, I had the levels taken from low-water mark; and finding a considerable fall, I had recourse to Mr. Gilbert, of Worsey (who had judiciously planned, and happily executed the astonishing works of his grace the duke of Bridgewater). To his friendship and abilities I am indebted for the success of the drainage; for, after the most minute inspection, he gave me every encouragement, and kindly assisted me in directing the undertaking. By his advice I applied to the other four proprietors of Martin Meer, for a lease for the term of three lives for their several shares, and opened to them my intention of effectually draining the whole at my own expence. In 1781 I obtained

the leases from all the proprietors (one only excepted) and immediately began the work.

The plan Mr. Gilbert struck out (which I have executed) was to have in the main sluice three different pair of flood-gates. The first are, to keep the sea out, which are called the Sea-gates. The second pair are erected at about half a mile distance nearer to the Meer, to stop the sea there, in case any accident should happen to the first: these are termed the Stop-gates. The third pair are built close to, and in the same walls with the sea-gates, but open and shut in a contrary direction to them: these are named the Flushing-gates. All these three flood-gates are kept open, to give a free passage to the waters from the Meer, when the tide has sufficiently retired; and when the tide rises again above the level of the waters on the Meer, the sea-gates are shut. In dry seasons, when a sufficient quantity of water does not come down from the Meer, to keep the out-fall sluice open across the loose flying sands on the shore, the tide itself is permitted to flow up the sluice to the stop-gates, which are then shut; and at high water the flushing-gates are closed to keep the sea water in.

N. B. All these three several gates have four paddles at the bottom, three feet in length, and two feet in depth, which are drawn up by screws, to flush away any obstacle that may chance to impede their working.

At low water the paddles of the flushing gates are drawn up, and the retained sea-water rushes out with so much violence, that the sluice to low water is in a very short time cleansed from every obstruction,

sand, mud, &c. that may have been brought up by the tide.

Thus, by the great skill and superior ingenuity of one man (Mr. Gilbert) the great obstacle to the perfect drainage of Martin Meer is done away, which had baffled the many vain efforts of the proprietors for almost a century.

By an accurate examination of the out-fall, Mr. Gilbert found it would admit of the fill or threshold of the new gates being laid five inches lower than it formerly had been; and he recommended the sea-gates to be advanced about two hundred yards nearer to the out-fall upon the open marsh. To prevent the sea flowing into the sluice behind these gates, large and strong banks are thrown up on each side, which are continued to the stop-gates; and at the same time they answer another essential purpose, viz. by containing a larger quantity of sea-water to flush with.

The new sea-gates are eighteen feet wide, and nineteen feet and a half high, and the fill five feet lower than the former: this makes the passage in rainy seasons, when the water would have run four feet upon the old fill, to bear the proportion of one hundred and sixty-two feet in the present gates, to fifty-six in the old ones.

When we had sunk to the proper depth of the foundations of the new gates, we found a quicksand, and built upon it. The walls are twelve bricks in thickness at the bottom, and there is no settlement, nor have they sunk in the least.—N. B. Large flat stones were laid under the brick and stone work, and were the only precaution used.

Whilst the gates were building,  
I employed

I employed all the hands I could procure in deepening and widening the sluice upon a dead level with the fill up to the Meer, six yards wide at the bottom, allowing a foot and a half slope to every foot in elevation. In some places the cutting was near twenty feet deep; and at the depth of sixteen feet in sand, I found an entire trunk of a tree, which squared a foot.

In April 1783 the level was carried up completely to the Meer, which then (owing to the waters having been dammed up) was flooded higher than it had been for several years. As soon as the dam-head was cut, the superior efficacy of the new works appeared; and this uncommon flood ran off in five days, which would have required as many weeks to have been discharged through the old flood-gates.

After the waters had run off, the sluice was deepened nearly to the same level through the lowest parts of the Meer. The sluice is nearly five miles in length from the sea gates.

The ditches were next attended to; and since the drainage, above a hundred miles in length have been perfected: but as small open drains were necessary to carry off the rain-water into the ditches, I procured a draining or guttering plough, on Mr. Cuthbert Clark's construction, which was drawn by eight, sometimes ten able horses, and which I can with certainty recommend as a most useful implement in all fenny countries.

I am greatly indebted to the inventor; for with this, in one day I cut drains nearly eight miles in length, thirteen inches in depth, twenty inches wide at the top, and

five at the bottom, more perfect than could have been done in that land by the hand, and which would have cost, if done by hand, seven pounds five shillings and ten pence.

The summer in 1783 was employed wholly as above, in laying the land dry. In the year 1784 some few acres were ploughed, and yielded a tolerable crop of spring corn; some yielded a very inferior kind of hay: the rest was pastured. Early the last year I prepared for oats and barley, and ploughed nearly two hundred large acres.

The effects of the drainage appear from the crops; for I have sold barley for eleven pounds seventeen shillings and six pence the large acre, the produce of the land which before let at no more than four shillings the acre; and oats at ten pounds seventeen shillings and six pence per acre, off land, which would bring no price before; the purchaser to cut, carry off, &c. all at his own expence.

From the lands which before afforded a very poor pasture in the driest summers, I last year fed several head of Scotch cattle, which did better than any that were fattened upon the best grazing lands in our neighbourhood. The best meadow lands in the most favourable seasons did not let for more than about nine shillings per acre.

Last year I mowed many acres, worth three pounds, and let off several of inferior grass, at two pounds per acre, reserving the after-grass for my own cattle.

*We are sorry to observe, in a subsequent Letter of Mr. Eccleston's to the Society, that his improvements had suffered from the failure of the*

Douglas Bank, in Ruffard, in 1786, and of the banks of the Leeds and Liverpool Canal in 1787. Mr. Eccleston at the same time adds, "That the works erected for the drainage have fully answered every expectation, and never failed in any one instance."

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*An effectual Remedy for curing the Scab, in Sheep, communicated by Sir Joseph Banks, Bart. to the Society \* for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.—From the same.*

"**H**AVING observed, in the last volume published by the Society for the encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, that an effectual method of curing the scab in sheep was still wanting to the farmers (in the south of England at least) when it was published; I take the liberty of transmitting the enclosed receipt to you.

Take one pound of quicksilver,  
 half a pound of Venice turpentine,  
 half a pint of oil of turpentine,  
 four pounds of hogs lard.

\* "The thanks of the Society were presented to Sir Joseph Banks, Baronet, president of the Royal Society, for his attention to the views of its institution, by this communication respecting the disorder called the scab in sheep.

The Society, during the course of several years, offered premiums for the discovery of an effectual remedy for this disease, but without effect, though some claims were made for the reward offered; yet, as the following method has been found fully adequate to the purpose intended, it is hoped due attention will be paid to it in the different parts of the kingdom."

† Though there does not appear to be any difference between this ointment and the Unguentum Cæruleum of the shops, I have chosen to give the receipt exactly as it was given to me. Some of our graziers begin to use it by rubbing it into the naked part of the thigh and fore leg; a practice much less troublesome, but which requires much more judgment than the above.

Let them be rubbed in a mortar till the quicksilver is thoroughly incorporated with the other ingredients; for the proper mode of doing which, it may be necessary to take the advice, or even the assistance, of some apothecary, or other person, used to make such mixtures.

† The method of using the ointment is thus: beginning at the head of the sheep, and proceeding from between the ears along the back to the end of the tail, the wool is to be divided in a furrow till the skin can be touched; and as the furrow is made, the finger slightly dipped in the ointment is to be drawn along the bottom of it, where it will leave a blue stain on the skin and adjoining wool: from this furrow, similar ones must be drawn down the shoulders and thighs to the legs, as far as they are woolly; and if the animal is much infected, two more should be drawn along each side, parallel to that on the back, and one down each side between the fore and hind legs.

Immediately after being dressed, it is usual to turn the sheep among other stock, without any fear of the infection being communicated; and there is scarce an instance of a sheep suffering any injury from the application. In a few days the blotches dry up, the itching ceases, and the animal is completely cured: it is ge-



nerally, however, thought proper not to delay the operation beyond Michaelmas.

The *hippobosca ovina*, called in Lincolnshire, sheep fagg, an animal well known to all shepherds, which lives among the wool, and is hurtful to the thriving of sheep, both by the pain its bite occasions, and the blood it sucks; is radically destroyed by this application; and the wool is not at all injured. Our wool-buyers purchase the fleeces on which the stain of the ointment is visible, rather in preference to others, from an opinion that the use of it having preserved the animal from being vexed either with the scab or faggs, the wool is less liable to the defect of joints or knots; a fault observed to proceed from every sudden stop in the thriving of the animal, either from want of food, or from disease.

This mode of curing was brought into that part of Lincolnshire where my property is situated, about twelve years ago, by Mr. Stephenson, of Mareham, and is now so generally received, that the scab, which used to be the terror of the farmers, and which frequently deterred the more careful of them from taking the advantage of pasturing their sheep in the fertile and extensive commons with which that district abounds, is no longer regarded with any apprehension: by far the most of them have their flock anointed in autumn, when they return from the common, whether they shew any symptoms of scab, or not; and having done so, conclude them safe for some time, from either giving or receiving infection. There are people who employ themselves in the business, and contract to anoint our large sheep at five

shillings a score, insuring for that price the success of the operation; that is, agreeing, in case many of the sheep break out afresh, to repeat the operation *gratis*, even some months afterwards.

I beg to have it understood, that in communicating this information to the Society, I do not offer myself as a candidate for the medal proposed by them as a reward: having been neither the discoverer nor the introducer of the remedy, I can lay no claim to it. Respect to the patriotic views which have ever guided their conduct, and the hope of being useful to the breeders of sheep, are the motives which have induced me to lay this paper before them; and an additional one I confess it to be, that it gives me an opportunity of publicly testifying the respect with which, in consequence of your active industry, in bringing forward useful inventions, and checking the pretensions of designing impostors, I can with sincerity profess myself,

Your real well-wisher,

And faithful servant,

JOSEPH BANKS."

Soho Square, April 17, 1788.

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*The following Receipt for the Scurvy, supposed to be communicated by a Mr. Hucking, of Cambridge, on Account of the great Benefit he himself received from it, is extracted from the Gentleman's Magazine for 1789.*

“**T**O four beer quarts of good rich sweet-wort, add half a pound of fassafra, one ounce of sarsaparilla, and four ounces of daucus seed (commonly called wild carrot): boil them gently over the fire

for three quarters of an hour, frequently putting the ingredients down with a ladle; then strain the same through a cloth. To each quart of this liquor put one pound and a half of good thick treacle, boil the same gently for three quarters of an hour, skimming it all the time; put it into a pan, and cover it till cold, then bottle it for use. Be careful not to cork the bottle too tight.

Of this syrup a moderate tea-cup full is to be taken in the morning, and the same on going to bed. The above did no more than keep the body open. The effect, however, was such, that it took off the itching, cleared the skin, eased the feet, relieved his strowiness in the day-time, and brought on comfortable nights, made him active, and, though 60 years old, as full of spirits as he ever remembered himself.

The time of his taking the syrup was in September, October, and November, 1787, during which time he abstained from high fauces, and in a great measure from animal food. His drink at dinner was table beer, and sometimes mild ale.

N. B. The wild carrot ought to be gathered in September or October."

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*An Enquiry concerning a sure and certain Method of improving small Arable Farms.—By Mr. Wimpey, in a Letter to the Secretary of the Society instituted at Bath, for the Encouragement of Agriculture, Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, within the Counties of Somerset, Wilts, Gloucester, and Dorset, and the City and County of Bristol.*

SIR,

"IT is generally thought, and on very good grounds, that small

arable farms do not afford the occupier so good a maintenance as dairy farms of the same annual value. That the latter will do well and save money, while the former, with a vast deal more labour and trouble, is starving himself and family. This matter has been fully investigated in a former paper, and the true reason assigned; but a sure and certain remedy, which would enable the farmer to live and pay his rent punctually, is greatly to be wished, and would be of universal convenience. An attempt to effect which is the intended use of this paper.

The advantage and propriety of applying land to the growth of such articles to which nature has most fitly suited it, has been shewn at large, and also that all land which is naturally and properly arable, can by no means be converted into meadow, or valuable pasture of any duration. Such as from a wild state of nature, overrun with furze, fern, bushes, and brambles, has been rendered fertile by means of the plough, must be kept in that improved state by its frequent use, otherwise it would soon revert to that wild barren state which was its original condition.

A farm, therefore, which consists wholly, or almost so, of land that is properly arable, must ever continue arable; for it is not practicable to render it in any degree fertile, but by means of the plough; or to keep it long so, even when it is made so. But though arable land cannot be converted into meadow or pasture proper for a dairy, it may be planted with articles which, it is well known now, will answer the purpose of feeding horned cattle, especially milch-cows, as effectually as good meadow or pasture, producing as much

much milk, and altogether as rich, as sweet, and as good.

But the great interesting question is, Whether those articles which can be procured only by the heavy expences of ploughing, harrowing, seed, and other operations which necessarily attend their culture and harveſting, will afford as much ſuſtenance in proportion to the expence, as meadow or paſture, which is liable to little or none, excepting what is made into hay, the cattle gathering it for themſelves as they conſume it?

To aſcertain this fact, we muſt enquire, what may be the average expence of keeping a milch-cow on a dairy-farm for any given time? It is ſaid upon very good authority, that the expence generally is from 3l. to 3l. 10s. per annum. Two acres and a half of paſture fit for this uſe is ſufficient to keep a cow the whole year through, and ſuch land is valued at from 25 s. to 30 s. per acre. At 25 s. ſuppoſe, the keeping of each cow would amount to 3l. 2 s. 6 d. per annum. A dairy-farm, therefore, conſiſting of forty-eight acres, at 25 s. per annum, would amount to 60l. rent per annum; and the number of cows that might be kept upon ſuch a farm, allowing two acres and a half to each cow, would be nineteen and a fraction, therefore we will ſay twenty.

In the next place, let us enquire, what would be the average expence of keeping a cow upon food raiſed in arable land as a ſuccedaneum to graſs, &c. rent and every neceſſary expence included?

We are aſſured by unqueſtionable authority, that a buſhel of potatoes, given half at night and half in the morning, with a ſmall allowance of hay, is ſufficient to keep three cows a day. On that allowance their

milk will be as rich and as good, and the quantity as great, as in the ſummer months when the cows are in good paſture.

In a former paper we have ſhewn, that an acre of land, properly cultivated with potatoes, will produce 337 buſhels; and the total expence of cultivating an acre, rent and tithe included, was 6l. 13 s. 7½ d. If three cows eat ſeven buſhels per week, then they would eat 365 buſhels in a year; and twenty cows would conſume 2433 buſhels. The queſtion then is, If twenty cows require 2433 buſhels to keep them a year, and as above an acre of land properly cultivated will produce 337 buſhels nett, how many acres will be required to produce 2433 buſhels, or the quantity neceſſary to feed 20 cows, to keep them in full milk the year round? The answer is, Seven acres and a quarter nearly.

If then an acre of land can be cultivated with potatoes, as above, for 6l. 13 s. 7½ d. the cultivation of ſeven acres and a quarter will amount to 48l. 8 s. 9½ d. We have ſeen as above, that the rent of a dairy farm, capable of maintaining 20 milch-cows, is upon a medium 60l.; but it clearly appears that the ſame number of cows may be kept equally well on a very ſmall part of an arable farm planted with potatoes for 11l. 11 s. 2½ d. leſs than that ſum, which is ſo much in favour of the arable farm; or in other words, ſeven or eight acres of arable land under this mode of management, are as much ſuperior to forty-eight acres of meadow or paſture, as the difference of the two ſums mentioned; the arable farmer receiving as great a ſum for the expenditure of 48l. 8 s. 9½ d. as the dairy farmer doth for his bare rent of 60l.

without

without reckoning a penny for incidental expences.

It must be observed, that in this statement no allowance is made for the small quantity of hay given to the cows with the potatoes. It must be noted also, that the account of cultivation is charged with 40 s. an acre for manure, and some expence of ploughing, which of right is chargeable to the crop of wheat that is to follow. Now if we deduct 40 s. an acre from the expence of cultivating the potatoes, it reduces the sum to 4 l. 13 s. 7½ d. and the whole expence then upon seven acres and a quarter is only 33 l. 18 s. 9½ d. and consequently the keep of 20 cows is little more than half to the occupier of the arable farm, what it is to the occupier of the grazing farm. If this conclusion be fairly drawn, and the calculation free from errors, as I hope and believe, it is matter of the greatest importance, especially to the little arable farmer. It plainly raises him from a state of acknowledged great inferiority, to one altogether as superior.

It may be said, this calculation respects potatoes only; how will this mode of culture answer when applied to the growth of other articles of food used as a succedaneum to herbage? Let us try.

By an experiment made on a pretty large scale, lately by Mr. Vagg, it seems to appear, that cabbage on arable land is much about as superior to natural pasture as potatoes. — His experiment was made on twelve acres of land, which was very far from being the most suitable for a crop of cabbage. The average value about 30 s. per acre, and the whole expence of the culture, carting off included, 1 l. 14 s. 1 d.

per acre. The rent and expences of cultivating the twelve acres then amount to 38 l. 9 s. He says the stock he fed with it was forty-five oxen, and upwards of sixty sheep; that it fed them three months, and that he is very well assured that they proved as fast upon it as they do in the prime months of the season, May, June, and July. Now if, instead of sixty sheep, we reckon fifteen oxen, or that four sheep are about equal to one ox, in which we cannot err much; then sixty oxen were kept well for three months, or, which is the same thing, fifteen oxen for a whole year, for 38 l. 9 s. and consequently twenty would cost 51 l. 5 s. 4 d. which is not quite 3 l. more than the keep of 20 cows cost in potatoes.

It is somewhat extraordinary that two experiments, made on articles so very different in their nature, should so nearly coincide in their effects when applied to the same purpose. Turnips, turnip-rooted cabbage, carrots, parsnips, and some other articles, by many experiments often repeated, have been found quite adequate to the same valuable purposes, at least so far as to be more lucrative than meadow or pasture. I omit clover and ryegrass, because they have been long in general practice; but are in common very short of the advantages which may be derived from the cultivation of the other articles recommended.

There is one other article, however, which is particularly worthy of the arable farmer's utmost care and attention, which he may rely on with great confidence, if he will be at the pains of thoroughly cleaning his land, and of keeping it for two or three years after it is planted.

planted. The article I mean is Sainfoin. From the miserable appearance it often makes the first year, I long doubted if its success in poor land was not very precarious; but I have now the fullest conviction, that it will grow and produce a very good crop in poor land, provided the soil be dry, and proper care be taken to keep it clean till it be fully established in the ground.

Small arable farms, which in a manner are quite destitute of herbage, cannot well be supplied with any substitute that is by any means its equal. Indeed one acre of good sainfoin is of more value than two acres of middling meadow or pasture. And as it will thrive so well on a very poor soil, the arable farmer, who either keeps no cows for want of herbage, or keeping them is pinched for food for them, is perfectly ignorant of the advantages attending the culture of this plant, or miserably indolent and inexcusable in not better attending to his interest.

Whatever crop precedes the planting sainfoin, the ground should be ploughed in the winter, and laid up in sharp deep ridges by one bout of the plough, to continue till the beginning of April. Then it should be dragged and harrowed level: and if the land be very poor, it should have some light dressing of ashes, soot, or a compost of lime, earth, and rotten dung, well incorporated together. A small quantity of either of these would greatly encourage the plants in their infant state. The beginning or middle of April, as the season may prove, the seed should be sown, and there would be little danger of its succeeding to one's wish.

Perhaps there cannot be a better

nor a surer means of cultivating this very useful plant to the greatest advantage, than by sowing it after potatoes. The horse and hand-hoeing them during their growth, and the ploughing, dragging, and harrowing the ground to clean it of the potatoes, so thoroughly destroy the weeds and pulverize the soil, that it is made in the most perfect condition for a crop of sainfoin; and though the land may in its nature be very poor, the manuring properly for a crop of potatoes, and that being grown perfectly rotten, the soil is become sufficiently fertile.

Besides the above, perhaps, there are very few articles in use as substitutes for pasture, that are equally profitable with carrots and parsnips, when the soil is suitable to their manner of growth and culture. The soil they delight and flourish most in is a deep, light, free soil, which is easily penetrated, and moderately fertile. In such a soil, if properly hoed and set out at due distances, they will arrive at a great magnitude, and the acreable produce be very surprising. Another advantage is, their being so very acceptable to the farmer's stock of every kind. Horses, cows, sheep, and hogs, eat them seemingly with the same appetite, and are equally improved by them. Unfortunately the quantity of such land bears but a small proportion to what is totally unsuitable to them. Hard, stiff, obdurate land, and such as strongly cohere, is quite unnatural to them, and never answers the expence and trouble; what grows in such land being very short, generally forked, and of small value. Potatoes, cultivated as above directed, would, I think, be as good a preparation for those roots as can well be invented. If the soil be well

well manured for the potatoes, it will be sufficiently fertile for carrots and parsnips, and, lying through the winter in fallow, will be in excellent order for sowing the seeds of these roots the March following.

Upon the whole of this account, it seems clearly to follow, that an arable farm of 50*l.* or 60*l.* per annum, though it has not an acre of meadow or pasture land belonging to it, may by skill and proper management be made to produce as much good butter and cheese, as a dairy farm of the same value, and have a large proportion of land left for the growth of corn and other purposes.

For instance; twenty acres of the sixty, I conceive, would be competent to the maintenance of the flock abovementioned; and they might be fitly divided as follows: viz. six acres of potatoes, two or four of cabbages, two of turnip-rooted cabbage, and two of turnips, making together twelve or fourteen acres; the remainder to be sainfoin; in all twenty acres. The proportion to be varied, and some articles exchanged for others, as the nature of the soil and particular circumstances might require, and as the farmer might think fit and proper. On twenty acres thus planted, I reckon, besides twenty milch-cows, six or eight young cattle, and pigs in proportion, might be well kept on the offal.

It may be asked, should this plan be generally adopted by the farmer, for whose use it is principally intended, if it would not be running out of one extreme into another? If so considerable an increase of milk, butter, and cheese, would not lower the prices of these articles too much, and raise the price of wheat in a greater proportion?

That it would lower the prices of these articles is very certain, and it is a very desirable circumstance that it should. At this time, and for six weeks past, butter has been sold in this neighbourhood for nine pence a pound, and will most probably be sold for ten pence very soon; whereas I should hope the average price might, by the proposed improvement, be reduced to seven pence.

There is little danger, however, of the price of wheat being advanced by the appropriation of about twelve acres of land annually to the cultivation of the above articles; for the land would be so much improved by the extra tillage given to the soil intended for those articles, and also during their growth, that I am rather of opinion they would produce more corn than if constantly planted in the usual very imperfect manner.

The greatest obstacle to this mode of managing a small farm (say from 20*l.* to 60*l.* per annum) is, the confined or narrow circumstances of the occupiers of such farms. In general their capitals are much too small to carry on their business to any advantage in the present mode of management; but the mode recommended would require an increase of capital to the tune of 200*l.* or 300*l.* Less than 400*l.* would not stock a farm in this way of 60*l.* per annum at any rate; but a capital of 500*l.* would be vastly more convenient, and indeed much more to the farmer's advantage.

If the improvements proposed are so interesting to the individuals immediately concerned, how very important are its effects in a political view, as it respects the community at large! If eight acres of land, by skill and management, can be rendered as productive and as profitable

fitable as forty-eight acres whose natural produce is of a medium value, it is virually increasing the extent of territory in a sixfold proportion; for if every acre could by art and industry be made to yield six times the quantity of produce it does at present, the whole might be rendered capable of supporting six times the number of the present inhabitants.

But this is far from being the whole of the advantage that will accrue from it. It will not only increase the quantity of provisions as aforesaid, but it will also find abundance of employment for the poor labourer and his family. In this respect dairy farms are in a manner of no use; they afford little or no employment at all for the poor labourers. Within a few miles of me lives a dairy-man, who milks constantly between twenty and thirty cows. He has no wife, keeps only one maid-servant, has neither man nor boy to assist him, he only hires a woman in the neighbourhood to assist in milking night and morning, for which he pays her 15 d. or 16 d. per week. This is his whole expence in the management of his dairy; scarce a tenth part of his rent; whereas every arable acre cultivated with potatoes, &c. as above, will cost four or five times as much as the rent of the land they grow on. What an amazing difference doth this make to the poor of a populous country, and also to those who must either find them employment, or maintain them without any!

I have often employed a poor family in planting potatoes, and also in following the plough and picking them up when harvested; a man, his wife, and two children, about 12 or

13 years of age. The man I paid 6 s. a week, the woman 3 s. and the two children 3 s.; together 12 s. A very pretty income for a poor family! At these times they usually got them a few clothes; at other times, when I had no employment for them, they have been often obliged to seek relief from the parish.

It is certainly a matter of great importance to all men in business, to do all in their power to promote the beneficial employment of the poor; it not only serves to alleviate a burthen, which in many places is become intolerable; but is also the surest means of keeping the poor honest. Many of them, I hope, would never have thought of being otherwise, if they had not been first impelled by necessity; who from petty pilferings to get a penny, go on to greater thefts, till they too often go to the gallows; whereas, had they been constantly employed, they would have been neither necessitous nor idle—the two grand sources of all the evils they suffer, and the injuries they do to society!

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,  
JOSEPH WIMPEY."

North-Bockhampton, Hants,  
Nov. 25, 1783.

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*Of Furze or Ulex* [Ulex Europæus, Linn.] as a Food for Horses and Cattle; Description of a Machine for bruising them; and Hints for raising that Plant economically as a Crop. By Dr. J. Anderson.—Adapted to the same Society.

“THE machine consists simply of a large circular stone  
let

set on its edge (the weightier and bigger the better) with a wooden axis passing through its centre. One end of this axis is fixed upon a pivot placed in the centre of a circular area, and to the other end of it is fixed a yoke, to which the horse that is to move it is attached. The stone, being placed on its edge, when the horse moves, it revolves round its axis in a circular groove, or stone trough (this trough should be made of hewn stone) exactly in the same manner as a sugar-baker's or a tanner's mill. The whins being placed in this trough, are bruised by the weight of the stone as it passes over them, and being raised up by a three-pronged fork, by the attendant, after they have been well flatted down, they rise in a sort of matted cake, which, being set in some measure upon its edge, is again smashed down by the wheel as it revolves around. In this way the operation is continued, by successively presenting new surfaces to the action of the wheel, till the whole be reduced to a soft pulpy mass, that can easily be eaten by the animals to which it is to be presented.

During the continuance of this process, it is necessary to pour plenty of water upon the whins, at different times, without the help of which, they can scarcely be reduced to a pulp soft enough. On this account it will be proper to make choice of a place for the machine where plenty of water can be obtained with little labour. It follows also, that as rain can never be prejudicial to this operation, it may properly be placed in the open air.

As this operation is greatly facilitated by a judicious way of raising or turning the whins, during the operation, which a little experience

will enable any attentive person to attain, but which cannot be taught by words only; I would therefore advise any person, who should think of erecting an apparatus of this sort, to put one of his most sagacious servants to conduct this operation at the beginning, as such a person will more quickly discover the circumstances that facilitate the process, than one of a slower comprehension would do. After he has become expert at the business, he will be able to instruct an inferior person, who may then be employed for the purpose. But in whatever way it shall be conducted, the person who begins this manufacture must lay his account with performing very little work for some time at the first, in comparison of what he will be able to execute afterwards with ease.

If the whins that are to be employed for this purpose grow naturally in the soil in irregular bushes, it is a troublesome work to cut and gather them. To understand the proper mode of managing this business in all its departments, it is necessary to advert to several particulars in the natural œconomy of this singular plant. Instead of leaves, the whin is furnished with an innumerable quantity of prickles. These spring out from every part of the young stem, and are, at the first, like the stem itself to which they adhere, succulent, soft, and inoffensive; but, like the stems also, they become gradually harder, as the season advances, and seem, indeed, to a casual observer, to form a part of that stem, though they are as different from it as the leaves of other trees are from the branches which produce them.

These prickles do not, like the leaves of most deciduous trees, fall off



off at the approach of winter, but like evergreens, they remain upon the branches all winter, and retain during that time their full succulence and verdure. Early in the spring, innumerable blossoms spring out around these prickles, adhering to them, and not to the stem. The blossoms are succeeded by pods containing the seeds, which gradually ripen; a little after Midsummer the seeds harden, and the pods slowly become dry and wither, the prickles to which they adhere becoming dry and withered at the same time, and gradually loosen from the stalk, which still continues fresh, though it has now attained a woody consistence. These prickles having now performed all the functions that nature had designed them, fall off in part, at first from the stalk, and in part adhere to it for some time, till they are gradually shaken off by the agitation of the wind, or other causes. Hence it happens that it is only the *surface* or top twigs of a whin bush that are green, soft, and succulent, the stems below being dry and woody, and frequently covered with dry prickles, that are not only not useful as food for cattle, but rather hurtful to them, on account of the hardness of their consistence, and sharpness of their prickles.

In gathering whins, therefore, for food for cattle, it is only the tender top shoots that are wanted; and the easiest method of gathering them, that our practice has yet discovered, is, to take a forked stick in the left hand (the readiest thing is the branch of a tree of a proper size) and a sickle in the right hand (both hands, but more especially the right, should be armed with strong gloves) then thrusting the sickle among the young shoots, and pulling it backward, the

forked stick when opposed to them, keeps the branches steady enough to produce a resistance sufficient to make the sickle cut them; and as the tops of the whins are intermixed with each other, they stick to the prongs of the fork, which, after it is as full as it can hold, is taken to a side, and cleared by pressing the whins to the ground, and pulling the fork backwards. These little heaps are afterwards forked to a cart, and pressed down by a man walking upon them, having his legs covered with large strong boots made on purpose, and thus are carried home.

If the whins have grown upon a good soil, and have made very vigorous shoots, they may be thus reaped pretty expeditiously; but if the soil has been poor, and the shoots short, the expence of this operation is very considerable; and as these short whins are, in other respects, of a very inferior quality to the others as food for beasts, it is only at times when fodder is scarce and dear, that they can be economically applied to this use.

To abridge this labour, and to obtain the full benefit of this valuable winter food, I tried myself to cultivate whins artificially, and have seen others rear them in several different ways; among which I found the two following modes of culture to prove the most successful:

In a field of a good dry loamy soil, I sowed along with a crop of barley, the seeds of the whin in the same way as clover is usually sown, allowing at the rate of from 15 to 30 pounds of seed to the acre. The seeds, if harrowed in and rolled with the barley, quickly spring up and advance under the shelter of the barley during the summer, and keep

keep alive during the winter. Next season, if the field has not a great tendency to run to grass so as to choke them, they advance rapidly after Midsummer, so as to produce a pretty full crop before winter. This you may begin to cut *with the scythe* immediately after your clover fails, and continue to cut it as it is wanted during the whole of the winter; but it is supposed that after the month of February the taste of this plant alters, as it is in general believed, that after that time horses and cattle are no longer fond of it. I must however observe, that never having had myself a sufficiency of whins to serve longer than till towards the middle of February, or beginning of March, I cannot assert the above fact from my own experience. I have frequently seen horses beating the whins with their hoofs, so as to bruise the prickles, and then eat them, even in the months of April and May; and sheep which have been used to this food certainly pick off the blossoms and young pods at that season; and probably the prickles also; so that it is possible this opinion may only be a vulgar error.

Circumstances, which I need not here specify, have prevented me from ascertaining what is the weight of the crop that may be thus attained; but I think I may safely venture to say, that it is at least equal to that of a crop of green clover; and if it be considered that this affords a green succulent food during winter, on which cattle can be fatted as well as on cut grass in summer, it will I think be admitted, that it must be accounted even a more valuable crop than clover.

After being cut, it springs up the following season with greater vigour than before: and, in this situation, acquires a degree of health and succulence very different from what it is ever observed to possess in its natural state\*. The prickles too are so soft, and the stems so tender, that very little bruising is necessary: indeed horses, who have been accustomed to this food, would eat it without any bruising at all: but cattle, whose mouths seem to be more tender, always require it to be well bruised.

How long this crop might continue to be annually cut over, without wearing out, I cannot say; I believe a long while, in favourable circumstances. But I must now take notice of a peculiarity that, unless guarded against, will very soon extirpate it, as I myself experienced.

The natural progress of this plant has been described above with tolerable accuracy, but one particular was omitted. During the beginning of the season, nature seems to be solely employed about the great work of fructification only, and it is not till near Midsummer that the whin begins to push forth its wood-bearing branches, which advance with great luxuriance only during the latter part of the season. Hence it happens, that if care be not taken to have the grass that springs up on the field before the whin begins to send out its shoots eaten close down, that grass will acquire such a luxuriance before the young branches of the whin begin to advance, as to overtop them, and choke them entirely. Whoever therefore has a field under this particular crop, must be careful to ad-

\* I have seen shoots of one season near four feet in length.

vert to this circumstance, or, if the field be in good heart, he will infallibly lose it. The field therefore should be kept, as a pasture, bare as possible during the beginning of the season, and the cattle should only be taken from it when the shoots of the whin are discovered to begin to advance with vigour. Under this management I presume it may be kept for many years, and yield full crops: but unless the mowers shall be particularly attentive, *at the beginning*, to cut it as low as possible, it will very soon become impossible to cut the field with a scythe, as the stumps will soon acquire so much strength as to break the scythe when it happens to touch them.

This is the best way I know of rearing whins as a crop for a winter food for cattle or horses. For sheep, who take to this food very kindly when they have been once accustomed to it, less nicety is required; for if the seeds be simply sown broad-cast very thin (about a pound of seed per acre) upon the poorest soils, after they come up the sheep of themselves will crop the plants, and soon bring them into round close bushes, as this animal nibbles off the prickles one by one very quickly, so as not to be hurt by them. Sheep, however, who have not been used to this mode of browsing, do not know how to proceed, and often will not taste them; but a few that have been used to this food, will soon teach all the rest how to use it.

Another very economical way of rearing whins, that I have seen practised at large by another, rather than experienced it myself, is as follows:

Let a farm be inclosed by means

of a ditch all round, with a bank thrown up upon one side; and if stones can be had, let the face of that bank be lined with the stones from bottom to near the top; this lining to slope backward with an angle of about sixty or seventy degrees from the horizon. Any kind of stones, even round bullets gathered from the land, will answer the purpose very well; upon the top of the bank sow whin seeds pretty thick, and throw a few of them along the face of the bank. Young plants will quickly appear. Let them grow for two years, and then cut them down by means of a hedge-bill, stripping down by the face of the bank. This mode of cutting is very easy; and as the seeds soon insinuate themselves among the crannies of the stones, the whole face of the bank becomes a close hedge, whose shoots spring up with great luxuriance. If another ditch be made on the other side of the bank, and if this be managed in the same way, and if the hedge be cut down only once every second year, (and in this way it affords very good food for beasts) and the inside and the outside be cut down alternately, the fence will always continue good, as the hedge at the top will at all times be compleat. This mode of rearing whins is both convenient and economical. But where stones cannot be obtained for making the facing, the bank very soon moulders down, and becomes unfit for a fence.

I know few plants that deserve the attention of the farmer more than the whin. Horses are peculiarly fond of it. Some persons think they may be made to perform hard work upon it, without

any feeding of grain; but I think it tends more to fatten a horse than to fit him for hard labour, and that therefore some grain should be given with it where the work is severe. Cattle eat it perfectly well when thoroughly bruised, and grow fat upon it as upon turnips; but unless it be very well bruised for them they

will not eat it freely, and the farmer will be disappointed in his expectations. Cows that are fed upon it yield nearly as much milk as while upon grass, which is free from any bad taste; and the best winter-made butter I ever saw was obtained from the milk of a cow that was fed upon whins."

# ANTIQUITIES.

*A literal Translation of the Will of King Alfred, from the Saxon Original, preserved in a Register of the Abbey of Newminster, at Winchester, founded by that King a short Time before his Death.*

*The better to elucidate so valuable a Record, we shall also lay the Preface, and Introductory Remarks to the Will before our Readers.*

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## *Preface.*

“**T**HE following will of King Alfred the Great, is preserved in a register of the Abbey of Newminster, at Winchester, founded by that King a short time before his death. This register commences with an account of the first foundation of the abbey in the cemetery on the north-west side of the cathedral of Winchester, which about the year 1110 was removed to Hyde. The greatest part of the register, and particularly that in which the will is inserted, appears to have been written between the years 1028 and 1032, so that the entry in the register could not have been later than one hundred and thirty-two years after the foundation of the abbey, though it was probably earlier; and it may reasonably be supposed, that care would be taken by the abbot

and convent, to exemplify the will of their great and munificent founder, in the most correct manner.

This register appears to have been un-noted, from the time of the dissolution of Hyde Abbey, till about the year 1710; when it was in the possession of Walter Clavel, Esq; afterwards it was the property of the Rev. Mr. North; on whose decease it came into the hands of his executor the Rev. Dr. Lort, one of the vice presidents of the society of antiquaries, who in the year 1769 kindly deposited it in the MS. library of Mr. Astle.

The following valuable document is interesting on many accounts.

First, we learn from it the ideas entertained by the king, and the great men of the realm, concerning the succession of the crown, in the times of the Saxons.

Secondly, we are informed of several particulars relative to the rights, liberties, and privileges of the different orders and degrees of men, at that early period.

Thirdly, we are furnished with many curious facts, which elucidate the nature of the tenures, by which estates were held in the time of our Saxon ancestors.

Mr. Astle having conversed with several of his literary friends on the contents of this valuable record, and particularly with some respectable

members of the university of Oxford, it was determined by the delegates of the Oxford presb, to lay it before the public, considering it a monument which will reflect honour on the memory of the royal founder of the university.

In Asser's life of King Alfred, Mr. Wise has printed what he called, *Testamentum Ælfredi Regis*; but the reader will find that it is nothing more than a very incorrect translation into Latin of part of the following will.

The public is indebted to the Rev. Mr. Owen Manning, well known as the editor of *Lye's Dictionarium Saxonico et Gothico-Latinum*, for the following translation, and for most of the notes.

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*Introductory Remarks.*

It appears by the preface or introduction to this will, that K. Ethelwolf left certain manors and other estates in land (besides what he had given them in his life-time) to his three sons, Ethelbald, Ethelred, and Alfred, and to the survivor of them.

That on Ethelbald's decease, Ethelred and Alfred made over their joint interest herein to K. Ethelbert their then eldest brother, in trust, to release it to them again in the same condition in which he received it: with a covenant to do the same by such estates also as he had obtained by their joint assistance, and such as he should have acquired himself.

That, on Ethelbert's decease, and Ethelred's succeeding to the crown, Alfred applied to him in Witnagemot, to make partition of the estates, and to assign him his share:

but that Ethelred refused; alleging in his excuse, that it was a mixed property, which he had entered upon at different times; and that he could not easily distinguish the lands one from another: that, however, he would make him his heir; with which declaration Alfred was satisfied.

That, shortly after, in a Witnagemot at Swinburgh, it was agreed between Ethelred and Alfred, that the survivor should give to the children of the other, 1. All such lands as they two themselves should have acquired; and, 2. All such as Ethelwolf their father had given to them two in Ethelbald's life-time: but not, 3. Those which he had bequeathed by will to the three; which, together with the personal estate of him of the two that should die first, was to go to the survivor.

That, finally therefore, this third sort of lands, viz. such as K. Ethelwolf the father had devised by will to the three brothers and the survivor of them, and which had now devolved on Alfred, was the subject of the following bequest: which, in the Witnagemot at Langden (K. Ethelwolf's will being first produced and read) it was unanimously agreed that Alfred had undoubted authority to make: and which the nobility there assembled pledged themselves to see carried into execution.

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*King Alfred's Will. — The Literal Translation.*

I Alfred king, by God's grace, and with the council of <sup>a</sup> Ethelred archbishop, and all the West-

<sup>a</sup> Ethelred, archbishop of Canterbury; who died, A° 888.

Saxon nobles' concurrence, have considered of my soul's health, and of my inheritance that to me God and my ancestors did give; and of that inheritance which K. <sup>b</sup> Ethelwolf my father to us <sup>c</sup> three brothers did bequeath, Ethelbald, and Ethered, and me; and which of us soever longest liver were, that he should take to all.

But it came to pass that Ethelbald died <sup>d</sup>; and we two Ethered [*and I*<sup>e</sup>] with all the West-Saxon nobles' concurrence, our part did give in trust to Ethelbert <sup>f</sup> king our brother, on the condition that he it should redeliver to us as entire as it then was when we it to him did make over. And he then so did, both by that estate, and that which he by our joint concurrence had obtained, and what he himself had acquired.

When it so happened that Ethered <sup>g</sup> succeeded, then prayed I him before our nobles all, that we two the inheritance might divide; and he to me would give my share. Then said he to me, that he not easily might divide, for that he had, at many dif-

ferent times formerly taken possession. And he said concerning that which he of our joint property enjoyed, and [*that which he*<sup>h</sup>] had acquired, after his days, he to no man rather would give it than to me. And I therewith, at that time was well satisfied.

But it came to pass, that we all by the heathen <sup>i</sup> folk despoiled were. Then discoursed we concerning our children, that they some support would need to be given by us out of these estates, as to us was given. Then were we in council at Swinburgh <sup>k</sup>; when declared we two, in the West-Saxon nobles' presence, that which soever of us two longest liver were, that he should give to the other's children those lands that we two our selves had acquired, and those lands that to us two Ethelwolf the king gave while Ethelbald was living; except those that he to us three brothers bequeathed. And of this, of us two each to the other his security did give, that whether of us two longest should live, he should take both to the land and to the trea-

<sup>b</sup> Ethelwolf, the father of Alfred, died, 13 Jan. A<sup>o</sup> 857-8, leaving four sons, 1. Ethelbald, 2. Ethelbert, 3. Ethered, 4. Alired, who were successively kings of England; and one daughter, Ethelwith, who, A<sup>o</sup> 851, married Burthred king of Mercia; and, after his death, A<sup>o</sup> 873, became a nun at Padua, where she died, A<sup>o</sup> 889.

<sup>c</sup> K. Ethelwolf made no mention, in his will, of his second son, Ethelbert, having, in his life-time (on the death of Athelstan, uncle of Ethelbert) A<sup>o</sup> 851, given him the kingdom of the South-Saxons, East-Saxons, and Kent.

<sup>d</sup> Ethelbald, the eldest brother of Alfred, died, 20 Dec. A<sup>o</sup> 860.

<sup>e</sup> The words, *7 ic*, seem to be wanting in the original.

<sup>f</sup> Who succeeded to the kingdom on the death of Ethelbald, A<sup>o</sup> 860; and was now the eldest surviving brother of the three.

<sup>g</sup> Ethered succeeded to the throne on the death of Ethelbert, A<sup>o</sup> 866.

<sup>h</sup> The words, *þær þe he*, though not expressed in the original, must be understood, as absolutely necessary to enable the reader to distinguish between the two species of estate here mentioned, viz. that which Ethered was seized of by joint heirship with Alired, and such as he had acquired himself.

<sup>i</sup> The whole reign of this prince was one continued war with the Danes, who are here meant by the *hæðen folc*.

<sup>k</sup> I find no place of this name at present in England.

tures; and to all his possessions except that part, which of us either to his children should bequeath.

But it came to pass that Ethered<sup>1</sup> the king deceased, when communicated to me no man no title-deed, nor no evidence, that it any other was than as it before witness we before had agreed. Then heard we now of many inheritance-suits. Now therefore brought I Ethelwolf the king's will into our council at Langandene<sup>m</sup>; and it they read before all the West-Saxon nobles. When it read was, then prayed I them all for my love (and to them my security gave, that I of them never to none would bear ill will for that they right should speak) that of them none would neglect, neither for my love nor for my fear, that they the common right should declare; lest any man should say, that I my kinsfolk, whether elder or younger, wrongfully had excluded. And they then all for right pronounced and declared, that they no more rightful

title conceive could, nor in a title-deed hear of "Now (*said they*) "it all delivered is there into thy hand: Wherefore thou it mayest bequeath and give, either to a relation or a stranger, as to thee most eligible may be." And they all to me thereupon their security gave, and their hand-setting, that, during their life, it no man never should pervert in none other wise but so as I it my self should direct on the next day.

I Alfred, of the West-Saxons<sup>n</sup> king, by God's grace, and before this company of witnesses, declare how I concerning my estates will after my day.

First, I give to <sup>o</sup> Edward, my eldest son, the land at <sup>p</sup> Stræneat in <sup>q</sup> Tricon-shire, and <sup>r</sup> Heortigtune, and the book-land all that Leof heah holds, and the land at <sup>s</sup> Caruntune, and at <sup>t</sup> Cylfantune, and at <sup>u</sup> Burnhamme, and at <sup>x</sup> Wedmor. And I am a <sup>y</sup> petitioner to the <sup>z</sup> families

<sup>1</sup> King Ethelred died 23 Apr. A<sup>o</sup> 872; when Alfred succeeded to the crown.

<sup>m</sup> There are diverse places in England of the name of Langdon and Longdon; but which of them this was, it is impossible to say. If this point could be settled, and the time at which the council was holden, we could ascertain the date of the will, as well as the place at which it was made.

<sup>n</sup> Alfred being king at the time he made his will, it must have been made between A<sup>o</sup> 872, when he came to the crown, and A<sup>o</sup> 885, in which bishop Eine, one of the legatees therein mentioned died.

<sup>o</sup> Edward, the eldest son of Alfred, was born a little before his father ascended the throne; and afterwards succeeded him therein, by the name of Edward the Elder.

<sup>p</sup> Probably Stratton in Cornwall. See the next note.

<sup>q</sup> I take Tricon-shire to have been, without all doubt, Cornwall; it being but a small Saxon variation from Trig-shire, as it was called by the British inhabitants. See Borlase's Cornish Vocabulary.

<sup>r</sup> Perhaps Hardington in co. Som. as most of the lands here bequeathed are in that county or Wilts.

<sup>s</sup> Carhampton, co. Som.

<sup>t</sup> Chilhampton, co. Wilt.

<sup>u</sup> Burnham, co. Som.

<sup>x</sup> Wedmore, co. Som.

<sup>y</sup> For *þrýmdig*. "Qui requirit," &c.

<sup>z</sup> These *þipar*, "families," at Cheddar, were the *Ceorls*, who occupied the tenemental lands there. They were so far analogous to those who, in the succeeding feudal times, were called privileged villains, as that they could not be compelled to hold their lands against their own consent. Hence it was that Alfred had stipulated with them, on the ground of a requisition on his part, to chuse Edward his son to be their landlord; i. e. to continue his tenants after he himself should be dead and gone.



at <sup>a</sup> Ceodre, that they him would chuse on the condition that we formerly expressed had; with the land of <sup>b</sup> Ciwtune, and that which thereto belongeth. And I to him give the land at <sup>c</sup> Cantuctune, and at <sup>d</sup> Bedewind, and at <sup>e</sup> Pefefigge, and <sup>f</sup> Hyffeburn, and at <sup>g</sup> Suttune, and at <sup>h</sup> Leodride, and at <sup>i</sup> Aweltune.

And all the bookland that I in Cent have, and at the Nether <sup>k</sup> Hyffeburn, and at <sup>l</sup> Cyfeldene, let it be given to Wintan-cestre, on the condition on which it my father formerly gave; and that my private estate which I

to Ecgulf gave in trust at the Nether Hyffeburn.

And to my <sup>m</sup> younger son the land at <sup>n</sup> Eaderingtune, and that at <sup>o</sup> Dene, and at <sup>p</sup> Meone, and at <sup>q</sup> Ambresbyry, and at <sup>r</sup> Deone and at <sup>s</sup> Sturemynster, and at <sup>t</sup> Gisse, and at <sup>u</sup> Cruzærn, and at <sup>w</sup> Whitchurch, and at <sup>x</sup> Axanmouth, and at <sup>y</sup> Brancecumbe, and at <sup>z</sup> Columtune, and at <sup>a</sup> Twyfyrd, and at <sup>b</sup> Mylenburn, and at <sup>c</sup> Exanmynster, and at <sup>d</sup> Suthewyrth, and at <sup>e</sup> Liwtune, and the lands that thereto belong; which are all that I in <sup>f</sup> Weal district have, except <sup>g</sup> Triconshire.

And

<sup>a</sup> Chedder, co. Som.

<sup>b</sup> Chewton, co. Som.

<sup>c</sup> Quantock, co. Som.

<sup>d</sup> Bedwin, co. Wilt.

<sup>e</sup> Pewsey, co. Wilt.

<sup>f</sup> Hufeibourn, co. Hant.

<sup>g</sup> There are so many places in England of the name of Sutton, that it is hard to say which of them is here meant; but, doubtless, one of those of this name in Somersetshire or Wilts.

<sup>h</sup> Probably Ledered in Surrey.

<sup>i</sup> I take this to have been Aulton in Wilts, which was given by some of his successors to the cathedral of Winchester, Cart. 29. E. 1. n. 54. For Aulton in Hants seems to have been given to that church by Egbert the grandfather of Alfred. *Dug. Mon.* I. 979. Yet Camden takes it for granted to have been Aulton in Hants; and, following the printed Latin translation of the Will, says, that Alfred gave it to the keeper of Leodre. *Edit. Gibf. p. 146.*

<sup>k</sup> Nether Hufeibourn in Hants; which was afterwards given by Edward to the cathedral of Winchester.

<sup>l</sup> Chifeldon or Chifleton in Wilts; which was given to the Old Foundation at Winchester for the present; but, as it seems, for the benefit of his intended new minister at that place, which appears to have been possessed of it in 4 Edw. iii. Rom. 4. E. 3. m. 4. apud Tann. *Notit. p. 156.*

<sup>m</sup> This younger son of Alfred was Ethelward, born about A<sup>o</sup> 880. He was educated at Oxford, became a very learned man, and died 16 Oct. A<sup>o</sup> 922.

<sup>n</sup> Adrington, co. Som.

<sup>o</sup> There are places of this name both in Hants and Wilts, as well as in many other counties. But I take it to have been in one of those two, as most of the estates here bequeathed lay among the West-Saxons.

<sup>p</sup> East and West-Meon, co. Hant.

<sup>q</sup> Ambresbury, co. Wilt.

<sup>r</sup> Down, co. Dorf. or Devon.

<sup>s</sup> Sturminster, co. Dorf.

<sup>t</sup> Gidley, co. Devon.

<sup>u</sup> Crewkern, co. Som.

<sup>w</sup> Whitchurch, co. Hant.

<sup>x y z</sup> Axmouth, Ebiancomb, Columpton, co. Devon.

<sup>a</sup> Twiford, co. Hant.

<sup>b</sup> Milbourn, co. Dorf. or Som.

<sup>c</sup> Axminster, co. Devon.

<sup>d</sup> Of this I find nothing.

<sup>e</sup> Litten, of which there is one in Dorf. and one in Som.

<sup>f</sup> "On pealcynne." The author of the printed translation hath rendered this "sub cælo," as if Alfred had meant to say, under the welkin. But, beside that this word is always written, in the Saxon language, peolcen, polcen, or pelcen, the very termination, cynne naturally refers us to some district. The only question is, What that district was?—Now the Britons, who retired into the West of England, were called, by our Saxon ancestors, pealap, and their tribes, peala cynne, i. e. Britannorum gentes. The word indeed, is, at present, retained in the name of those only who retired to the extremity of the island; who are to this day called Lojyn-pealap. But

And to my eldest <sup>h</sup> daughter the manor at <sup>l</sup> Welewe.

And to the middlemost <sup>k</sup>, [*ibid*] at <sup>i</sup> Cleare, and at <sup>m</sup> Cendefer.

And to the youngest <sup>n</sup>, the manor at <sup>o</sup> Welig, and at <sup>p</sup> Æstune, and at <sup>q</sup> Cippanhamme.

And to Æthelm<sup>r</sup>, my brother's son, the manor at <sup>s</sup> Ealdingburn, and at <sup>t</sup> Cumtune, and at <sup>v</sup> Crundell, and at <sup>x</sup> Beading, and at <sup>y</sup> Beadinghamme, and at <sup>z</sup> Burnham, and at <sup>a</sup> Thunresfield, and at <sup>b</sup> Æsceng.

And to <sup>c</sup> Athelwold, my brother's son, the manor at <sup>d</sup> Godelmig, and at <sup>e</sup> Gyldeford, and at <sup>f</sup> Stening,

And to <sup>g</sup> Osferth, my cousin, the manor at <sup>h</sup> Beccanlea, and at <sup>i</sup> Rytherfield, and at <sup>k</sup> Dicceling, and at <sup>l</sup> Suthtune, and at <sup>m</sup> Lullingminster, and at <sup>n</sup> Angmering, and at <sup>o</sup> Felham, and the lands that thereto belong.

And to <sup>p</sup> Ealhswith, the manor at <sup>q</sup> Lamburn, and at <sup>r</sup> Waneting, and at <sup>s</sup> Ethandune.

And to my two sons, one thousand of pounds; to each five hundred of pounds.

And to my eldest daughter, and to the middlemost, and to the youngest, and to Ealhswith, to them

this does not hinder but that it might formerly extend farther. Nay, the prefix, *Lornu*, applied to one set of the *pealar*, seems to imply that there were other *pealar* beside these, and bordering upon them. Accordingly, I do suppose that, by a latitude peculiar to common speech, the inhabitants of Devon, or even of Somersetshire, might be called *pealar* also: And that, therefore, when Alfred had bequeathed his estates in these parts, he finished with saying, *þ̄ rynd ealle ic on peal-cynne hæbbe buran t̄piconcipis*, i. e. as we should express it now, "Which are all that I have in the West of England, except in Cornwall."—And as a proof of this, it is observable, that none of the lands hereafter bequeathed are farther West than Wiltshire.

<sup>g</sup> This hath been explained already in note 9, p. 86.

<sup>h</sup> His eldest daughter was Ethelfleda, who married Ethelred, D. of Mercia; after whose death, A° 912, she governed that province till her own decease, 15 Jun. A° 919.

<sup>i</sup> Wellow, co. Hant.

<sup>k</sup> His middlemost daughter, as he calls her, was Ethelgeda, a nun, and afterwards abbess of Shaftsbury, where she died and was buried.

<sup>l</sup> King's Clere, co. Hants.

<sup>m</sup> Probably one of those places in Hampshire which still bear this addition to their name, viz. Preiton-Candever, Chilton-Candever.

<sup>n</sup> The youngest daughter of Alfred was Elfrida, who married Baldwin II. Earl of Flanders; and, dying, 7 Jun. A° 929, was buried in the monastery of St. Peter at Ghent.

<sup>o</sup> Willey, co. Wilt.

<sup>p</sup> Ainton, co. Wilt.

<sup>q</sup> Chippenham, co. Wilt.

<sup>r</sup> Æthelm, the eldest son of K. Ethelbert, elder brother of Alfred.

<sup>s</sup> Aldingbourn, co. Suffex.

<sup>t</sup> Compton, co. Suffex.

<sup>v</sup> Crundal, co. Hant.

<sup>x</sup> Beden, co. Suffex.

<sup>y</sup> Bedingham, co. Suffex.

<sup>z</sup> Barnham, co. Suffex.

<sup>a</sup> I take this to have been the manor of Thunderfield, in the parish of Horsey, near Reygate, in Surrey, where was formerly a castle of considerable strength.

<sup>b</sup> Probably Eashing, in the parish of Godelmig, in Surrey, the manor of which also belonged to Alfred.

<sup>c</sup> Ethelwold, the youngest son of K. Ethelbert, elder brother of Alfred; who died in arms against Edward his cousin, the son and successor of Alfred, A° 905.

<sup>d</sup> Godelmig and Gildford, both in Surrey.

<sup>f</sup> Steyning in Suffex.

<sup>g</sup> Who this Osferth his cousin was, I do not find.

<sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>k</sup> Beckley, Rotherfield, and Dichling, all in Suffex.

<sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> Sutton, Lullington, Angmering, and Felpham, all in Suffex.

<sup>p</sup> Ethelwitha was the wife of Alfred, and daughter of Ethelred the Great, Earl of Mercia. She survived her husband four years; and, dying A° 904, was buried in the nunnery at Winchester of her own foundation.

<sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> Lambourn and Wantage in Berks, at the latter of which K. Alfred was born.

<sup>s</sup> Edington, near Westbury, in Wilts, where Alfred defeated the Danes, A° 878.

four, four hundred of pounds; to each one hundred of pounds.

And of my <sup>†</sup> aldermen to each one hundred of <sup>‡</sup> mancuses; and to Æthelm, and Athelwold, and Of-ferth also.

And to Ethered the alderman, a sword of an hundred mancuses.

And to the men that me follow, to whom I now at Easter-tide money gave, two hundred of pounds. Let them give to them, and divide them between, to each as to him to belong they shall judge; after the manner that I to them now have distributed.

And to the <sup>‡</sup> archbishop, 100 of mancuses, and to <sup>¶</sup> Esne bishop, and to <sup>‡</sup> Werferth bishop, and to the [*bishop*] <sup>‡</sup> at Schireburn.

Also, let them distribute for me and for my father, and for the friends that he interceded for, and I intercede for, two hundred of pounds; fifty to the mass-priests over all my kingdom; fifty to the poor ministers of God; fifty to the distressed poor; fifty to the church that I at shall rest. And I know not certainly whether of the money so much is; nor I know not but that thereof more may be; but so I suppose. If it more be, be it to them all

common to whom I money bequeathed have. And I will that my aldermen and my ministers there all together be and this thus distribute.

When I had formerly in other wise disposed in writing of my inheritance, then I had more estate, and more relations; and had to many men the writings intrusted; and in the same company of witnesses they were written. But I have now burned those old *deeds* that I by inquiry recover might. If of these any found should be, let it stand for nothing: for that I will that it now thus be by God's assistance.

And I will the men that the lands shall have, the words to fulfil that in my father's testament do stand, so as they soonest may.

And I will, if I to any man any money unpaid have, that my relations that at least repay.

And I will the men to whom I my bookland bequeathed have, that they it do not give from my kindred after their day: but I will [<sup>‡</sup> after] their day, that it go unto the next hand to me; unless of them any one children have; then it is to me most eligible that it go to that issue on the male side, the while that any of it worthy be. My grandfather hath

<sup>†</sup> The King's aldermen were his justices itinerant and other great officers of his own appointment.

<sup>‡</sup> The mancus was about 7 s. 6 d. of our present currency.

<sup>¶</sup> Ethelred archbishop of Canterbury, who died A° 888.

<sup>‡</sup> Esne, bishop of Hereford; who died, according to Godwin, A° 885. Indeed Stevens and Willis place him a century higher. But, as a bishop Esne is here expressly mentioned as a legate, and no other of that name occurs in the whole catalogue of bishops, it seems a full proof that Godwin is right in the point of chronology.

<sup>‡</sup> Werferth was bishop of Worcester, a man of singular learning, and employed by Alfred in translating the Dialogues of pope Gregory I. into the Saxon language. He died, according to some, A° 911, according to others, A° 915.

<sup>‡</sup> The bishop of Shireburn was Asser, the great friend and favourite of Alfred; and who also wrote the annals of his reign down to the year 893. He died, according to the most probable accounts, A° 909, or 910. See *Fra. Wisc de vita et scriptis Asserii*, §. 12. prefixed to his edition of Asser's Annals of Alfred.

<sup>‡</sup> The word *open* seems to be wanting here.

bequeathed his land to the <sup>c</sup> spear-side, and not to the <sup>d</sup> spindle-side. Wherefore, if I have given to any female what he had acquired, then let redeem it my relations, if they it while she is living have will: if it otherwise be, let it go after their day, so as we before determined have. For this reason I ordain that they it pay for, because they will succeed to my [*estate*] that I give may, or to female hand, or to male hand, whether I will.

And I beseech, in God's name, and in his saints', that of my relations none, nor of my heirs none do obstruct, none of the <sup>e</sup> freedom of those that I have redeemed. And for me the West-Saxon nobles as lawful have pronounced that I them may leave either free or bond whether I will. But I, for God's love, and for my soul's advantage, will that they be of their freedom masters, and of their will, and I, in

God the living's name intreat that them no man do not disturb, neither by money-exaction, nor by no manner of means, that they may not <sup>f</sup> chuse such man as they will.

And I will that they restore to the <sup>g</sup> families at <sup>h</sup> Domerham their land-deeds, and their free liberty such person to chuse, as to them most agreeable may be; for me, and for <sup>i</sup> Elfreda, and for the friends that she did intercede for, and I do intercede for.

And seek <sup>k</sup> they also, with a living <sup>l</sup> price, for my soul's health, as it be may, and as it also sitting is; and as ye me to forgive shall be disposed.

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*Description of the famous Labyrinth of Gortyna, in Crete.—From Letters on Greece by Mr. Savary; translated from the French.*

<sup>c</sup> *Spepe heape . . . . Spind heape.* The sexes are here denominated from the implements peculiar to their respective occupations; the male from the spear, the female from the spindle. And hence, I cannot but think it probable, that the word *pæpened*, signifying also masculine (though derived, by the authors of our vocabularies, from *pæpen*, which they suppose to have been a Saxon word corresponding to the *veretrum* of the Latins) has its origin in the word *pæpen* as it signifies arms; and is therefore only applied to the male sex, as the particular weapon, the spear was, because it was the only sex that bore arms.

<sup>e</sup> The latter part of this compound, *lip*, is put for *leap*; and the whole word, *cýnelip*, is as much as to say "arbitrii licentiam," *i. e.* the liberty of disposing of themselves.

<sup>f</sup> Alfred having manumitted diverse *þeopar*, and put them into the condition of *ceoplep*, desires that his heirs would not abridge them of that liberty, but leave them to chuse such man for their landlord as they would; which all *ceoplep*, by the Saxon constitution might do.

<sup>g</sup> The *þipar* of Domerham were the same sort of people with those of Cheddar, spoken of in note <sup>2</sup>, p. 86, *viz.* The *ceoplep* who occupied the tenemental lands there, which they might relinquish when they pleased. And as they were entreated, in that instance, to chuse Edward for their lord, *i. e.* to continue to occupy those lands under him, as they had done under Alfred: so here, the heirs are required to leave those of Domerham to chuse such man for their landlord, as they would; *i. e.* to continue to occupy those lands, or relinquish them, as they should think proper.

<sup>h</sup> *Dompa hamme*, The manor of Dummer, co. Hant.

<sup>i</sup> His eldest daughter.

<sup>k</sup> *Sec man*, "Let them seek," or, make application to, *viz.* God.

<sup>l</sup> On *cyrcum ceape*. "With a living price," *viz.* by prayer and intercession, and the usual offices of devotion.

“WE quitted the plain of Gortyna to visit the Labyrinth. The road leading to this memorable place is rough and steep; but, after an ascent of near an hour, we, at length, reached the entrance. We had brought with us the thread of Ariadne, that is to say, four hundred fathoms of twine, which we fastened to the gate, where we stationed two janissaries, with orders to suffer nobody to enter. The opening of the Labyrinth is natural, and not wide. When you have advanced a little, you find a considerable space strewed with large stones, and covered with a flat roof cut out of the solid mountain. To discern our way amid this gloomy abode, we each carried a flambeau. Two Greeks bore the clew, which they unfolded or wound up as occasion required. At first we lost ourselves in different alleys without an opening, and were obliged to measure back our steps, but at length discovered the true passage, which is on the right as we enter; we arrive at it by a narrow path, and are obliged to creep on our hands and feet for the space of an hundred yards, the roof being extremely low. At the end of this narrow passage the ceiling rises suddenly, and we were able to walk upright, in the midst of the impenetrable darkness that surrounded us, and the numerous ways which struck off on each side, and crossed each other in different directions. The two Greeks we had hired trembled with apprehension; the sweat poured down their faces, and they refused to advance, unless we took the lead.

The alleys through which we passed were in general from seven to eight feet high; in width they va-

ried from six to ten, and sometimes more. They are all chiseled out of the rock, and the stones, of a dirty grey, are ranged in horizontal layers. In some places, huge blocks of stone, half detached from the roof, seem ready to fall on your head, and you must stoop in passing them, not without some danger of their falling. This havock has, no doubt, been occasioned by earthquakes, which are so frequent in Crete.

Thus did we continue wandering in this maze, of which we endeavoured to discover all the windings, and as soon as we had got to the end of one alley, entered into another. Sometimes we were stopped short by a passage without an opening, and at others, after long circuits, were astonished to find ourselves at the cross-way from which we had set out. Frequently, after encircling with our cord a great extent of rock, we were obliged to wind it up, and return the way we came. It is impossible to describe to what a degree these passages are multiplied and crooked; some of them form curves which lead you insensibly to a vast empty space, supported by enormous pillars, whence three or four passages strike off that conduct to opposite points; others, after long windings, divide into several branches: these again extend a great length, and terminated by the rock, oblige the traveller to trace back his way. We walked with precaution in the doublings of this vast labyrinth, amid the eternal darkness that reigns throughout it, and which our torches could hardly dispel. Thus situated, the imagination raises up phantoms; it figures to itself precipices under the feet of the curious, monsters placed as sentinels, and, in a word,

word, a thousand chimeras which can have no existence.

The precaution we had taken of proceeding with the thread of Ariadne, and of fastening it at different distances lest it should break, allowed us to advance farther than Belon, Tournefort, and Pocock, were able to do for want of such assistance. We observed, in several parts of the middle avenue, the cyphers 1700 written with a black pencil, by the hand of the celebrated French botanist. An extraordinary circumstance which he remarks, and which we admired no less than he had done, is the property possessed by the rock of presenting the names engraven on it in relief. We saw several of them, wherein this sort of sculpture had arisen to the thickness of two lines (the sixth part of an inch.) The substance of this relief is whiter than the stone<sup>a</sup>.

After straying for a long time in the frightful cavern of the Minotaur<sup>b</sup>, we arrived at the extremity of the alley which Tournefort followed. There we found a wide space, with cyphers cut in the rock, none of which were of an earlier date than the fourteenth century. There is another similar to this on the right; each of them may be about twenty-four or thirty feet square. To arrive at this place we had run out almost all our line, that is to say, about twenty-four hundred feet, without mentioning our various

excursions. We remained three hours in the labyrinth, continually walking, without being able to flatter ourselves with having seen every thing. I believe it would be impossible for any man to get out of it, if left there without either clew or flambeau; he would lose himself in a thousand windings: the horrors of the place, and the intense darkness, would fill him with consternation, and he must miserably perish.

On our return, we examined a winding we had not before noticed; it conducted us to a beautiful grotto, rising into a dome, wrought by the hand of nature. It has no stalactites, nor indeed is a single one to be found in the whole extent of the cavern, as the water does not filtrate through the roof. Every thing is dry; and, as the air is never renewed, the smell is extremely disagreeable. Thousands of bats, the dung of which lies in heaps, inhabit this gloomy abode. They are the only monsters we discovered. We came out with a great deal of pleasure, and breathed the external air with a kind of rapture. Night now began to come on, and the road was not very easy to be found; we hastened, therefore, to descend the mountain, and entered a neighbouring farm, where we were very hospitably entertained by a Turk.

I have the honour to be, &c."

<sup>a</sup> Several of us engraved our names deeply at the end of 1779. At the time of preparing these letters for publication, I am informed that the hollow is already filled with this white substance, which projects about a line (the twelfth of an inch) above the names.

<sup>b</sup> The reader will see in the following letter why M. Savary gives it this name.

*In the following Letter, M. Savary, proceeds to shew that the above-mentioned Labyrinth was the residence of the fabulous Minotaur, and distinguishes it from the Labyrinth of Cnossus, in Crete, built by Dædalus.*

To M. L. M.

Several authors, madam, among whom are Belon<sup>c</sup> and Pocock<sup>d</sup>, pretend that the labyrinth, which I have been describing, is no more than a quarry, from which stones were brought to build the city of Gortyna. M. Tournefort<sup>e</sup> has satisfactorily confuted this opinion; he has proved that the stone of this cavern is too soft to be fit for building, and that it would have cost enormous sums to convey it across the steep mountains that lie between the labyrinth and the city. It must have been much more natural for the inhabitants to procure their stone from the mountains in the vicinity of Gortyna. Had the labyrinth been but an ordinary quarry, why leave at the entrance a channel a hundred yards long, so low as not to be accessible but by creeping, and from whence stones could not be brought until broken in pieces? This would have been to double both labour and expence to no purpose. It is much more probable, adds M. Tournefort, that nature has produced the labyrinth, and that

the passage at the entrance has not been altered, to shew posterity what was the state of these subterranean channels before they were enlarged by the hand of man. It is evident, that nothing more has been attempted than merely to render them passable, since only those stones have been cleared away which have obstructed the passage; all the others have been left, and are ranged in order along the walls.

But for what purpose was this labyrinth intended? Is it of great antiquity? And was it there the Minotaur was confined? These are questions which, I believe, have never been answered. Let us endeavour, if possible, to resolve them. The discovery of truth, obscured by the lapse of time, gives pleasure to the reader, and amply recompenses the labour of investigation.

In the first place, it is certain that the immense cavern, the windings of which I have described, is not the labyrinth formed by Dædalus, on the plan of that of Egypt<sup>f</sup>. All the ancient writers attest, that the famous work of that celebrated architect was situated at Cnossus. "It was agreed," says Pausanias, "to send to the Minotaur of Crete seven virgins and seven boys, to be thrown into the labyrinth once in the city of Cnossus." "As soon as Apollonius arrived at Cnossus, he visited the labyrinth<sup>g</sup>," &c.

<sup>h</sup> John Tzetzes very fully describes

<sup>c</sup> Observations de plusieurs Singularités et Choses mémorables en Crète, &c. <sup>d</sup> Description of the East. <sup>e</sup> Voyage en Crète.

<sup>f</sup> Diodorus Siculus, lib. i. It is said that Dædalus, travelling into Egypt, was struck with admiration at the sight of the labyrinth constructed with wonderful art, and that he formed a similar one for Minos king of Crete.

<sup>g</sup> Pausanias in Atticis.

<sup>h</sup> Pausanias, in Vita Apollonii.

Johannes Tzetzes.

describes this famous edifice, and informs us of the use for which it was intended. "Dædalus, the Athenian, made for king Minos a prison, from which it was impossible to escape. Its numerous windings were in the form of a snail, and it was called the Labyrinth." Philocorus<sup>k</sup> asserts, after the unanimous testimony of the Cretans, that "the labyrinth was a prison contrived more effectually to prevent the escape of malefactors."

It was a prison wherein Theseus and his companions were to end their days, or live deprived of honour. But love and courage extricated them from their danger. This labyrinth subsists no longer. It was indeed already destroyed in the days of Pliny. Let us therefore proceed to consider that which is still existing.

Permit me, madam, to go somewhat further back, in order to throw a little light on a few obscure facts, mingled with so many fables. By collecting the various opinions of ancient authors, perhaps, we may be able to remove the veil which conceals truth. You know that Androgeus, son of Minos, went to Athens, and that Ægeus, at his return from Troæzene<sup>l</sup>, celebrated what were called the Panathenaic games, to which all Greece repaired. The Cretan hero entered the lists, vanquished all the combatants, and was publicly crowned<sup>m</sup>. This prince en-

tered into a friendly alliance with the Pallantides, who made pretensions to the throne. Ægeus, dreading the consequences of this friendship, had him assassinated near Cœnan in Attica, when on his way to a sacred solemnity.

<sup>n</sup> Minos soon appeared at the head of a naval armament, to demand vengeance for the death of his son; and, after a long and bloody siege, during which Athens was ravaged by the plague, Ægeus, incapable of defending himself any longer, demanded of the king of Crete what satisfaction he required. That prince insisted on his sending him, every seventh year<sup>o</sup>, seven boys and seven girls, to be delivered to the Minotaur. These unhappy victims were abandoned to him, and he carried them off in his fleet. At the stated time he again appeared with a number of ships, and was satisfied in like manner.

These children were chosen by lot, and the parents of those on whom the fatal chance fell, murmured loudly against Ægeus. They were filled with indignation, on reflecting that the author of the mischief should alone escape the punishment<sup>p</sup>; and that he should raise to the throne a natural son<sup>q</sup>, while he deprived them of their legitimate children. They were even ripe for a revolt. But when the time for sending the third tribute arrived, Theseus, whom several gallant actions had already raised

<sup>k</sup> Plutarch, in Theseo.

<sup>m</sup> Diodorus Siculus, lib. iv.

<sup>o</sup> Diodorus, lib. iv. says, that they were sent every seven years. Apollodorus says, every year. Plutarch (in Vita Thesei) asserts, that this tribute took place only once in nine years. These opinions, though they vary respecting the number of years, all confirm the fact.

<sup>p</sup> Plutarch, in Vita Thesei.

<sup>q</sup> Hygin. Fab. xxxvii. Neptune and Ægeus, sons of Pandion, had amorous commerce, in the same night, with Æthra, daughter of Pytheus, in the temple of Minerva.

<sup>l</sup> Apollodorus, lib. iii.

<sup>n</sup> Apollodorus, lib. iii.



raised to the fame of a hero, and who, in the bloom of youth, united every endowment of mind and body<sup>r</sup>, was determined to put an end to these murmurs. He voluntarily offered himself to be one of the victims, resolving to perish, or free his country from an odious tribute; and departed, after sacrificing to Apollo at Delphi, who directed him to take Venus for his guide<sup>s</sup>.

Let us now endeavour to discover the true meaning of the fable of the Minotaur. Taurus was the name of one of the principal men of Crete, who was a native of Cnossus<sup>t</sup>. His valour, and other great qualities, no doubt, recommended him to Minos, who made choice of him to command an expedition against Phœnicia. "Taurus," adds Palaephatus, "a citizen of Cnossus, made war on the Tyrians. Having overcome them, he carried off several young women from their city, among whom was Europa, daughter of king Agenor. This it was that gave rise to the fable of a bull having seized Europa, and carried her away. The poets, fond of the marvellous, added, that she was ravished by Jupiter in the form of a bull."

The conqueror lived at the court of Minos: he had returned laden

with the spoils of Tyre, and as he possessed the advantage of a fine person, the renown he had acquired by his military exploits, rendered him still more handsome in the eyes of Pasiphaë, the daughter of the Sun, and wife of the king of Crete. She became enamoured of him, and finding means to gratify her passion<sup>u</sup>, had a son by him. Minos having discovered "that this child could not be his, but that he was the fruit of the amours of Taurus and Pasiphaë, would not, however, put him to death, but confined him to the mountains, to serve the shepherds. In these solitary abodes he grew wild and fierce, and lived by robbery, and stealing sheep from the flocks. Having learnt that Minos had sent soldiers to take him, he dug a deep cavern, which he made his place of refuge. At length the king of Crete sent to the son of Taurus such criminals as he wished to punish with death." His ferocity, and this employment, no doubt, procured him the name of Minotaur, and induced poets and painters to represent him as a monster, half a man, and half a bull. An ingenious emblem, which had reference at once to his birth, his character, and his odious services.

Minerva. Theseus sprang from this union. Isocrates says, he was called the son of Ægeus, but that Neptune was really his father.

<sup>r</sup> Servius ad Æneid, lib. vi. Theseus was as beauteous as brave. (Isocrates) I may say to the praise of Theseus, that, being born in the time of Hercules, he so comported himself as to merit a like glory. Not only did they bear the same arms, but they applied to the same exercises of body and mind, as became two heroes of the same blood.

<sup>s</sup> Plutarch. Theseus having consulted the Delphic Apollo, before his departure, the oracle told him to take Venus for his guide.

<sup>t</sup> Isaac Tzetzes ad Lycophron. Taurus was a native of Cnossus, a city of Crete, and general of the army that carried off Europa.

<sup>u</sup> Palaeph. de Fab.

Theseus

Theseus having landed in Crete, endeavoured to calm the anger of Minos, who had fallen in love with <sup>x</sup> Pæribea, one of the seven Athenian virgins. He convinced him, that he was the son of Neptune, and endeavoured to mitigate the rigour of his fate. The prince, almost disarmed, treated him at first very favourably, and permitted him to mix with the combatants in the public games. The Athenian hero excited universal admiration <sup>y</sup> by his address and courage, and enchanted every heart with the gracefulness of his person <sup>z</sup>.

In Crete, women were permitted to be present at the public shows <sup>a</sup>; and Ariadne saw Theseus engage with, and overcome, the most renowned warriors of her country; but while she admired the bravery and graces of the youthful hero, love stole into her heart, and inflicted one of his deepest wounds. It is probable she confessed her passion to the conqueror; and that, to fulfil the precept of the oracle <sup>b</sup>, he profited by her declaration. It is natural to suppose also, that Minos, informed of this intrigue, considered it as a new offence, and resolved to shut him up in the labyrinth of Cnossus, that he might be for ever buried in the horrid obscurity of that tremendous prison. This conjecture is rendered more than pro-

bable by the following passage <sup>c</sup>.  
 “Theseus arriving at the gate of the labyrinth, encountered Deucalion and the guards, and put them to death.” So desperate an action determined Minos no longer to keep any measures with his enemy, and he sent him to Taurus, with orders to put him to death <sup>d</sup>.

You recollect, madam, that Taurus was the executioner of Minos; that he dwelt in a profound cavern, in which he destroyed the prisoners condemned to death. The ancients assert, that the name of labyrinth was given also to this gloomy abode, in which art assisting nature, had formed new passages, and contrived a multitude of windings, from which it was almost impossible to escape.

“The labyrinth of Crete <sup>e</sup> was a cavern dug out of a mountain.” Cedrenus adds these remarkable words <sup>f</sup>: “The Minotaur fled to a place called the Labyrinth, and concealed himself there, in the depth of a cavern.”—“<sup>g</sup> The Labyrinth of Crete, that subterraneous cavern, with a thousand windings, contained an inhabitant.”

These testimonies, madam, remove all doubt. They accurately describe the labyrinth I visited; its situation in a mountain, its winding passages, sufficiently prove it contained an in-

<sup>x</sup> Plutarch, in Vita Thesei.

<sup>y</sup> Ibid.

<sup>z</sup> Servius, Eustathius, and Hyginus, agree in informing us, that Theseus united the utmost gracefulness of person with a lofty stature, strength, and courage.

<sup>a</sup> Plutarch (in Vita Thesei) says, Theseus was admitted to the public games of Crete; that he vanquished the warriors who entered the lists against him; and that Ariadne saw, and fell in love with him.

<sup>b</sup> Apollo, as we have seen, had commanded him to sacrifice to love.

<sup>c</sup> Plutarch, in Vita Thesei.

<sup>d</sup> Papehat. de Incredibilibus.

<sup>e</sup> Auctor. Etymologic.

<sup>f</sup> Cedrenus.

<sup>g</sup> Eustathius, in Odyss.

habitant. This could be no other than the son of Taurus, who, in order to escape the emissaries of Minos, dug a cavern in the mountain. This horrid place was his abode, and, in part, his work; and here the monster performed the bloody executions commanded by the king. The following facts will clearly demonstrate these assertions. But let us return to Theseus.

<sup>h</sup> Condemned to suffer an ignominious death by the hand of the executioner of Minos, the Athenian hero departed from Gortyna; and, ignorant of the destiny that awaited him, must have fallen, but for love, who watched over his life. Ariadne, alarmed, informed him of the snare laid for him. She described to him the windings and dangers of the labyrinth<sup>i</sup>; gave him the thread by which he might direct his steps; taught him the method of making use of it, and sent him the sword that was to shed the hateful blood of the Minotaur.

It should seem as if Theseus had procured secret friends in the island, and that, by his address, his courage, or the good offices of his mistress, he had gained the guards, who attended on Taurus, and assisted him in his executions: for, as soon as he

arrived at Gortyna, all of them, “forfaking the Minotaur<sup>k</sup>, pretended to take to flight. The monster, suspecting he was betrayed, fled into the place called “the Labyrinth.” These words clearly prove, that he escaped into the gloomy cavern I have before mentioned; which was a place of refuge, perhaps his fortress; for there he put his victims to death. Claudian, to distinguish this cavern from the famous edifice built by Dædalus at Cnossus<sup>l</sup>, calls it, “the Labyrinth of Gortyna, the usual abode of the Minotaur.”

The retreat of the executioner of Minos might have been a feint. He might wish to draw his enemy into a cavern, with all the avenues of which he was well acquainted, and where it would have been easy for him to kill him, by attacking him at an advantage. But Theseus had the thread of Ariadne, her sword, and his own undaunted courage. He pursued the Minotaur through the winding alleys of his den, came up with him, and put him to death.

As soon as he had executed his design, he fled precipitately on board a vessel<sup>m</sup>, taking with him his mistress, and the young victims he had saved. The remainder of the history

<sup>h</sup> Minos, getting his enemy Theseus into his power, sent him to be slain by Taurus. Ariadne, informed of this design, sent him a sword, with which he slew the Minotaur. Palephat. de Incredib.

<sup>i</sup> Plutarch, in Vita Thesei. Theseus arriving in the island of Crete, Ariadne fell desperately in love with him. She bore him a son, and taught him how to escape from the winding passages of the labyrinth; and he slew the Minotaur.

<sup>k</sup> All the guards forfaking the Minotaur of Gortyna, pretended to take to flight. The Minotaur, suspecting treachery, took refuge in the place called the Labyrinth. Cedrenus.

<sup>l</sup> Claudian, in Sext. Conf. Honorii. It forms different circuits, which are neither inferior to the art with which the labyrinth of Gortyna, the usual abode of the Minotaur, is built, nor the windings of the river Meander.

<sup>m</sup> Plutarch, in Vita Thesei. He slew the Minotaur, and immediately hastened on board his ship, carrying with him Ariadne, and the young Athenians.

of Ariadne and Theseus is well known; not to mention that it is foreign to my subject.

This is what appears to me most probable concerning the labyrinths of Crete. One of them, situated at Cnossus, was an edifice built by Dædalus<sup>n</sup>, and which, on account of its various windings, deceived those who got bewildered in it, and prevented their return. It was in the form of a snail, and the engraving, prefixed to this letter, is an exact plan of it. Minos converted it into a royal prison; but the criminals, confined there, were only deprived of their liberty.

The other, near Gortyna, and called by the ancients the Labyrinth of Gortyna, still subsists, and has been treated of in the preceding letter. It was partly the work of the son of Taurus; but the first sketch of it was given by nature. He indeed rendered the passages more spacious, and excavated new ones. In this cavern he destroyed those who were sent to him by the king to be put to death. Thus have we visited the gloomy habitation of a man, who, from the ferociousness of his character, merited to be transformed into a monster.

There were several other similar labyrinths, more or less complicated. Near Nauplia, says Strabo<sup>o</sup>, we see caverns, in which labyrinths have been formed, and which are called the Cyclops.

I have the honour to be, &c."

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*Memoir of the Language, Manners,  
and Customs of an Anglo-Saxon  
Colony settled in the Baronies of*

*Forth and Bargie, in the County of Wexford, Ireland, in 1167, 1168, and 1169. By Charles Vallancey, LL. D. Member of the Royal Societies of London, Dublin, and Edinburgh; of the Academy of Cortona, and of Belles Lettres; of the Antiquarian Society of Perth, and of the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia.—From Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy.*

THE baronies of Bargie and Forth are situated at the southern extremity of the county of Wexford, and, together, contain about sixty square Irish miles. They lie due east from Cardiganshire, in Wales; the shortness of the passage caused a frequent intercourse between the Irish and the Britons from the earliest account of their history.

In the year 1167 Dermot, king of Leinster, was a powerful prince; the errors of his civil government, the oppression of his subjects, and the tyranny he exercised over his nobility, caused a total defection in them and the people. His kinsmen, friends, servants, and followers, had all been prevailed on to forsake him.

In 1168 the distressed king repaired to England, to solicit the assistance of king Henry; telling him he was become an exile by the treachery of his vassals, and beseeching him to give him aid, whereby he might be restored to his inheritance, which if it should please him to grant, he would acknowledge him to be his lord, and serve him during his life.

King Henry, moved with compassion, promised him aid, and de-

<sup>n</sup> Apollodorus, lib. iii.

<sup>o</sup> Strabo, lib. viii.

fired him to remain at Bristol until he should hear further from him. Dermot, after staying there one month, and hearing nothing from the king, weary of delay, he applied to Richard earl of Strigul, commonly called Strongbow, promising that if he would assist him he would give him his daughter to wife, and with her the whole kingdom of Leinster. The earl excused himself, unless king Henry would give his consent.

In the mean time Dermot applied to the princes of Wales, and Richard Fitz-Godobert accompanied him, but with so small a body of men, they were of no use, and they soon returned home.

Dermot finding his subjects still held out against him, caused proclamation to be made in Wales, offering large recompense in lands, money, and cattle to such as would give him aid. Immediately men of all sorts, and from divers places, prepared themselves to embark for Ireland, under the command of Fitz-Stephen, who had lately been enlarged from prison by the mediation of Dermot with Rice, a king in Wales. This little army consisted of about three hundred horsemen and foot.

With this small body Dermot did wonders, and being grown proud with victory, gave great discontent to the English, many of whom returned home. But in the year following (1169) earl Richard sent Raymond Le Gros to Dermot's assistance, with a small suite, promising to follow with a considerable army. Accordingly, in 1170, the earl arrived at Waterford with sixteen hundred soldiers.

This considerable reinforcement enabled Dermot not only to suppress

his rebellious subjects, but also to make war on the neighbouring princes. Peace being once restored, Dermot made good his promises, and the part of the country we are now describing was parcelled out to the British soldiers, who have remained in quiet possession of their achievements unto this day.

This colony have preserved their ancient manners, customs, and language; and fully occupying every inch of ground, the natives could never obtain a re-establishment therein. As population increased, some of the English have been obliged to remove into the neighbouring baronies within these fifty years, and by an intercourse with the Irish, the language of these emigrants became corrupted, and these, by their connection with their kindred remaining in the baronies of Bargie and Forth, have in some measure introduced this corrupted dialect there. The town of Wexford is the market to which this colony resorted to dispose of the produce of their farms, and in this market all things are bought and sold in the modern English dialect; this also is another cause of the decline of the language of the colonists, but not one word of Irish is understood or spoken in these two baronies; still they preserve many words and phrases of their original language, and some original songs, which having been committed to writing, will exist as long as the people.

Were there no historical documents to ascertain the arrival and establishment of this colony, the language spoken by them would be a sufficient testimony. "Language," says Dr. Johnson, "is the pedigree of nations; there is no tracing the connections of ancient na-

“ tions but by language \*.” And the learned Dr. Priedley informs us “ that the language of a people is a great guide to an historian, both in tracing their origin, and in discovering the state of many other important circumstances belonging to them. Of all customs and habits (adds the doctor) that of speech being the most frequently exercised, is the most confirmed, and least liable to change. Colonies, therefore, will always speak the language of their mother country, unless some event produce a freer intercourse with people who speak another language; and even the proportion of that foreign intercourse may in some measure be estimated by the degree of corruption of the language †.” To these authorities we will add a few more of equal weight: “ cognitio linguarum gentium ortum & profapiam docet, indicatque, ut et solum et genus vitæ mutaverint monstrat ‡.” This author goes so far as to say, that language is to be preferred even to the annals of remote times, to prove the origin of a people, particularly of an emigrating people, such as the Scythian ancestors of the Irish are known to have been: “ Vestigia migrationum gentium quibuslibet fastis certius prodit,” or as he more strongly expresses it in his own language, “ Som nationers flytteringar är, ofta lemнар säkrare underättelser, än alla sagor och historier.” “ Linguarum cognatio cognationis gen-

“ tium præcipuum, certissimumque argumentum est §.”

On these great authorities we rest, to prove that the ancient history of the primitive inhabitants of this island is founded in truth; for if they had not had an intercourse in former days with the Phœnicians, Egyptians, and Persians, how is it possible so many hundreds of words, so many idioms of speech, so many technical terms in the arts of those ages, could have been introduced into the old Irish dialect? terms not to be met with in the dialect of any other northern or western nation. What people, the Egyptians and Irish excepted, named the harp or music *ORJHJ*. ouini. Irish Aine. i. e. Oirfideadh, i. e. music, a musical instrument; oirphideadh or oirfideadh expresses the action of playing. What people in the world, the Orientalists and the Irish excepted, call the copy of a book the *son of a book*, and echo the *daughter of a voice*? With what northern nation, the Irish excepted, can the Oriental names of the tools and implements of the stone-cutter, the carpenter, the ship-builder, the weaver, be found? And with what people, the old Irish and Egyptians excepted, does the word *Ogham* signify a book, and the name of *Hercules* or *Mercury* ||? Of these we propose to treat more at large in a memoir on the *Ogham*, and from Irish documents shew the origin of alphabetical writing, which the Hiberno-Scythians must have learnt from the Egyptians.

\* Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides.

† Lectures on History and General Policy, Part. ii. Lect. viii.

‡ The very learned IHRE in his *Lexicon Læpponicum*, Pref. p. xxxiii.

§ SHERINGHAM.

|| Copt. oghjam. Liber. KIRCHER. and WOIDE.

Copt. ghjam, and with the article, oghjam, Hercules, Ermes, Mercury. The

Egyptians, before their descent to the Mediterranean, to Spain, and thence to the Britannic islands.

To return to our colonists. When we were first acquainted with this colony, a few of both sexes wore the ancient dress: that of the man was a short coat, waistcoat, and trunk breeches, with a round hat and narrow brim; that of the woman was a short jacket, a petticoat bordered at bottom with one, two or three rows of ribband or tape of a different colour. We have seen one, whose jacket was of superfine woollen cloth, of a dark brown colour, edged with a narrow silver lace. The dress of the head was a kircher.

The names of the old colonists are Hore, Cod, Stafford, Whitty, Kossiter, Sinnot, Murphy, Stephen,

Quiney, &c. The gentlemen who now inhabit the country are mostly descended from the officers and soldiers of Cromwell's and king William's army, viz. Harvey, Nuin Edwards, Hughes, Palliser, &c.

The people of these baronies live, well, are industrious, cleanly, and of good morals; the poorest farmer eats meat twice a week, and the table of the wealthy farmer is daily covered with beef, mutton, or fowl. The beverage is home brewed ale and beer, of an excellent flavour and colour. The houses of the poorest are well built and well thatched; all have out-offices for cattle, fowls, carts, or cars. The people are well clothed, are strong and laborious. The women do all manner of rustic work, ploughing

very name *Ermes* lies concealed in the Irish compound *Ed-airmes*, i. e. the root, or art of invention. In Arabic *yejedaram*. And we might add, in what part of the globe, Egypt, Ireland, and Scotland excepted, were priests or holy persons denominated *Culdes* or *Caldes*. Copt. Kaldes. *Sarditas*. KIRCHER. 226—Copt. *ouab sanctus*. Copt. *esouab sacerdos*, whence the Irish *esob*, a bishop. To these we may add six hundred others, of which in their proper place: but the most striking instance of the intercourse of the Hiberno-Scythians with the Egyptians and Phœnicians, is the prefixes to surnames, O, Ua and Mac; the former denoting the eldest of the family, the second being a general name for the son. O, stirps, familia; hence, O Siris. (Kircher. Ling. Ægypt. resti). Mac, uac filius. (Woide)—*Arabicè*, major natus (Georgius Cedrenus). Thus the Irish use either O or Ua; as Ua Con Cobhar, Anglicè O Coner, &c. &c. Again, Cubhar is the Arabic *Kubeer*, major. major natus. So the name *Cormac* is the Arabic *Kuremac* of the same meaning, major, maximus, nobilis. Chinese heu. familia. nomen proprium unius familiæ *Augustæ*. LUCIAN tells us that the Celts named *Hercules Ogmios*, in their vernacular tongue—*verum enimverò nomen ibid* (*Ὀγμ.Θ.*) (si quid me sapiat conjectura) ortu, *Phœnicicum* est. formatione Græcum: atque solummodo usu, Celticum. (Dickinson Fasculus. 1. de Hercule Ægyptio. p. 45.—nam *Og*, philosophus sonat, idem, p. 29. Or with what people, the Egyptians and Irish excepted, did *Seach nab* signify the writing priest, he who was skilled in the sacred writing. Antiquum nomen Ægyptiacum Græca *ἱερογραμματος* faciens respondens videtur fuisse Copt. *Sach*. quomodo in uerhone librorum *Scripturæ* Copticæ semper redditur *ἱερογραμματος*; *Scriba*. *Scripturæ* peritus. Lingua Ægyptiorum *nabat* designatur *sechaw*, i. e. sapiens, intellectu pollens, indè *Sach-nebar*, the writing priest. (Jublenki Panth. Ægypt. Prolegom. xciv.—xcvi.) Or with what people, the above excepted, does *Shearr* signify a son, as in *Sein-shior* or *Sin-shior*, the eldest born. *Sear-e-c*, a colt, i. e. son of a horse, which are evidently the *Sheri* (*shius*) of the Egyptians (KIRCHER. WOIDE.); whence *shin-shior* or *shean-shior*, the eldest born, signifies also the presbytery, by which it would seem that the eldest born was dedicated to the church.

excepted; they receive equal wages with the men.

In this delightful spot the greatest harmony subsists between the landlord and the farmer; and it is common to meet the tenant at the landlord's table. Such is their aversion to idleness, that if a beggar is met in these baronies he is immediately handed from house to house until he is out of the barony.

The professed religion here is the Roman catholic; there are about one hundred to one Protestant.

Marriage is solemnized much in the same manner as with the Irish. The relations and friends bring a profusion of viands of all kinds, and feasting and dancing continues all the night; the bride sits veiled at the head of the table, unless called out to dance, when the chair is filled by one of the bride-maids. At every marriage an apple is cut into small pieces, and thrown among the crowd; a custom they brought from England, but the origin of it has not descended with it.

The produce of the soil in these baronies is great \*, the whole is under tillage, and near the sea-shore they manure with the sea-weed twice a year, and in the memory of the oldest man the ground has never been fallowed, but a plentiful crop obtained every year. The parish of Carne contains five hundred acres, all or mostly under tillage; this parish pays 100*l.* a year for tithes to the rector. The church-land of Carne contains sixty acres, of which forty are plowed, and pays to the rector 14*l.* 14*s.* and to the landlord 90*l.* a year.

\* The old Irish names Bargie and Forth signify a fertile spot, viz. *Bar*, fruitful *go*, the sea. The fertile land on the sea coast. *Fortha*, plenty. Arab. buhar. Perf. bahar; a rich and extensive province (in Hindostan)—bar, fruitful; bardar, idem—bar, idem.

Fuel is scarce in this district; the chief firing is furze, planted on the tops of all the dikes; these are cut and dried, and bring a good return. Along the coast there has formerly been a bog or turbarry, which has been encroached on by the sea, so much that now it is covered with sand, and that at high-water, with many feet of the watery element. The great expence of cutting and drying this turf renders this kind of fuel too dear for the common people. In this turbarry, many feet under the sea at high water, trees are daily found, and some dug up; they consist chiefly of oak, fir, and hazle.

—————  
*Vocabulary of the Language of the  
Barony of Forth and Bargie.*

A.

*ALOGHE*, below.  
*ammacke*, a dwarf.  
*arkagh*, eager.  
*amize*, amazed.  
*aim*, design.  
*amezill*, themselves.  
*arich*, the morning.

B.

*bodee*, } the body. A. S. *bodige*.  
*botbigé*.  
*buve*, a boy.  
*basb*, the palm of the hand.  
*bellee*, the belly.  
*bane*, a bone. A. S. *ban*.  
*bloode*, blood.  
*brian*, the brain.  
*blautbur*, the bladder.  
*brazon*, bold.

*breed*,



*breed*, bread.  
*bawcoon*, bacon.  
*biabther*, butter.  
*bouchure*, a butcher.  
*baree*, the goal at the game of ball or hurly.  
*bibbern*, trembling, fearful.  
*blackeen*, howling.  
*blayeen*, shouting.  
*boof*, boast.  
*bra*, brave.  
*bathes*, the goal at the game at ball.  
*barnaugh*, a limpit, a wilk (or shell-fish) which adheres to the rocks so as to require a strong blow to disengage it.  
*brough*, to break.  
*bothbone*, a button.  
*brower*, a brother.  
*brek-wast*, breakfast.

C.

*co*, quoth, fayeth.  
*cosbes*, conscience.  
*clughercheen*, a flock, a clutch, a croud.  
*cowlee-man*, the keeper of the goal at the game of ball.  
*chote*, to know; *chote well*, to know well, to think, suspect.  
*cornee*, peevish.  
*curcagh*, snappish.  
*corkite*, tumbling or thrusting one another down, wrestling.  
*comman*, the bat or hurling club.  
*coureate*, carrots.  
*cooloors*, pigeons. Angl. Sax. *culfre*, a pigeon; *culfre*, idem.  
*callef*, a calf.  
*carule*, a horse.  
*cozcens*, kinsfolks.  
*cr-west*, a crust.  
*cojbur*, a feast.  
*cowm*, a comb.  
*comree*, trust, confidence.  
*choule*, the cheek; *recte choule*, i. e. the jole.  
*coolane*, the hinder part of the head.

*cortere*, a quarter, as *arraugh cortere*, spring.  
*zimmer cortere*, summer.  
*harrest cortere*, autumn.  
*wonter cortere*, winter.  
*cole*, cold.  
*crooken*, crossness, peevishness.

D.

*dellen*, to dig.  
*dearnt*, to look, to behold, to look up.  
*d'off*, to strip, to put off.  
*draught*, a drawing stroke with a weapon.  
*drowe*, to throw or cast.  
*doneb*, a dunce, blockhead.  
*deight*, to put.  
*dap*, a touch.  
*durk*, dark.  
*dunder*, thunder (Danish).  
*die*, the day.  
*dancen*, the dawn.  
*Mondei*.  
*Tufidei*.  
*Wennefdei*.  
*Thorfdei*.  
*Vridei*.  
*Zathardei*.  
*Zindei*.  
*Dei oafkean*, Ash Wednesday.  
*dreade*, thread (Danish).  
*deneer*, dinner.  
*doagh*, dough.  
*drish*, a thrush (bird).  
*drustal*, a blackbird.

E.

*ee*, the (article).  
*errone*, errand.  
*carchoe*, every.  
*ete*, point, quarter.  
*ein*, eyes.  
*egast*, fear; *egastled*, frightened.  
*iee*, *iee*, the eye. A. S. *eage*.  
*eene*, the end.

*eaarheit*, evening.  
*earth, eard*, earth.  
*eoru, eorrb*, earth. A. S. *eord*.  
*emotter*, an emmet, ant or pismire.

## F.

*fug*, fog.  
*fäufse*, the face; the features of the face, *lickeen*. A. S. *awolita, anwolita*, the face, the features. A. S. *neb*, the face.  
*feelen*, feeling.  
*fartoo*, ailing.  
*f'ad*, for what?  
*fan*, when.  
*foufteen*, confused, trembling.  
*fade*, what.

## G.

*gridane*, furrow.  
*gandet*, wonder'd.  
*gazb*, dust, breath, fume. *There's no gazb in him*, i. e. he is dead.  
*gentuze*, gentry.  
*glade*, sun-set. *Goe to glade*, i. e. *Zin zettene*, sun-setting.  
*gabbe*, talk, prattling.  
*gay*, fair, calm.  
*gubbach*, cabbage.  
*gearte*, a she-goat; *fuckane*, a he-goat.  
*garrane*, a gelding.  
*granouge*, a hedge-hog.  
*geinnare*, a joiner, a carpenter.  
*gurl*, a child; *gurlerlib*, childhood.  
*gurtear*, a garter, bandage.  
*garr*, anger.  
*grizee*, ugly.  
*gent*, a joint.  
*gwe*, dew.  
*gast*, a sprite. A. S. *gast*.  
*garfon*, a youth.

## H.

*beowen*, heaven.

*helle*, hell. A. S. *kelle*.  
*hote*, heat.  
*bolgarve*, Shrove-Tuesday. A. S. *kalga*, holy; *halgan faesten*, Lent.  
*haade*, the head.  
*helbogbe*, the elbow. A. S. *elboga*.  
*hone*, the hand; *riaught hone*, the right hand.  
*hip*, the thigh. A. S. *theob*.  
*heal*, health.  
*hericen*, hearing.  
*hornta*, horned; *bornta bast*, a horned beast.  
*hiever*, a heifer.  
*harpleat*, a snipe.  
*hereen*, a herring.  
*heiftem*, weight, burthen.  
*har-nothes*, pig-nuts.  
*hacbe*, cross, ill-tempered.  
*hey*, an inclosure; *chourch-hey*, church-yard.

*hole*, buried.  
*hap*, chance.  
*halluf*, half; *halluf-mona*, half-moon

## I.

*joud*, croud; *joud an moud*, crowds and throngs of people.

## K.

*keilfs*, skittles, nine-pins.  
*kink*, to kick.  
*keilt*, to roll on the ground.  
*knaggee*, cross, ill-tempered, peevish.  
*keave*, a shove, a thrust.  
*kimlere*, a fumbler, aukward.  
*keine*, cows.  
*knaghane*, an ant or pismire hill, a little hill.

## L.

*leighcen*, laughing.  
*lean*, mischief.  
*lluykes*, flocks.  
*leighb*, idle; *leighb out ee dei*, idle out the day.

*louthced*,

*louthreed*, sheltered.  
*lournagh*, melancholy.  
*letch*, small-beer; *ty o' letch*, a drink  
of small-beer.  
*lug*, hollow.  
*lerock*, a lark.  
*lorvem*, a lamb.  
*leicon*, a lion.  
*larween*, leaven.  
*leus*, lace.  
*lethel*, little; *lethel winger*, the little  
finger.  
*ligt*, light.  
*lappem*, a plover.  
*lous*, open.  
*lickeen*, the features. A. S. *wlita*,  
*anwlita*, the face.  
*lone*, land; *Englone*, England; *Ere-*  
*lone*, Ireland.  
*lug*, a hollow.

M.

*metbel*, middle.  
*man*, a man; *yellow man*, an old man;  
*man*, a husband.  
*marwen*, a woman; *yoella marwen*, an  
old woman, a wife.  
*maide*, a maid.  
*morweth*, the mouth.  
*marrough*, marrow.  
*met*, food.  
*mothoon*, mutton.  
*moothar*, mother.  
*mastrace*, mistress.  
*milleare*, a millar.  
*magetty-pie*, a magpie.  
*mistern*, dazzled.  
*muzlere*, worthless.

*moud*, crowd, throng.  
*met*, asking.  
*met*, but.  
*mope*, astonished, a fool.  
*mothce*, a little hill.  
*milagh*, trefoil, clover.  
*met*, meal, flour.  
*mire*, surprize, in amazement.

N.

*nouth*, knoweth.  
*nate*, anate, prepared.  
*nize*, the nose; *niztrals*, nostrils.  
*neapefs*, parsnips.  
*nipere*, neighbour.  
*neal*, a needle.  
*neeght*, night.  
*noughel*, a knuckle.  
*naatur*, nature.

O.

*ores*, one another.

P.

*poul*, the crown of the head.  
*pethy*, pity.  
*poore*, pocket.  
*puckane*, a he-goat.  
*pecker*, pewter.  
*pit*, put.  
*pouflee*, power.  
*pemell*, a fool.  
*peze*, pease; *peze perachis*, pease por-  
ridge.  
\* *paug-mele*, feast of harvest-home.

*paug*,

\* This extraordinary word *paug*, if I mistake not, is borrowed from the Irish *phogh* or *fogh*, which literally means panis subcinneratus, and is borrowed from the Egyptian *psik*, of the same meaning; it is the Chaldean Ogh. (for *pi* is the Egyptian article) whence in Hebrew עֵץ עֵשָׂה Oghose. i. e. factor aut sacrificator panis subcinneritii (see Jacob Belducus, and Dickinson Fasciculus, p. 169); it was the feast of first fruits, whence the Irish word *Fogh-mir*, harvest, literally, the autumn

*paug*, the harvest; *welc* or *mael*, a feast.

## R.

*riſp*, a ſtroke; A. S. *reſc*.  
*rapple*, to rattle.  
*ruſſſheen*, afternoon's luncheon.  
*rub*, a rib.  
*riaught*, right; *riaught bone*, right hand; *riaught carme*, right arm.

## S.

*fankts*, the faints.  
*ſkei*, the ſky.  
*ſteorr*, a ſtar; A. S. *ſteorra*.  
*ſneeuw*, ſnow.  
*ſturm*, a ſtorm.  
*ſnuli*, the ſnail.  
*ſhamſacc*, baſhful.  
*ſtuckens*, ſtockings.  
*ſhoone*, ſhoes.  
*ſuſheen*, ſnuff.  
*ſeppear*, ſupper.  
*ſkir*, to riſe in the air.  
*ſhuller*, ſhoulder.  
*ſnite*, to appear, to ſhew one's ſelf.  
*ſtone*, to ſtand.  
*ſpinnercem*, glittering.  
*ſcoth*, a ſhirt.  
*ſcudden*, rubbing the back.  
*ſtork*, a fool.  
*ſmort*, ſmothered.  
*ſtell*, the handle of a thing.

## T.

*teap*, toſſing and tumbling one another about.  
*troll*, to roll.  
*'twiſh*, between, betwixt.  
*teight*, taught.  
*tar-wizeen*, tormenting.  
*titch*, a kid.  
*ty*, a drink, ſee *litch*.  
*tarweſt*, taſte.  
*thouum*, the thumb, A. S. *thuma*.

## V.

*wier*, the fire, A. S. *ſir*. *Belgis Vier*.  
*vaaſer*, vapour.  
*vraſt*, froſt.  
*vorreate*, the forehead.  
*voot*, the foot.  
*wleſſ*, fleſh; *bylitta wleſſ*, boiled meat.  
*wat*, fat.  
*'vice*, voice.  
*volleat*, a handkerchief.  
*wurſt*, firſt.  
*wier*, a weazel.  
*wreem*, from; *wreem*, idem.  
*wappercen*, bragging, boaiſting.  
*waller*, more.  
*wezzen*, driving or ſtriking a ball hard.  
*wengem*, ſpite, malice.  
*well*, fell; *wall*, to fall.  
*wlee*, to fly.  
*waller*, more, longer (in time)

autumn cake of new wheat, for *mir* is the Perſian mihr, or the Arabic muhrjan, autumn. I think we cannot be miſtaken in this derivation, becauſe the Iriſh do ſtill preſerve the cuſtom of making the bleſſed cake at this ſeaſon, called Baran bereac, or vulgo' Barreen breac, which is literally the בָּר בָּרוּךְ Bar baruk, or frumentum benediſtum of the Jews and Chaldeans. We might alſo derive paug or phogh from the Hebrew כֶּן bag or vag, which ſignifies food, what one eats; whence *εἶς* in Greek is bread, and hence the Spaniſh *Figon*, a ſeller of food; hence alſo the Gothic *baecan* and the German *bek*, a meal-man, piſtor, hence paug-meal, ſignifies the autumnal cake of new wheat, which the old Iriſh dedicated to *Cann*, or the Queen of Heaven, and the Egyptians to *Iſis*. Another name for this cake in Iriſh is Sudoig, borrowed of the Egyptians, who ſacrificed to their gods the Sod-oik, a compound of *oik* placenta and of *ſoti* farina, or of *ſed*, ſacrificare, I know not which, from whence *ſol*, viſtimum, ſacrificium.

W. *wafar*,

W.

*wafur*, uneasy.  
*wourlok*, to tremble.  
*wedeen*, a wedding.  
*waatbur*, water.  
*woul*, to with.  
*witheen*, the looks, the countenance  
 or features.  
*wubating*, sneezing.  
*weepeen*, weeping.  
*wrafte*, the wrist.  
*wik*, a week.  
*weend*, the wind; *East weend*, *Westan*  
*weend*, *Zouth weend*, *Norah weend*.  
*wazcoote*, a waistcoat.

Y.

*yerstei*, yesterday; *ear yestei*, the day  
 before yesterday.

*yolaw*, old m; *yoella*, old f.  
*yowwe*, an ewe.  
*yalpen*, spewing.  
*y'oure*, give over, cease.  
*ye*, give; *yate*, give.  
*yith*, if.

Z.

*zitch*, such.  
*zin*, the sun; *zin zettene*, or, go to  
*glade*, sun-setting.  
*zichel*, such.  
*zey-faw*, ze, to see.  
*zar*, to serve.  
*zill*, self; *theezill*, thyself.  
*zed*, stewed; *zed-mett*, stewed meat.  
*zalt*, salt.  
*zeide*, the side.  
*zongb*, a sigh.

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I shall here subjoin

A N O L D S O N G,

in the dialect of these baronies, which has been handed down by tradition from the arrival of the colony in Ireland. Subject, the game at ball called Camánn or Hurley. Scene, the commons in the Barony of Forth. Time, a church holy-day. *Walter* relates how his son *Thomas* lost the game, by aiming a strong blow at the ball, and missing it, broke his bat against a pismire hill.

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A YOLA ZONG. *Tunc—Collin and Phebe.*

Fade teil thee zo Iournagh, co Jone, zo knaggee.  
 Th' weitheft all curcagh, wafur, an cornee.  
 Lidge w'ous ana milagh, tis gay an louthee,  
 Huck nigher, y'art fudden, fartoo zo hachee.

Well, gofp, c'hull be zeid, mot thee fartoo, an fa'de  
 Ha deight ouz var gabble, tell ee Zin go t'glade  
 Ch'am a stouk, an a donel; wou'll leigh out ee dey  
 Th' valler w'speen here, th' lafs i Chourch-hey.

Yerfey w'had a baree, gift ing our hone  
 Are gentrize ware bibbern, amezill, cou no ftonc.  
 Yith Muzlere had ba hole, t'was me Tommeen,  
 At by mizluck was i pit t'drive in.

Joud an moud, vrem earchee etc, was i Lough  
 Zitch vaperrren, an shimmereen, fan ee daff i tha'r fcoth  
 Zitch blakeen, an blayeen, fan ee ball was ee drowe  
 Chote well 'ar aim was t'yie ouz n'eer a blowe.

Mot w'all 'ar bouft, hi foon was ee teight  
 At 'ar errone was var ameing 'ar 'ngish i height  
 Zitch vezzen, tarvizen 'till than w'ne'er zey  
 Nore zichel, n'eer well nowe n'eer mey.

Many a bra draught, by Tommeen was ee mate,  
 Th' cowlee-man faufteen; zey well 'twas a nate  
 Yith w'had any lluck our name wou'd b' zung  
 Vreem ee *Choure* here aloghe up to *Cargun*.

Th' heiftem o' pley, vell all ing to lug,  
 An there w' had Treblere an sturdy Courrug.  
 Th' commanes t'rapple, th' bail skir an vlee,  
 Our een woud b' miftern t' dearnt up ee fkee.

Than came ee shullereen i teap an corkite,  
 Hi kinket an keilt i vewe ame t'wode fnite;  
 Zim dellen harnothes, w'are nize i reed cley  
 More trollen, an yalpen an moultten away.

## AN OLD SONG.

What ails you so melancholy, quoth John, so crofs,  
 You seem all snappish, uneasy and fretful :  
 Lie with us on the clover, 'tis fair and shelter'd ;  
 Come nearer, you're rubbing your back, why so ill temper'd.

Well, gossip, it shall be told, you ask what ails me, and for what ;  
 You have put us in talk, 'till the sun goes to set.  
 I'm a fool and a dunce ; we'll idle out the day ;  
 The more we spend here, the less in the church-yard.

Yesterday we had a goal just in our hand,  
 Their gentry were quaking, themselves could not stand.  
 If good for little had been buried, it had been my Tommy,  
 Who by misluck, was placed to drive in.

Throngs and crowds from each quarter of the Lough ;  
 [of Ballymacushlin near the commons.]  
 Such vapouring and glittering, when stript in their shirts.  
 Such bawling and shouting, when the ball was thrown ;  
 I saw their intent was to give us neer a stroke.

But with all their bravado they were soon taught  
 That their errand was aiming to bring anguish upon 'em  
 Such driving and struggling 'till then we ne'er saw,  
 Nor such never will, no, nor never may.

Many a brave stroke by Tommy was made,  
 The goal-keeper trembling, said well 'twas intended them.  
 If we had any luck our name would have been sung  
 From the Choure here below up to Cargun.

[Two distant points of the Barony.]

The weight of the play fell into the hollow,  
 And there we had Treblere and sturdy Cournug.  
 [Two famous players.]  
 The ball-clubs they rattled, the ball rose and flew ;  
 Our eyes would be dazzled to look up to the sky.

Then came the shouldering, tossing and tumbling ;  
 They kicked and rolled the few that appeared.  
 Some digging earth-nuts with their noses in red clay,  
 More rolling and spewing and pining away.

Na nowe or neveir w' cry't t' Tommeen,  
 Fan Cournug yate a rishp, an Treblere pit w'ccme.  
 A clugercheen gother, all ing pile an in heep  
 Wourlok'd anan 'oree, lick lluskes o' sheep.

T' brek up ee bathes, h' had na poustee,  
 Tommeen was lous, an zo was ee baree ;  
 Oure hart cam' t' our mouth, an zo w' all i green  
 Th' hap an ee ferde an ee crie was Tommeen.

Up came ee ball, an a dap or a kewe  
 Wou'd zar, mot all arkagh var ee barnaugh-blowe  
 W' vengem too hard, he zunk ee commane  
 An brough et i stell ing a emothee knaghane.

Th' ball want a cowlee, th' gazb mate all rize  
 Licke a mope an a mele ; he gazt ing a mire,  
 'I han stalket, an gandelt, w'ie o ! an gridane  
 Our joys all ee smort, ing a emothee knaghane.

Ha-ho ! be me coshes, th'ast ee pait it, co Jone  
 You're w' thee crookeen, an ye me thee hone.  
 He it nouth fade t'zey, llean vetch ee man,  
 Twish thee an 'Tommeen, an ee emothee knaghane.

Come w' ous gosp Learry, theezil and Melchere ;  
 Outh o'mc hone ch'ull no part wi' Wathere.  
 Jowane got leigheen, she pleast aine all, fowe—  
 Sh' ya aine zim to doone, as w' be doone nowe :  
 Zo blefs all oure friends, an God zpeed ee plowe.

*An Historical Essay on the Irish Stage.*  
 By Joseph C. Walker, Esquire,  
 Member of the Royal Irish Academy;  
 Fellow of the Literary and Anti-  
 quarian Society of Perth, and hono-  
 rary Member of the Etruscan Aca-  
 demy of Cortona.—From the same  
 Work.

“ **I**N tracing the progress of soci-  
 ety, we discover the Drama  
 amongst the first amusements of man.

Soon as communities were formed, it appeared as well in the bleak regions of the North, as in those countries which feel the genial influence of the sun. Even history, when she first ventured to raise her voice, invoked the aid of the dramatic muse. It is therefore very extraordinary that we cannot discover any vestiges of the drama amongst the remains of the Irish bards, or amongst the amusements of the vulgar Irish of this



Nay, now or never we cry'd to Tommy,  
When Cournug gave a stroke, and Treblere put with him; [*helped*]  
A croud gathered up, all in pile and in heap  
Tumbled on one another like flocks of sheep.

To break up the goal they had not power,  
Tommy was open, and so was the goal.  
Our hearts came to our mouth, and so did all in the green,  
The chance and the fear and the cry was Tommeen.

Up came the ball, and a tap or a shove  
Would serve; but all eager for the barnagh stroke  
With venom too hard, he funk his bat-club or bat,  
And broke the handle, in an emmot [*pismire*] hill.

The ball o'ershot the goal, the dust rose all about.  
Like a fool in a mill, he looked in amazement;  
Then stalked and wondered, with Oh! and with grief  
Our joys are all smothered in a pismire hill.

Hey-ho! by my conscience, you have paid it, quoth John,  
Give o'er your crossness, and give me your hand.  
He that knows what to say, mischief fetch the man,  
Betwixt you and Tommy and the pismire hill.

Come with us, gossip Larry, yourself and Miles;  
Out of my hand I'll not part with Walter.  
Joan set them a laughing, she pleased them all, how—  
She gave them some to do, as we are doing now: [*Drinking.*]  
So bless all our friends, and God speed the plough.

this day \*, though a people so religiously observant of the customs of their ancestors.

It is true that some Irish poems are conducted in a kind of dramatic narrative, and it is probable that these

poems were recited at the convivial feasts of the chiefs, and in the public conventions by several bards, each bard assuming and supporting a character in the piece: but no production in a regular dramatic form

\* It must, however, be observed that the vulgar Irish of the present day exhibit, in many parts of the kingdom, several awkward attempts at comedy at their weddings and wakes; but these attempts cannot be considered as vestiges of an ancient regular drama. These pieces are called, *The Cottoning of Frize*; *The Marriage Act*; *The Servants serving their Lord at Table*; *The filling or thickening of Cloth*, and *Sir Sep or Sir Syin*.

form is extant in the Irish language \*, nor even alluded to by any of our ancient writers. So that if the stage ever existed in Ireland previous to the middle ages, like the “baseless fabric of a vision” it has melted into air, leaving not a trace behind.

Yet in the dances of the vulgar Irish we may discover the features of a rude ballet, performed in honor of some pagan deity, and accompanied, it may be presumed, by hymnick verses; and in an an-

cient description of Tamer Hall, *Duictch Rígh-eadh*, or royal mimics or comedians, are expressly mentioned †. All this, however, only serves to open a field to conjecture, affording no positive proof of the existence of a stage amongst the early Irish.

We will then proceed to that period in which Irish history first introduces the dramatic muse, mingling the waters of Jordan and Helicon ‡.

That

*Sopin, the Knight of Straw.* The design of the last is evidently to hold up to ridicule the English character, and cannot therefore be a production of high antiquity. I will here give a short analysis of this piece. The principal characters, are an Irish chieftain, who always takes his title from the Irish family of most consequence in the neighbourhood of the place where the play is exhibited; and an English chieftain, denominated Sir Sop or Sir Sopin. Sir Sop is dressed in straw, with a clog or helmet of the same materials on his head; but the Irish chieftain, who is the favourite hero, is clad in the best clothes that the wardrobes of his rustic audience can afford. When those characters appear on the stage, they are separately attended by inferior officers and servants, who, like the ancient Greek chorus, stand at a respectful distance, while the chieftains converse. Sometimes the chief officers are allowed to take a part in the dialogue. With the drift of the plot I am not perfectly acquainted, but know that the catastrophe is brought about by an altercation which arises between our two heroes, and terminates in single combat. In this combat Sir Sopin wounds his adversary, who falls, and a surgeon appears to examine the wound. Regaining his strength the Irish chieftain retires, followed by Sir Sopin. Soon after they enter again, and renewing the combat, Sir Sopin receives a mortal wound, and is borne off the stage. The Irish chieftain having thus gained the field, brandishes his sword and strides exultingly across the stage. Then pausing a while, he addresses himself to heaven, offering thanks for his victory. This done, the curtain falls.—The dialogue is extremely humorous, and interspersed with soliloquies, songs, and dances.

\* Mr. Macpheron has indeed given, as a translation from our Oin, a little dramatic poem called *Comala*, of which the Abbate CESSAROTTI, his elegant Italian translator, thus speaks: “La sua picciolezza non pregiudica alla regolarità. Si ravvisano in essa tutti i lineamenti a le proporzioni della tragedia. C'è il suo picciolo viluppo, i suoi colpi di teatro, e la sua catastrofe inaspettata: gran varietà d'affetti, stile semplice e passionato: in somma questa poesia ha quelle virtù che si ammirano tanto nei Greci.” *Poesie di Ossian*, tom. I. page 181. But as the original of this poem has never been produced to the public, we cannot safely number it with the productions of our immortal bard.

† *Collect. de Reb. Hib.* vol. iii. page 531.

‡ Perhaps I should have commenced the history of the Irish stage with the rise of the mummers in Ireland. “The mummers (says DODSLEY) as bad as they were, seem to be the true original comedians of England.” *Collect. of Old Plays*, vol. i. pref. But the stage rather sprang from, than commenced with the mummers. Here I will take leave to observe, that, at this day, the dialogue of the Irish mummers in general (for I have collected it in different parts of the kingdom) bears a strict resemblance,

That the Irish clergy, as well as their brethren in England, occasionally exhibited mysteries and moralities previous to the reign of Henry VIII \*, may be safely inferred from the following record preserved amongst the MSS. of Robert Ware.

“ Thomas Fitz-Gerald, earl of Kildare, and lord lieutenant of Ireland in the year 1528, was invited to a new play every day in Christmas, Arland Usher being then mayor, and Francis Herbert and John Squire, bailiffs, wherein the taylors acted the part of Adam and Eve; the shoemakers represented the story of Crispin and Crispianus; the vintners acted Bacchus and his story; the carpenters that of Joseph and Mary; Vulcan, and what related to him, was acted by the smiths; and the comedy of Ceres, the goddess of corn, by the bakers. Their stage was erected on Hoggin-green (now called Colledge-green) and on it the priors of St. John of Jerusalem, of the blessed Trinity, and of All-hallows, caused two plays to be acted, the

“ one representing the passion of our Saviour, and the other the several deaths which the apostles suffered.” From this record (which is the first express mention that has occurred to me of the representation of mysteries and moralities in Ireland) it should seem, that it was customary with the chief magistrates of Dublin to invite the lord lieutenant to a new play every day in Christmas †; and therefore, as I have already observed, it may be inferred, that dramatic entertainments were exhibited in Ireland before this period. But it was not only to amuse the chief governor that mysteries and moralities were performed in Dublin: they were got up (to speak in the language of the modern theatre) on every joyful occasion. In a MS. in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, it is related, “ that in an expedition made against James Mac-Connell, by the lord deputy Suffex in 1557, he was attended by John Usher, captain, and Patrick Bulkeley, petty-captain, with sixty of the city trained-bands; and upon their return THE SIX WOR-

semblance, in point of matter, with a specimen of the dialogue of the English mummers in the reign of Edward III. which Mr. RITSON has happily rescued from oblivion. See *Rem. on the text, and last edit. of Shakespear*. It is also deserving of observation, that our mummers are always accompanied by a buffoon, whose drest and antic manners answer the description of the Vice of the old English comedies, the precursor of the modern Punch. This character likewise appears in the pageant with which the Irish rustics celebrate the first of May.

\* Although the classical names of Comedy and Tragedy did not obtain in England till the reign of Henry VIII. (see PERCY's *Reliq. of Anc. Eng. Poet.* vol. i. p. 137.) yet Sir James Ware, speaking of the rejoicings that followed the proclaiming Henry king of Ireland, enumerates comedies with the amusements on that occasion.—“ E ulas, *Comædias*, et certamina ludica, quæ sequebantur, quid attinet dicere?” But Sir James, little skilled in polite literature, has probably dignified the rude Moralities of our ancestors with the appellation of Comedies.

† I have been informed, that it was also formerly customary with the several corporations of Dublin to invite the chief governor to a play at St. George's Chapel, on the anniversaries of their patron saints.

“ THIES was played by the city,  
 “ and the mayor gave the public a  
 “ goodly entertainment upon the  
 “ occasion, found four trumpeters  
 “ horses for the solemnity, and gave  
 “ them twenty shillings in money.”

Although it may be presumed, that these exhibitions, as well as those in England at the same period, were conducted by the church, yet we find, not only from the passages above quoted, but from the following entries in the CHAIN-BOOK of Dublin, that the corporations usually supplied performers: it also appears from those entries, that the dresses, scenery, and machinery, were likewise supplied by the city.

“ It was ordered, in maintenance  
 “ of the pageant of St. George, that  
 “ the mayor of the foregoing year  
 “ should find the emperor and em-  
 “ peress with their train and follow-  
 “ ers, well apparelled and accou-  
 “ tered; that is to say, the emperor  
 “ attended with two doctors, and  
 “ the emperess with two knights,  
 “ and two maidens richly apparel-  
 “ led to bear up the train of her  
 “ gown.”

“ Item, 2dly. The mayor for the  
 “ time being was to find St. George  
 “ a horse, and the wardens to pay  
 “ 3s. 4d. for his wages that day:  
 “ the bailiffs for the time being  
 “ were to find four horses, with men  
 “ mounted on them well apparelled,  
 “ to bear the pole-axe, the standard,  
 “ and the several swords of the em-  
 “ peror and St. George.”

“ Item, 3dly. The elder master  
 “ of the guild was to find a maiden  
 “ well attired to lead the dragon,  
 “ and the clerk of the market was  
 “ to find a golden line for the dra-  
 “ gon.”

“ Item, 4thly. The elder warden

“ was to find for St. George four  
 “ trumpets; but St. George himself  
 “ was to pay their wages.”

“ Item, 5thly. The younger ward-  
 “ en was obliged to find the king of  
 “ Dele and the queen of Dele, as  
 “ also two knights to lead the queen  
 “ of Dele, and two maidens to bear  
 “ the train of her gown, all being  
 “ entirely clad in black apparel.  
 “ Moreover, he was to cause St.  
 “ George’s chapel to be well hung  
 “ in black, and completely appa-  
 “ relled to every purpose, and was  
 “ to provide it with cushions, rushes,  
 “ and other necessaries for the festi-  
 “ vity of that day.”

My record proceeds:—“ No less  
 “ was the preparation of pageants  
 “ for the procession of Corpus  
 “ Christi day; on which,

“ The glovers were to represent  
 “ Adam and Eve, with an angel  
 “ bearing a sword before them.”

“ The corrisees (perhaps curri-  
 “ ers) were to represent Cain and  
 “ Abel, with an altar, and their of-  
 “ fering.”

“ Mariners and vinters, Noah,  
 “ and the persons in his ark, appa-  
 “ relled in the habits of carpenters  
 “ and salmon-takers.”

“ The weavers personated Abra-  
 “ ham and Isaac, with their offering  
 “ and altar.”

“ The smiths represented Pharaoh,  
 “ with his host.”

“ The skimmers, the camel with  
 “ the children of Israel.”

“ The goldsmiths were to find the  
 “ king of Cullen.”

“ The hoopers were to find the  
 “ shepherds with an angel singing,  
 “ *Gloria in excelsis Deo.*”

“ Corpus Christi guild was to find  
 “ Christ in his passion, with the  
 “ Marys and Angels.”

“ The

“ The taylors were to find Pilate  
“ with his fellowship, and his wife  
“ clothed accordingly.”

“ The barbers, Anna and Caia-  
“ phas.”

“ The fishers, the apostles.”

“ The merchants, the prophets.”

“ And the butchers, the tormentors\*.”

All these pageants moved in solemn procession to St. George’s chapel, the scene of their dramatic exhibitions †.

Grave as the subjects, in general, of those exhibitions appear to have been, it is probable that the blandishments of the comic muse sometimes lured their authors into the walks of wit and humour. Here indeed they might have ranged without offence: but not content to excite innocent mirth, they introduced profaneness and immorality

on the stage. The piety of John Bale † (then bishop of Ossory) taking the alarm, he arose, like another Collier, to preserve the mirror of nature from being sullied. To effect this, instead of employing his favourite instrument of invective, he wrote some dramatic pieces, inculcating morality, and breathing the spirit of the gospel. Two of those pieces—namely GOD’S PROMISES, and JOHN BAPTIST—were acted by young men at the market-cross in Kilkenny, on a Sunday, in the year 1552 §.

In order to convey an idea of the tendency of those pieces, and of the rude state of the drama at this time, I shall here transcribe the argument of GOD’S PROMISES ‖, as supposed to be delivered by the author in person.

\* The memory of these pageants continued to be preserved in the franchises that were rode triennially in Dublin till the year 1772, when they were abolished by the lord mayor’s proclamation.

† This chapel stood in St. George’s-lane (now St. George’s-street, South) whence it derived its name. Not a trace of the building remains. STANNIHURST supposes it had been founded by some worthy knight of the garter, and thus laments its fate: “ This chappell hath bene of late razed, and the stones thereof, by consent of the assenblic, turned to a common oven, converting the ancient monument of a doutie, adven-urous and holie knight, to the colerake sweeping of a puffoafe baker.” *Desc. of Irel.* in HOLINSHED’S *Chron.* page 23.

‡ Bale was a versatile genius. Besides *God’s Promises*, and *John Baptist*, he wrote several other dramatic pieces, some of which still remain inedited. He also engaged in controversy, but with so much acrimony, that he has been called *bilious Bale*. But literary history was his favourite pursuit. When Bale’s dramatic and controversial writings shall be forgotten, posterity will continue to admire the author of *Scriptorium illustrum majoris Britannie quam Angliam et Scotiam vocat Catalogus*. See DODSLEY’S *Collect. of Old Plays*, 2d edit. vol. i. and WHARTON’S *Hist. of Eng. Poet.* vol. iii.

§ See *Collect. de Rebus Hib.* vol. ii. p. 388.

‖ In this piece, which was written chiefly to vindicate the doctrine of grace, against such as held the doctrine of free-will and the merit of works, Adam, Abraham, Noah, Moses, Isaiah, David, and John the Baptist, are all introduced on the stage with the ALMIGHTY!

## B A L E U S prolocutor.

" If profyght maye growe, most Christen audyence,  
 " By knowlege of thynges which are but transytorye,  
 " And here for a tyme: Of moche more congruence,  
 " Advantage myght sprynge, by the serche of causes heavenlye,  
 " As those matters are, that the gospell specyfye.  
 " Without whose knowledge no man to the truthe can come,  
 " Nor ever atteyne to the lyfe perpetuall."

" For he that knoweth not the lyvyng God eternall,  
 " The Father, the Sonne, and also the Holye Ghost,  
 " And what Christ suffered for redempcyon of us all,  
 " What he commaunded, and taught in every coost,  
 " And what he forbode, That man must nedes be lost,  
 " And cleane secluded, from the saythfull chosen sorte,  
 " In the heavens above, to hys most hygh dysconforte."

" You therfor (good fryndes) I lovynge exhort,  
 " To waye soche matters, as wyll be uttered here,  
 " Of whom ye maye loke to have no tryfeling sporte  
 " In fantasyes fayned, not soche lyke gaudyfh gere,  
 " But the thyngs that shall your inwarde stomake cheare,  
 " To rejoyce in God for your iustyfycacyon,  
 " And alone in Christ to hope for your salvcyion."

" Yea, first ye shall have the eternal generacyon  
 " Of Christ, like as Johan in hys first chaptre wryght,  
 " And consequently of man the first creacyon,  
 " The abuse and fall, through hys first oversyght,  
 " And the rayse agayne, through God's hygh grace and myght:  
 " By promyses first, whych shall be declared all,  
 " Then by hys owne Sonne, the worker pryncypall."

" After that Adam bywayleth here hys fall,  
 " God wyll shewe mercye to every generacyon,  
 " And to hys kyngedom, of hys great goodnesse call  
 " Hys elected spouse, or faythfull congregacyon,  
 " As here shall apere by open protestacyon,  
 " Which from Chrille's birthe shall to hys death conclude,  
 " They come that therof wyll shewe the certytude."

Regardless, however, of the bishop's strenuous opposition to the sufferance of profaneness on the stage, it should seem from an act passed in the second year of the reign of Eli-

zabeth, that the comic muse still presumed to sport with the holy word, directing her wit against the liturgy of the newly-established church. By this act (which is intitled,

taled, AN ACT FOR THE UNIFORMITY OF COMMON PRAYER AND SERVICE IN THE CHURCH, AND THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS) "it is ordeyned and enacted, that if any person or persons \* whatsoever, after the feast of St. John Baptist, shall in any *enterludes, playes, songs, rimes,* or by other open words, declare or speake any thing in derogation, depraving or despising of the same booke, or of any thing therein conteyned, or any part thereof, shall forfeit to the queene our soveraigne lady, her heyres and successors, for the first offence an hundred markes; and if any person or persons being once convict of any such offence, estfoones offend against any of the said recited offences, and shall in forme aforesaid be thereof lawfully convict, that then the same person so offending and convict, shall for the second offence forfeit to the queene our soveraigne lady, her heyres and successors, foure hundred marks; and if any person after he in forme aforesaid, shall have been twise convict of any offence, concerning any of the last recited offences, shall offend the third time, and be thereof in forme aforesaid lawfully convict, that then every person so offending and convict, shall for his third offence forfeit to our soveraigne

lady the queene, all his goods and cattels, and shall suffer imprisonment during his life."

From the reign of Elizabeth to that of Charles I. a dark cloud obscures the history of the Irish stage. Yet dramatic exhibitions had not ceased; for in the tenth and eleventh years of the reign of Charles I. an act was passed for the ERECTING OF HOUSES OF CORRECTION, AND FOR THE PUNISHMENT OF ROGUES, VAGABONDS, STURDY BEGGARS, AND OTHER LEWD AND IDLE PERSONS, in which all justices of the peace of the different counties wherein they might be found, are directed to send to the houses of correction all fencers, bear-wardes, *common players of enterludes,* and minstrels wandering abroad. So that we may hence conclude, the stage had not only continued its amusements, but, unawed by the puritanical spirit of the times, had become licentious. However, though coercive measures were thus taken by parliament to silence the stage, it was countenanced by the court. About this time, a master of the revels † was placed on the establishment, and under his direction a theatre was erected (1635) in Werburgh-street, Dublin, whither were invited all the itinerant players of distinguished merit, who had formerly been necessitated to strole from booth to booth in the principal towns

\* The persons alluded to in this act were probably *those certain persons* noticed by SPENSER, *whose proper junction it was,* to sing at all feasts and meetings, in his time, the productions of the Irish bards. See *View of the State of Ireland,* and *Hist. Mem. of the Irish Bards,* p. 143.

† John Ogilby, well known by his translations of Homer and Virgil, was the first person appointed to the office of master of the revels in Ireland. Under his direction, and at his expence, the theatre in Werburgh-street was erected. According to HARRIS, this theatre cost two thousand pounds. See WARE'S works, vol. ii. p. 352, where all the extraordinary vicissitudes of Ogilby's life are circumstantially related.

and cities, and to wander from hall to hall amongst the rural mansions of the gentry and nobility.

It is very probable that previous to the period now under consideration, dramatic entertainments were not numbered with the elegant amusements of the court; though Mr. Chetwood asserts, on the authority of a wax-chandler's bill, that *Gorbuduc*, and several other plays, had been performed in the castle of Dublin, during the administration of Blount, lord Mountjoy, in the reign of Elizabeth\*. Now, had there really been such exhibitions, the expenses would certainly have been defrayed by an order of the lord deputy or privy council, on the deputy vice treasurer; yet no such order appears either in the treasury office, or in the archives of the office of the auditor general—at least, if such an order does exist, it has escaped my researches.

The theatre in Werburgh-street

continued to be opened, occasionally, under the sanction of government, till the year 1641, when it closed for ever †.

From Werburgh-street the scene of the drama was shifted to Orange-street (now Smock-alley) in 1661. But during the civil wars that soon after broke out, the whole company were dispersed; so that when the people of Dublin, on the defeat of king James's army, at the battle of the Boyne, amongst other expressions of joy, says Cibber, had a mind to have a play, they could find no actor to assist, and some private persons agreed to give one, at their own expense, to the public at the theatre ‡.

From this time every event of the Irish stage has been so faithfully and so minutely recorded, that nothing is left for me to add to its history §. Here, therefore, I shall dismiss the subject.

JOSEPH C. WALKER."

\* *Gen. Hist. of the Stage*, page 51.

† The last play performed at this theatre was *Landgartha*, a tragi-comedy, written by HENRY BURWEL, Esq. of whom I have only been able to learn, that he was born in Ireland, and flourished about the close of the reign of Charles I.

‡ *Apology*, page 136.

§ See CIBBER'S *Apology*; CHETWOOD'S *Gen. Hist. of the Stage*; VICTOR'S *Hist. of the Stage*; DAVIS' *Life of Garrick*; and HITCHCOCK'S *View of the Irish Stage*.



## MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

*On the Art of Pleasing.*—From the *Essays of the Marquis D'Argenson*.

“**M**ONCRIF, who is \* attached to my brother, came to communicate to me his project of printing a book, intitled: *De la nécessité et des moyens de plaire*. “My dear Moncrif,” said I to him, “nothing is so easy as to treat upon the first head of thy discourse; all the world feels it; all the world has a desire to please, but the means are extremely difficult to be found: it is a difficult, and very delicate matter to indicate the true ones; they depend upon a great number of circumstances, which make them vary *ad infinitum*.” From this I entered with him into particulars, of which I have since committed a part to paper. After hearkening to me attentively, “Sir,” answered he, humbly, “I will make use of the sage reflections you have just communicated to me; but the plan of my work is not laid exactly in the manner you propose.” —“Thy work! is it already finished?” replied I. “Yes, Sir, it is in the press.” In fact, in a very little time afterwards, he brought it to me, printed and well bound: I have read it, and this reading has recalled to my mind

what a man of wit, a friend of mine, once said to me, as we were walking in a great library, where there were a multitude of books upon speculative philosophy, metaphysics, and morality: “*Here are,*” said he, “*thousands of volumes, of which the greatest number ought to be suppressed, and the rest new modelled:*” —that of Moncrif is so much more of the latter description, on account of its being very unanimately written; it is, therefore, tiresome, although a small volume: he finishes with fairy tales, above the capacity of children, and not interesting enough to men.

Moncrif said himself that the marvellous could not be agreeable, but by the manner of representing it; that otherwise improbability disgusted and fatigued. His tales are the best proofs of this truth.

Moncrif’s mother was the widow of a *procureur*, called Paradis. She was a woman of wit, and knew how to use it to advantage, and to bring up two children, which her husband had left her. By the protection of my brother one of them became a subaltern officer, and, at length, commander of a small place; the eldest had the greater share of his mother’s affection, who, to introduce him into the world, made the last efforts to cloath him well: she sent him to the theatres, to the

\* These essays were written in 1736, but not published until lately.

places set apart for the most distinguished people, where he might make useful acquaintances. Moncrif, following his mother's counsels, became acquainted with me and my brother, amongst others. This has been beneficial to him; our relations were in place; my brother made him his private friend and secretary, upon the most genteel footing: some years afterwards he attached himself to the Comte de Clermont, prince of the blood, and he had the flattering title of secretary to his commanderies; he had even a list of vacant benefices depending upon this prince-abbey; but he proposed none to fill them but with the approbation of certain women of the opera. He quarrelled with this little court; but my brother repaired all by making him reader to the queen, and secretary general of the posts. It is said he had learned to fence, and that he was even received as a fencing-master; what makes this probable is, that when Moncrif became reader to the queen, and consequently at court, his age was enquired after; his friends wished to prove him older than he appeared to be, and quoted the epocha of his reception in the corps of fencing-masters. M. de Maurepas would assure himself of it; and, having had occasion to read the list of the members of this community, who prayed a renewal of their privileges, he found, in fact, the name of Paradis at the head. He asked the Syndics what was become of this man: the answer was, that he had disappeared for some time, and consequently renounced the profession. The minister, who, as every body knows, loves a little waggery, related this anecdote to the king. According to this account, Moncrif

was eighty years of age. Lewis XV. having laughed at it a good deal, finding Moncrif one day with the queen, said to him, *Do you know, Moncrif, that there are people who give you eighty years of age? Yes, Sire,* answered he, *but I do not take them.* For my part, I do not believe that Moncrif has been a fencing-master; it muft rather have been his brother, in whom his mother could not find other talents for society than fencing, which is not a very social one.

I return to Madame Paradis. With wit, reading, an agreeable manner, and address, she procured herself a good income. Towards the end of the reign of Lewis XIV. there was more pretension to wit in intrigues than at present: it was the custom to write gallant notes, which required answers of the same kind, and the ardour of the cavalier was judged of by the energy of the letters which he got secretly delivered: the lover, in the same manner, calculated his hopes according to the answer. Madame Paradis devoted herself to the epistolary style; being known to several ladies of the gallant court of Lewis XIV. she assisted them with her pen to make agreeable advances, or give tender answers; and this was no real injury to her fortune, nor to the advancement of her son. Moncrif appeared to inherit the talent of his mother. My brother having made a journey into Touraine, became intimately and particularly acquainted with a lady of this province. After his return to Paris, he received from her some letters of gallantry, to which, in politeness, he could not but return answers. He charged Moncrif to write them, who acquitted himself like a worthy son of

of Madame Paradis, and spared my brother the trouble of even copying them. But the most whimsical consequence of this correspondence was, my brother having become minister, and the young lady a wife, she had occasion to write about some affair to her old lover, and was much surprized at not finding, in his answers, either the style of the letters she had preserved, or even the same handwriting: we may learn by this, that ministers, and those who are destined to become so, do not always do that of themselves, from which they gain the most honour.

As I said to Moncrif, there is nobody but is convinced of the necessity of pleasing, and who has not, more or less, the desire of doing it; but this is not all; talents are moreover necessary. Every actor upon a theatre carries with him the desire of being applauded; yet there are many who come off with being hissed and hooted. To succeed, two kinds of talents are necessary; those which nature gives, and cannot otherwise be acquired, stature, figure, and an agreeable voice; natural, easy, gay, and amiable wit; those who possess not these advantages, should procure to themselves a fictitious amiability; though it is never worth that which is real, and what may properly be called innate: but still it is of some value; it is studied, but it must appear natural; is insensibly gained by habitude; and the occupation of improving acquired advantages becomes agreeable.

The desire of excelling cannot be too much concealed; on the contrary, what ought to be most remarked, or supposed in you, is the desire of making others appear to advantage. Affection, or at least

the appearance of it; admiration, real or pretended; flattery, delicately managed, never fail to succeed. When you perceive that any particular vice is displeasing, affect the opposite virtue. This contrast is the art of pleasing in society, what the *claro obscuro* is in painting: the colouring must be heightened by contrasts; the colours must be laid on thick, and the pencils managed with delicacy. Good-nature, sincerity, and complaisance, must be affected, yet tinged with a little criticism.

A satirical character is frightful and displeasing in itself; but, as able physicians transform poisons into remedies, men of great wit manage criticism and irony so as to amuse some persons, and correct others, without saying any thing offensive; and what else is fable and good comedy?

Let us acknowledge that we strive not to please others but from a motive of self-love: but it is necessary to veil it so as to prevent its being even suspected. Let us go still further, and add, that we must not be too anxious about people whom we wish to please: they are embarrassed by being spoken well of in their presence; they would often prefer being criticized, provided it did not exceed what they could defend with advantage.

Compliance is the last spring to put in motion, and which acts well in secret only: such as are known to be of an accommodating character are suspected; we are inclined to look upon them as deceitful, and even treacherous.

We easily persuade those who are in affliction, that we ourselves are affected by it, because whoever partakes of trouble cannot be suspected of interested views; but nothing is more

more difficult than to persuade those who are happy, and arrive at great employments, that we rejoice sincerely at their good fortune: they think, and with reason, that we should trouble ourselves but little about it, if our personal interest were not concerned therein. Men, in a subordinate situation, are not thanked for their complaisance; it is looked upon as one of their obligations; it is even, sometimes, by this they get their bread; but it is very valuable in superiors, provided it be not suspected to take its source from weakness or simplicity.

Indulgence for faults, which is founded upon indifference only, humiliates him who experiences it, and renders odious the person by whom it is exercised.

A disdainful air, a contemptible tone, make great men hated; but a low and cringing manner, make them despised, which is still worse. A noble politeness is what they ought to be ambitious of, and which they often possess; but that which is equally rare and precious in all ranks is equability. Unhappily its opposite is not discovered till after a certain time of probation; we are frequently seduced into strong connexions, before we discover that those with whom we have formed them are unworthy of our esteem, because they have for some time imposed upon themselves the necessity of pleasing; on the first neglect, their defects, and insupportable humour appear; the beginning of the acquaintance was serene and agreeable; the end of it becomes clouded, and sometimes tempestuous; but when an engagement is formed, life passes in regretting the first moments; they return but seldom, and it is necessary to console ourselves

for an attachment to a person of a capricious and unequal character, by recollecting the agreeable moments we have passed together, and by enjoying the hope of finding others like them.

The reflection with which Moncrief finishes his book, appears to me to be the most sensible thing in it, and is as follows: "A man, on entering the world, should expect to find two judges of all his actions—reason, and self-love, or the interest of others. The first of these judges is always equitable and impartial; the second is severe, and frequently unjust; it is the child of jealousy; let us strive not to allure it: this is the means of pleasing and succeeding."

I have related in a few pages, all the maxims worth quoting from Moncrief's book, *de la nécessité et des moyens, de plaire*, in which there are three hundred."

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*The Effects of Love on different Characters.—From the same.*

AFTER treating in this volume of so many different matters and objects, I am now going to speak of love and women: but I will not dwell long upon either of them; for I think, like Madame Cornuel, who said, We cannot be long in love, without doing foolish things, nor speak much of it, without saying silly ones.

It is difficult, in every period of life, to inspire a real passion: but it is easy to make most women conceive a momentary one: many things contribute to this: a fine figure; the appearance of strength and vigour; the graces, wit, or the reputation

reputation of it; complaisance; and, often, a decided tone, and light manners; ambitious ideas; and, finally, interested views. With so many resources, it is almost impossible that every one should not find means to gratify his inclinations during his youth; but, in a riper age, it is necessary to fix the affections. If we will not renounce every species of gallantry, it is necessary to accustom ourselves early to the sweet habitude of living with one whom we love and esteem; without which, we fall into the most gloomy apathy, or insupportable agitation. The habitude of which I speak, is more agreeable and solid, when founded upon the permanent affections of the mind; but this is not so absolutely necessary as not to be dispensed with. It is certain that the cares of a woman are always more agreeable to an old man than those of a relation or friend of his own sex; it seems to be the wish and intention of nature that the two sexes should live and die together.

We become insensible of a settled habitude; and, as we do not perceive that a mistress grows old, and becomes less handsome, we do not observe that her way of thinking becomes our own, and our reason subjected to hers, though sometimes less enlightened. We insensibly sacrifice our fortune to her; and this is a necessary consequence of the resignation we have made of our reason.

Men sometimes pass over the infidelities of women, because they are not perfectly convinced of them, and that a blind confidence is a necessary consequence of their seduction: but if, unfortunately, they come to the knowledge of them, it is impossible for a man, sincerely

attached to a woman, not to be susceptible of jealousy. This jealousy takes a tinge of the character of the person who is affected with it. The mild man becomes afflicted, falls ill, and dies; if a repentance, which he is always disposed to believe sincere, does not console him: the choleric man breaks out into rage; and, in the first moments, it is not known how far this may carry him; but men of this disposition are soonest appeased, and most frequently to be deceived.

Pecuniary interest should never be the basis of an amorous connection; it renders it shameful, or at least suspicious: money, says Montaigne, being the source of concubinage. But when a tender union is well formed, interest, like sentiment, becomes common; every thing is mutual; and there is but one fortune for two sincere lovers. If they be equally honest, and incapable of making a bad use of it, this is just and natural; but frequently the complaisance of one, makes him or her partake too much of the misfortunes and errors of the other.

Love should never have any thing to do with affairs: it ought to live on pleasures only: but how is it possible to resist the solicitations of a beloved object, who, though she ought not to participate in affairs which she has not prudence or courage enough to manage, yet having always, for a pretext, her interest in your reputation, welfare, and happiness, how is it possible to resist an amiable woman, who attacks with such weapons?

Some ladies have a real, others a borrowed reputation; that of the first is pure and unspotted, founded on the principles of religion, consequently

frequently the only genuine one; it belongs to women really attached to their duty, and who have never failed in the least point of it, whether they have had the good fortune to love their husbands, who have returned their affection; or whether, by an effort of virtue, they have been faithful to a man whom they have not loved nor were beloved by. There is another reputation, unknown to religion, which delicate morality, although purely human, does not admit, but which the world, more indulgent, will sometimes accept as good; that founded upon the good choice of lovers, or rather, of a lover, for multiplicity is always indecent. We are so disposed to think that each loves his likeness, that we judge of the character of men and women by those of their own sex with whom they have formed an intimacy; but infinitely more by the persons for whom they conceive a serious attachment. Many a man of wit has established the reputation of his mistress, without composing madrigals for her, but by making known the passion with which she had inspired him; many a woman of merit has created or established the reputation of him whom she has adopted her chevalier. After all, it is more dangerous to solicit than to decline this kind of reputation: it happens more frequently that a man loses himself by making a bad choice, than he adds to his fame by making a good one.

If the public are indulgent to the attachments of simple individuals, they are much more so to those of kings, and people in place, when they think them real, and do not suspect in them either ambition, intrigue, or motives of interest. All

France approved of the love of Charles VII. for Agnes Sorel, because she had the courage to say to this prince, that, unless he recovered his kingdom, he was not worthy of her affection. The Parisians applauded the love of Henry IV. for *La Belle Gabrielle*, and sung with pleasure the songs this monarch made for her; because, knowing her to be handsome, and of a good disposition, they imagined she would inspire the king with sentiments of benevolence.

Never did a woman love a man more sincerely than Madame de la Valliere loved Lewis XIV. She never quitted him but for God alone; and, swelled with vanity as that monarch was, he could not complain of this rivalry; so much the less, as the Supreme Being had but the remains of the heart of his mistress, and perhaps never possessed it entirely.

I have heard an anecdote of Madame de Valliere, which I do not remember to have seen in print. This lady was so modest, and had so little ambition, that she had never told the king she had a brother, much less had she ever asked any favour for him. He was still young, and had made his first campaign among the cadets of the king's household. Lewis XIV. reviewing his troops, saw his mistress smile in a friendly manner at a young man, who, on his part, bowed to her, with an air of familiarity. In the evening, the King asked, in a severe and irritated tone of voice, who this young man was. Madame de la Valliere was at first confused, but afterwards told his Majesty it was her brother. The King, having assured himself of it, conferred distinguished favours upon the young gentleman,

gentleman, who was father of the first Duke de la Valliere, whose widow and children are still alive.

The King's intrigue with Madame de Montespan, was not of a nature to be approved of so much as that he had with Madame de la Valliere; yet the nation did not complain, because it was thought the love of this lady procured the public magnificent feasts and elegant amusements. The following verses were a good deal sung at that time:

Ah! quelle est charmante  
Notre aimable cour;  
Sous le même tente  
On voit tour a tour.

La gloire et l'amour,  
Conquête brillante  
Et fête gallante  
Marquent chaque jour.

On the contrary, the public were a good deal disgusted with the amours of the King and Madame de Maintenon, although more decent, and that a secret marriage had rendered them legitimate. It was observed, that a love, conceived when both parties were in years, afforded a ridiculous spectacle: moreover, Madame de Maintenon meddled with the affairs of government; and it was when she most interfered with them, that things fell into decline, and that Lewis XIV. began to experience misfortunes, which were all laid to her charge.

When the late Duke of Orleans, who was regent, fell in love with Mademoiselle de Sery, he was not censured on account of it. The Duchess of Orleans, natural daughter to the King, was rather beautiful, but she was not amiable; Mademoiselle de Sery, on the contrary, was very much so. She had a son,

and it was predicted of him that he would one day become Duke of Dunois. We see him at present, in Paris, under the title of Chevalier d'Orleans, Grand Prior of France. He has not fulfilled what was expected of him; yet he has wit, and is, in many respects, amiable.

In process of time the regent fell into such an irregularity of conduct, that the public were shocked at it. It was necessary for him to have many other brilliant and estimable qualities to be pardoned so great a defect; but people were so much disposed to indulgence for him, that his affection for Madame de Parabere was approved of, because it was supposed she really loved him, and that he loved her, although he was frequently unfaithful to her.

Exterior decency is generally admired, and princes and men of distinction ought to do nothing to disgust the public; but, right or wrong, it is but too true, that in the end, this public assumes the authority of censuring, without delicacy, every fault: woe to them who are the first objects of gross scandal; they become the victims to its rage: the public judges and punishes them for it; or at least hoots at, hisses, and despises them; but, when the number of the guilty increase to a certain degree, it is found, that although hisses are sufficient to condemn bad pieces, they are not rods enough for those men who deserve to be lashed: they then become tolerated, nothing more is said, and, what is worse than all, a resolution is sometimes taken to imitate them. It must be acknowledged that the temptation to sin is very great, when we are sure to do it with impunity; and that people are made easy upon this head, when they

they are sheltered from reproach and ridicule.

*The Death of Mahommed, a Translation from the Dêh Mujlis\*.— From the Asiatic Miscellany.*

“**T**RADITIONISTS of grievous tidings, and narrators of heart-breaking events, have handed down to us, that in the tenth year of the Hegiry, after the prophet had performed his last pilgrimage, on the day named Urfa, and in the plain surnamed Urfaat. the following sentence was communicated to him from above: “Now have I completed the work of your religion, and bestowed perfect happiness upon you.” After which, whenever he preached to the people, he mixed with his discourse the tidings of his expected and welcome dissolution.

At length, upon the 28th of the moon Suffer, of the 11th Hegiry, the prophet repaired to the burial ground of Bukea, and passed a considerable time in prayer for the souls of those whose remains were deposited in the tombs around him: the following day he was seized with an head-ach, in which condition he came forth, and gave directions for the people to be assembled, as he was about to preach to them for the last time. When they were arrived, he ascended the pul-

pit; and, having concluded a long discourse, he addressed them in these words: “Know, O ye people, my dissolution is at hand; my desire of being united to God overpowers me, and I shall quickly depart from among you: say, then, in what manner have I not performed my prophetic mission for your salvation? For your sakes, and for religion, I have fought, whilst you, in return, have smote my teeth, and defiled my face with blood.” They acknowledged what he said was true; that he had shewn them the right, and taught them to shun the crooked path; beseeching the Almighty to reward him accordingly. The prophet then, in the name of God, solemnly enjoined any whom he might have struck, to arise and take reparation; or any he might have injured in his property, forthwith to receive back whatever was his due: on which, a man named Akausha arose, and said, “O prophet, since you so earnestly urge this matter, I should be a sinner, if I continued silent: know then, that in the expedition to Tebouck, intending to smite your female camel, Kufwah, the whip descended on my moulders, and was attended with excruciating pain; for which I now expect retaliation.” “May God reward you in both worlds,” replied the prophet, “O Akausha, for giving me an

\* The *Dêh Mujlis*, from which the two following narratives are taken, is itself an extract from a work entitled, *Rôdhat us Sbôda*, or *The Garden of Martyrs*; written by Mûlla Hûssâm Wâiz. The *Dêh Mujlis* consists, as the name implies, of ten such narratives as the two which are here presented to our readers; each containing an account of the death of one of the Mahomedan patriarchs, or some other distinguished personage. A portion of the *Dêh Mujlis* is read daily, during the *Ashoorah*, or solemn mourning, celebrated by the Mussulmans on the first ten days of the month of Mohurrum.

“opportunity



“ opportunity of compounding this  
 “ affair now, and for not having  
 “ deferred it to the day of judg-  
 “ ment: Can you inform me with  
 “ what whip the offence was com-  
 “ mitted?” Akauſha answered, that  
 it was with the rod Mamſhuke, ha-  
 ving a thong ſuſpended from the  
 end of it; which the prophet or-  
 dered immediately to be brought\*.

In obedience to the commands of  
 his maſter, Soliman repaired to the  
 prophet’s houſe, and knocked at  
 the door of Fatima’s apartment,  
 repeating the uſual ſalutation ob-  
 ſerved toward the prophet’s family.  
 Fatima knew the voice, and on be-  
 ing advised of his errand, obſerved  
 that as her father was afflicted with  
 a fever, and had not ſtrength to fit  
 his horſe, he could have no occa-  
 ſion for ſuch an instrument. On be-  
 ing informed of farther particulars,  
 ſhe gave a loud ſhriek, and ſolemn-  
 ly adjured Soliman to impreſs on  
 Akauſha’s mind, that out of regard  
 to the weak and ſickly condition of  
 her father, he ought to be merciful,  
 and ſpare him.

When Soliman had departed,  
 Fatima ſent for her ſons, Huſſen and  
 Hoſſain, and acquainted them with  
 what had happened, bidding them  
 repair to the place where their  
 grandfather was, and inſtead of one  
 ſtroke, which Akauſha was about to  
 inflict on him, receive each an hun-  
 dred in his room. But on their in-  
 forming the prophet of the buſineſs  
 on which they were come, he pro-  
 nounced that they could not grant  
 retaliation for that which he had  
 committed; at the ſame time de-  
 ſiring Akauſha to riſe, and ſtrike.

Akauſha remonſtrated, that as his  
 ſhoulders were bare when he re-  
 ceived the blow, the prophet’s ought  
 to be ſubmitted to him in the ſame  
 condition; which the holy man pre-  
 pared to do, a murmur of mingled  
 pity and indignation ariſing from  
 the angels of heaven, who beheld  
 the ſcene. But when Akauſha ſaw  
 the naked ſhoulders of the prophet,  
 and beheld thereon the ſeal of his  
 apoſtolic miſſion, he ſprang forward,  
 and applied his lips to the holy ſign,  
 ſaying, “ O prophet! to kiſs this  
 “ mark, and not to obtain retalia-  
 “ tion, was the object I ſought after;  
 “ yourſelf having often pronoun-  
 “ ced, ‘ Whoever touches the ſkin  
 “ of my body, him the fire of hell  
 “ ſhall ſpare.’”

The prophet now deſcended from  
 the pulpit; his indiſpoſition viſibly  
 increaſing upon him. He, however,  
 deſired Ali to leave him, and reſt  
 himſelf; which having done, he  
 returned, and informed his father-  
 in-law that in a dream he had be-  
 held himſelf clad in complete ar-  
 mour, which on a ſudden was torn  
 from his body. The prophet re-  
 plied, “ that armour am I, of whom  
 “ you are about to be deprived.”  
 Fatima came next, and related, that  
 being in a deep ſleep, ſhe thought  
 ſhe held in her hand a ſheet of the  
 holy Koran, which was ſuddenly  
 raviſhed from her ſight. The pro-  
 phet replied, “ That ſheet of the  
 “ Koran am I, who ſhall quickly  
 “ be loſt to you.” Huſſen and Hoſ-  
 ſain alſo related, that in their dreams  
 they had juſt beheld a throne mo-  
 ving on the boſom of the wind,  
 under which they walked, with

\* Great ſtreſs is laid by devout Mahomedans, on the humility and meekneſs  
 reſſified by their prophet, in this inſtance, in ſubmitting to retaliation for an in-  
 voluntary offence; which, in ſtriſtneſs of law, he was not obliged to do.

their heads uncovered. The prophet replied, "That throne signifies my coffin; under which you will soon walk, in the manner represented to you."

Ibnabbas informs us, that the Almighty commanded the angel of death, saying, "Repair to my beloved, Mahommed; but touch not his immaculate soul, without his own acquiescence." Ifrâiel, attended by a host of kindred spirits, in the disguise of an Arabian villager, transported himself in an instant to the prophet's habitation, with the commission of God in his hand. He repeated the customary salutation, and begged admittance, as having come off a long journey. Fatima was sitting by her father's pillow, when she heard the voice, and desired the stranger to call another time, as the prophet was not at leisure. A repetition of the request, by Ifrâiel, was followed by an answer, couched in the same terms. The third time, it was demanded in a peremptory tone, which struck the family with terror. The prophet opened his eyes, and demanded the cause of their consternation. Fatima answered, "that an extraordinary kind of stranger, who stood at the door, had thrice demanded admission, and would take no denial." The prophet asked her if she knew not who it was; she answered, "God is wise, I know not."—"He is," pursued the prophet, "the destroyer of lusts, the annihilator of passions, the maker of widows, and of orphans; an intruder, who opens doors without the assistance of a

key; and lays prostrate without the aid of arms. He is, my daughter, the angel of death, and attends for the soul of your father; whose threshold he respects, or he had entered without hesitation, it not being his practice to wait for admission: open the door, that he may come in." "Alas!" exclaimed Fatima, "then the ruin of Medina approaches, for its protector is about to depart."

The prophet desired her to be comforted, as even angels would behold her grief with concern. With his holy hands, he wiped off the tears which ran down her cheeks; and beseeched the Almighty to endue her with patience and resignation to support his loss; enjoining her, as soon as death should have closed his eyes, to repeat the following sentence; "From God we are, and to God we must return." Fatima continued to dwell on her approaching loss, in the most moving terms, and was interrupted by her father, who again desired that Ifrâiel might be admitted.

The angel of death now appeared, saying, "Peace to the prophet! The Almighty has sent you his blessing, and restricted me from touching your soul, till I have your own permission." The prophet replied, "It is my request that you refrain from it till Gabriel arrives\*." That angel, the messenger of the word of God, mean time had received his commission to repair to Mahommed, and carry to the beloved of the Almighty a turban,

\* When this angel is spoken of by Mahommed, he is distinguished by the epithet of brother; a more than ordinary friendship being supposed to have subsisted between them.

made from the texture of the cloth of Paradise. Weeping and lamenting he stood before him, and was gently taxed by Mahommed, with having forsaken him in his present awful situation; which the angel excused, by alledging that he had been employed about his affairs, and now brought the joyful tidings which he himself would wish for; namely, that the violence of the flames of hell had been abated for his passage, the gardens of Paradise adorned, and hosts of angels drawn up for the reception of his soul. The prophet acknowledged the goodness of God; but added, that his mind was oppressed with cares for the future fate of his disciples. Gabriel desired him to be under no concern on that account, as the Almighty would work out the salvation of as many of them as he should desire. The prophet then beckoned Israëel to come forward and execute his commission; which, while he was doing, the Lord of the world fixed his eyes on the ceiling, and repeated the name of the Most High; when his hands, which were clasped together, and extended, suddenly dropping on his breast, his soul took its flight to the presence of its Creator. "From God we are, and to God we must return."

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*The Death of Fatima.—From the same.*

“**T**HOUGH traditions differ in regard to the time during which Fatima was absorbed in

grief for the loss of her father, yet they agree in this, that it continued long incessant. At the end of about six months, her husband Ali going one day into her apartment, beheld her employed in kneading dough, for bread, mixing up a composition for her children's hair, and making preparation for washing their garments. Ali, astonished at the novelty of the scene, addressed her, "O! worthy to be served by men and angels! O! sole daughter of the prophet, and last of apostolic women! O! mother of the two martyrs! never yet have I beheld your attention engaged by two employments at a time, and now I see it taken up with three.—What mystery does this conceal?"—The holy Fatima, (her eyes bathed in tears) replied, "O! prince, distinguished in the plain of La Futtah\*, and surnamed of the Almighty, the Lion of God! O! bud of the garden, and line of Abu Taleb! the happiness of our union draws to a close; the hour of separation is arrived, and the period of absence is about to commence.—Last night I dreamt I beheld my father, standing on an eminence, and looking round as if in expectation of some one's approach. I called out, 'Whence are you, O my parent! my heart is afflicted, and my body wasted with anguish, on your account.' He replied, 'I am now come for you; the time is arrived, in which you must wean your affections from the flesh, and break the bonds of your earthly habitation;

\* Alluding to the sentence of "La Futtah illa Ali, la Seyf illa Zulfecar." "There is no heronin but Ali's; there is no sword but Zulfecar;" which the sect of Shaeas alledge to have been pronounced by God. Zulfecar was the name of Ali's sword.

" in which you must remove your  
 " tents from the straits of earth, to  
 " the world of heaven ; make haste,  
 " for I cannot depart without you :"  
 " I replied, ' O my father, this  
 " event is my wish, the consumma-  
 " tion of which I have constantly  
 " sighed for.' ' Use no delay,  
 " then,' he repeated again, ' for  
 " to-morrow night you must ac-  
 " company your parent.'—I here  
 " awoke, with my heart entirely  
 " absorbed by the desire of the  
 " world to come, and am certain,  
 " that the close of this day, or to-  
 " morrow evening, will be the pe-  
 " riod of my dissolution ; I am there-  
 " fore making bread to-day, as  
 " grief on my account may render  
 " you incapable of doing it to-  
 " morrow, and my children in con-  
 " sequence may hunger in vain ; I  
 " wash their garments now, know-  
 " ing not who will attend to the  
 " wants of my orphans hereafter ;  
 " and I am preparing to clean their  
 " hair at this time, ignorant whom  
 " they will have to clean it when  
 " I am gone."—Thus, Fatima was  
 anxious to keep their hair from be-  
 ing polluted by common dirt ; had  
 she beheld what afterwards happen-  
 ed, their graceful ringlets defiled  
 with dust, and their enchanting  
 countenances stained with blood ;  
 how would she have supported the  
 heart-rending sight !

When Ali had heard her to a con-  
 clusion, the tears running down his  
 cheeks, he replied, " O ! my be-  
 " loved, hardly yet have I recover-  
 " ed from one wound, when lo !  
 " another is inflicted on me ; and  
 " to the death of your father, is the  
 " loss of you now to be added." Fatima desired him to be comforted  
 under both, and not to leave her,  
 as the moments of her life were num-

bered, and their next meeting would  
 be in the world of eternity. She  
 put the garments of her children in  
 water, and bedewed their heads with  
 the fondest tears of maternal love ;  
 " Would to heaven !" she exclaim-  
 ed, " I were ignorant of the cruel  
 " fate which awaits them ; and of  
 " the extent to which it will be  
 " carried ! Go," she continued,  
 " my children, to the burial ground  
 " of Buckea ; and employ your  
 " prayers to heaven, in behalf of  
 " your mother."

When they were gone, she ex-  
 tended herself on the bed, and de-  
 sired Ali to sit down by her : she cal-  
 led for Asmah, the daughter of Aw-  
 mise ; and desired dinner might be  
 ready by the time her sons would re-  
 turn, and served up to them in ano-  
 ther apartment ; that they might es-  
 cape the misery of seeing her in her  
 last agonies. Asmah did as she had  
 been directed, and on their return  
 brought up dinner. The princes,  
 in astonishment, demanded, if ever  
 she had seen them sit down without  
 their mother, and wherefore she sup-  
 posed they would do it now ; Asmah  
 said, her mistress being indisposed,  
 they had better not wait for her ;  
 but they replied, that without their  
 mother's company, no refreshment  
 could be palatable to them, and  
 went strait towards her apartment.

On seeing them approach, Fati-  
 ma desired Ali to send them away  
 again, to the tomb of her father,  
 that they might humble themselves  
 before God ; while she endeavoured  
 to repose herself. When they were  
 gone, she desired Ali to take her  
 head to his bosom, for her life now  
 ebbed fast. Ali replied, he had  
 neither heart nor resolution to be-  
 hold her in such a situation ; or to  
 attend to language so affecting,  
 " O !

“ O! Ali!” she answered, “ the road which I am going, is a road which all must travel; and the fullness of my grief is such, as must, of necessity, be allowed utterance. Be patient, then, and imbibe the bitter draught of my dissolution.” Ali took her to his bosom; when, in the affliction with which he was overwhelmed, a tear dropped on her cheek: she opened her eyes, and seeing the violence of his grief, observed, that the present was rather a season for testamentary duties, than unavailing sorrow. “ O! first of women!” he quickly replied, “ reveal your will.” “ I have four requests,” continued Fatima: “ First, If I have misbehaved myself towards you, or ever given you uneasiness, that you forgive me.” He answered, “ God forbid! during the time we have lived together, neither in word nor in act, have you done ought to give my heart a pang: you have been my perpetual solace; not my sorrow: my comforter in affliction; not the disturber of my repose. In you, I have found the faithful mistress; not the imperious tyrant: possessed of the sweetness and softness of the rose; not the sharpness and annoyance of the thorn.” “ Secondly, Let my children,” she continued, “ be dear to you; forsake not those who possess so tender a place in my heart; withdraw not from their heads your fostering hand; and, should the forwardness of youth ever break out in them, let it obtain your forgiveness. Thirdly, Let me be conveyed to my grave by night; that as in life, my person has been secluded from the eyes of men, so, in death,

“ my bier may be sacred from their view. Fourthly, Neglect not to frequent the tomb of her, to whom you have been so dear; and whose faithful and affectionate companion you have been. Now, alas! the connexion must, of necessity, be dissolved.” Ali promised a faithful observance of her requests; and proposed others on his part: First, That if he had been ever wanting in his attention to her, she would forgive him. Secondly, When she beheld her father, that she would present the salutation of one who continued to feel and deplore his loss. Thirdly, that she would not, for any part of his conduct towards her, complain of him to the prophet. Fatima answered, “ God is my witness, that during the time we have lived together, I have not experienced from you a word or a deed, that can be complained of; on the contrary, your conduct towards me has been full of manliness, liberality and kindness; engaging words, and laudable actions.”

While they were engaged in this affecting discourse, a noise of lamentation and complaint suddenly assailed them, from without; and in a voice interrupted by sobs, admittance was soon after solicited by Hossen and Hossain, that they might take a last farewell of their parent. Ali opened the door, and taking them affectionately in his arms, asked by what means they had discovered their mother’s approaching end. They replied, “ On arriving at the mausoleum of our grandfather, we heard a voice saying, ‘ Behold! the orphans of Fatima are arrived!’ which was followed by another, saying, ‘ Behold! the intercessors of the day of judgment

“ judgment are arrived !” and then  
 “ a third, which resembled the  
 “ voice of the prophet ; saying,  
 “ ‘ Lo ! the darlings of my heart  
 “ are here !’ When we entered the  
 “ mausoleum, and had performed  
 “ our devotions, we heard a voice  
 “ proceed from the tomb, saying,  
 “ ‘ Return, my children, that you  
 “ may behold your mother, to meet  
 “ whom I am come here, for the  
 “ last time.’ ” With this they rushed  
 on, and beheld Fatima, with her  
 head reclined on the pillow ; they  
 fell at her feet, beseeching her to  
 open her eyes, and bless her orphans  
 with a last look. Fatima, aroused,  
 took them to her bosom, saying,  
 “ O ! my beloved sons ! God knows  
 “ what is to happen to you, after I  
 “ am gone ; and to what extent  
 “ the tyranny of your enemies will  
 “ be exercised against you !” She  
 then called for her daughters, and  
 delivered them to Hossen and Hof-  
 sain ; earnestly and repeatedly re-  
 commending them all to the pro-  
 tection of Ali.

When her husband and children  
 had left her, Fatima desired Asmah  
 to prepare water for her ablutions ;  
 which she went through with a mi-  
 nute attention to the precepts and  
 ceremonies of her religion, in a  
 manner that is seldom done ; after  
 which, she directed her couch to be  
 spread, and threw herself on it :  
 she then spoke to her servant of a  
 certain unctioꝛ made from the cam-  
 phire of Paradise, and given to her  
 father by the angel Gabriel, for  
 the purpose of his body being  
 anointed with it after his decease,  
 which he had divided into three  
 parts ; one part for himself, one for  
 Ali, and one for her : the latter she  
 desired might be brought : when it  
 was produced, she bade Asmah ap-

ply it, after her death, to the use  
 for which it was designed. She  
 now desired to be left alone ; as she  
 wished to commune with her God.  
 Asmah has related, that about half  
 an hour after she had quitted her  
 mistress, she heard her weeping  
 aloud, which induced her to go in,  
 when she observed Fatima engaged  
 in the most pious and fervent de-  
 votion ; invoking the Almighty,  
 by the honour of her father, and  
 his desire again to behold her ; by  
 the misery which preyed on the heart  
 of Ali, at the prospect of her disso-  
 lution ; by the grief of her sons,  
 and distraction of her daughters ; to  
 have mercy on her father’s disciples,  
 and to pardon the sins of the un-  
 godly. At this Asmah could not  
 suppress her sobs, which attracting  
 the notice of Fatima, she demanded  
 if she had not desired to be left  
 alone, and be called to in a short  
 time ; that if no answer was re-  
 turned, it might be known she had  
 departed to the bosom of her father.  
 On this, Asmah again retired, and  
 soon after calling, no answer was  
 returned ; when, entering, the apart-  
 ment, and drawing the veil from her  
 mistress’s face, she saw that she was  
 no more. “ From God we are,  
 “ and to God we must return.”

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*Essay on Ridicule, Wit, and Hu-  
 mour.* By William Preston, Esq.  
*M.R.I.A. In Two Parts.—From  
 Transactions of the Royal Irish  
 Academy.*

Part the First.

“ **R**IDICULE is that branch  
 of the *fine* or *mimetic* arts  
 which professes to excite the emo-  
 tion of *mirth*. It is seen more strik-  
 ing

ing and forcible in poetry and painting, where the imitations of nature are more general, as well as more apt and pointed; but even music is capable of it in a certain degree, as for example, by a burlesque or sort of parody on some grave composition, by an imitation of odd and unseemly noises, or by strains expressive of whimsical and grotesque emotions and situations. *Ridicule* excites *mirth* by the RIDICULOUS; that is to say, by an exhibition of defects and blemishes of the lighter kind, which neither imply a sense of pain and misery in the object or substratum to which they belong, nor contain any thing noxious or alarming to external beings. Should the blemish or defect be in any vital attribute or quality, either essential to the health and well-being of the subject, or requisite to the due performance of its duty and functions for the common good, mirth will not be the consequence; the gay contempt will be checked either by a sense of the pain or inconvenience which the defect or blemish in question must cause to the subject before us, or the alarming consequences which may redound from it to society; and our feelings, instead of mirth, will be something far different; sorrow and pity in the one case; terror, disgust, indignation or hatred in the other.

The foregoing definitions of RIDICULE and the RIDICULOUS take in mental as well as corporeal objects, and are literally borrowed from the great philosophical critic of Greece — “Το γὰρ γέλοισιν (says Aristotle) ἔστιν Ἀμαρτήματα τι καὶ ἀσχηρῶν ἄνω-  
“δυνον καὶ ἢ φθαρτικοῖ ἴσον εὐδους το

“ γέλοισιν προσωπων ἀσχηρον τι καὶ δι-  
“εσφαρμμενον ἀνευ Ὀδύνης.” And *ridicule*, according to him, consists in the representing (το φαυλοτέρου ἀλλ’ ἢ μείζονι κατὰ πᾶσαν κακίαν) the foibles and lighter vices of the mind, and slight corporeal blemishes and defects. These are what Mr. Hobbes distinguishes by the name of infirmities.

The peculiar emotion excited by ridicule, independent of the pleasure resulting from the truth of the imitation, is called MIRTH; a sensation which has been improperly confounded with *laughter* by some writers who have professed to treat this subject, particularly by Mr. Hutcheson, the moral philosopher, and a Dr. Campbell, in a book which bears the imposing title of *Philosophy of Rhetoric*. *Laughter* is a mere corporeal involuntary affection, like crying, coughing or sneezing; it is defined by some writer that I have seen to be a succession of nascent or imperfect shrieks\*; it sometimes indicates an emotion of the mind, but often proceeds from causes purely mechanical and external, like any other convulsion; tickling, for instance, or the sight of violent laughter in others, will produce it; in hysterical patients it is a mere disease, equally so with the *cynic spasms* or the *dance of St. Vitus*.

To define the nature of *mirth*, in other words, to explain the cause of that pleasure which we derive from *ridicule*, we must recur to the theory of Hobbes, which is conformable to the definition of Aristotle, and will on examination appear to be founded in nature. Mirth (says the philosopher of *Malmshury*) arises

\* As well as I can recollect, by Dr. Hayley, a profound writer on metaphysics, from whom the ingenious Dr. Priestley has taken many valuable hints.

from a sudden conception of some eminency in ourselves, by comparison with our own infirmity formerly, or that of others. Here we must observe the force of the expression *sudden conception*, which implies that the whole pleasure of the mirthful sensation does not proceed from conscious triumph, any more than it does from the truth of the representation: part is to be attributed to the odd and unforeseen situation or conduct of the ridiculous thing or agent; thus we find, by experience, that our mirth is anticipated and destroyed by any thing which checks or prevents the surprize of this sudden conception; for example, when the person, who means to be facetious, prefaces his observation or his tale with the promise of a good jest or a laughable story, whereby we are prepared for something ludicrous, and lose the pleasure of the surprize.

As to that part of Hobbes's theory, which makes the triumph arising from comparison a principal efficient cause of the pleasure attending on ridicule, I think we need only recur to our own experience for a confirmation of its truth. Why do not men chuse to be laughed at? Certainly because it indicates that they are objects of contempt. How happens it that a sportive word is more severely felt, and excites more lasting resentment, than the keenest reproaches? Why do we hold it indecorous and profligate to laugh at our parents, benefactors and seniors? Why is it held impious and profane to laugh at things divine and holy? Why do public speakers and controversial writers endeavour to turn the laugh against their opponents? Why is ridicule so powerful an engine of debate, even while it disclaims an appeal to sober argument? Surely be-

cause the very essence of mirth is a latent contempt, and there is a sort of general intuitive perception that ridicule degrades and vilifies its object. Hence it is, that a person who laughs at his own foibles and defects is thought to show an extraordinary effort of good sense and good humour, inasmuch as, by so doing, he makes a painful sacrifice of selfish feelings. We see too, that many people can jest freely on their own infirmities, who will not bear the least degree of raillery on that head from others; undoubtedly this proceeds from a feeling that ridicule implies contempt. When people laugh at themselves, the self-humiliation is more than counterbalanced by the self-applause; and, instead of sinking, they rise in the opinion of the world, by a frank confession, which at once shows fortitude and good sense, and disarms envy by a confession of weakness. The fact is, that people never do laugh at themselves except from some political motive; either to acquire the character of good-humour, to ingratiate themselves with those whom it is their interest to please, or to disarm the ridicule of others by anticipation. But still (which is all that is necessary to my argument) whether a man laughs at himself or his neighbour, whether the subject of his ridicule are his own past infirmities or the present infirmities of others, contempt is the basis of his mirth.

To illustrate what has been said by a few examples:—Impotence and decrepitude, considered merely as such, do not excite mirth, but compassion; yet should we find the impotent cripple boasting of his agility, and attempting to mix in the dance; or see age and deformity plaistered over with lace, and affect-

ing



ing the gallant; this attempt at some character or achievement, to which the personage is so notoriously inadequate, impresses us with a strong sense of his inferiority, the emotion of contempt is excited, and mirth is produced, unqualified by compassion for infirmities, of which the sufferer himself seems so little conscious. An odd and grotesque countenance, a whimsical and outré configuration of body, uncommon grimaces and distortions of the features and limbs, provided they are unattended with pain, may excite laughter; while the convulsions of pain, the deformity of sickness or of sorrow, affect us only with terror and pity. The absurdity and incoherence of a drunken man excite laughter, for they move contempt; the ravings of a maniac fill us with melancholy and horror. Want and beggary do not of themselves excite mirth; but should we see a beggar with velvet, or lace, or embroidery mixed among his rags, that incongruous union of finery and wretchedness would provoke our laughter. And these instances may serve to show, that they are only the lighter defects or blemishes, unaccompanied by pain or misery on the one hand, or virulence and danger on the other, that are the proper subjects of mirth. And to convince us that contempt, a certain self-triumph of the mind, is a principal source of the pleasure which we derive from mirth, let us recollect that there must, to constitute ridicule, be some competition, as well as inferiority; a resemblance and a contrast in the objects compared. The oyster, or the earthworm, the poor beetle which we tread upon, are vastly inferior to man; yet that inferiority does not produce contempt, because these

creatures never imitate us, and are as perfect in their kind as imperial man in his. Some approximation, some resemblance there must be; so that not every animal is a subject of mirth, but those only which imitate human nature, whether that imitation be near or remote; such are dogs, monkeys, kittens, parrots, magpies, jays, and some others. Song birds and exotic animals may be kept for the purposes of luxury in our cages and menageries, and afford pleasure by the melody of their notes, the beauty of their forms, or their rarity; some animals, instead of pleasure or mirth, produce, by their appearance, only terror, disgust or pity; every one of those creatures, which are capable of exciting mirth, are capable also, in a certain degree, of imitating some action of man. The monkey confessedly resembles the human species at all points; the cat uses her fore paws like hands, and for that purpose nature hath provided her with *clavicles*; the dog and the bear may be taught to walk upright on two legs like man; the jay, the parrot and the magpie have the power of forming articulate sounds. Nor is our mirth excited indiscriminately by those creatures; it is in those moments only, when they attempt to imitate human actions, that they become objects of laughter.

If it should be enquired why mirth is often excited by the representation of things, which in their actual existence would, perhaps, move compassion, perhaps conciliate approbation and esteem; such are many of those paintings called conversation pieces; such are poems like Shenstone's *School-mistress*, and many scenes in comedies and novels which profess to exhibit pictures of

real life; nor is it difficult to explain this matter. In the first place, though the representation follows nature, it is nature distorted, and her distorted features are more condensed and accumulated together than they commonly exist in real life; but supposing those features to be exactly copied, without the adding of any thing, still there is a riant and grotesque colouring diffused through the picture, by the skill of the artist; while, in real life, the rude and vulgar manners, the odd and grotesque incidents, may be combined with such collateral circumstances, as may excite emotions widely differing from contempt and triumph, and which predominate over them; for instance, the ideas of rural innocence and honest industry, that arise from seeing the family of a peasant at their labours, will conciliate our esteem, and the appearance of poverty and wretchedness will move our compassion; besides, the recollection that the picture before us is but a fiction, prevents our having such strong feelings of esteem or compassion as if we contemplate the reality.

To proceed to the infirmities and defects of the mind, they are mild infirmities, and moderated defects only, that are fit subjects of ridicule. Infirmity and vice, not flagitious guilt, are the proper food of mirth; Aristotle expresses it *το φανλον αλλ' ε̄ καλα πασαν κωμικον*. The representation of cowardice, affectation, avarice or vanity may be ridiculous; it may afford a triumph by comparison, unalloyed by any feeling or apprehension of serious evil to any body; but cruelty, ingratitude, perfidy, and the whole black catalogue of gigantic crimes

and flagrant passions, that rend asunder the social ties, and heap the measure of human calamity, these, far from exciting laughter, raise in us emotions of abhorrence, indignation or fear. In the occurrences of real life a slight mischance or blunder, even of our best friend, will raise a smile; but a more signal misfortune or fatal error, even of an enemy, will move our compassion. The fact is, that mirth, though a very prompt and lively emotion, yet not being so very necessary to our existence and the preservation of society as many others, gives no very deep tincture to the mind, but mildly disperses itself, and vanishes before such as are of more general and important use, and of course armed with stronger powers of embracing and possessing the human spirit.

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*Part the Second.*

Having considered the nature of ridicule, and traced out the sources of the pleasure which attends it, let me, for a moment, advert to the corporeal external expression of that pleasure, I mean *laughter*, and endeavour to investigate its physical cause, so far as it is an expression of *mirth*, or a *corporeal movement* indicating *pleasure*. I speak with this reservation, because, as I have already in some measure hinted, *laughter* is not always expressive of *mirth*, no, nor even of a pleasurable sensation; *laughter*, when produced by tickling, is expressive of *pain*; in choleric persons it is expressive of *anger*.

Mr. Burke, in his Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful, takes occasion to consider the mechanical or physical cause of *pleasure* in general.

He is of opinion that it is produced by a certain relaxation of the frame, and reasons very ingeniously in support of this theory from the nature and constitution of those objects that communicate pleasure. "Beauty (says this ingenious writer) acts, by relaxing the solids of the whole system. There are all the appearances of such a relaxation; a relaxation somewhat below the natural tone seems to me to be the cause of all positive pleasure\*."

Now, to apply this principle to the *physical cause*, or *animal mechanism of laughter*. The slight blemishes, imperfections or mischances, the small deviations from order, symmetry and decorum, that are the subjects of *ridicule*, and excite *pleasure* through the medium of *contempt*, resting in qualities, actions or things in themselves *light* and *trivial* (they could not else be the objects of *contempt*) have small *momentum*, either with respect to *individual preservation* or *social happiness*, and of course excite no very violent *emotion* of the *mind*: While the stronger passions, love, fear and anger, wake, and range abroad, to guard the existence of man, to continue his species, or connect him in leagues of civil union; the lighter feelings, like mirth for instance, enliven and embellish familiar intercourse with sportive charms and fugitive graces; or polish and correct it with minute decencies and mutual observances. Where the mind is but slightly affected, no great degree of *relaxation* is induced. The due secretion of the humours is but little disturbed, and no very violent access of *animal*

*spirits* is thrown on the breast, far less than is requisite to produce the sense of weight, that feeling bordering on pain, which accompanies our enjoyments of a more exquisite degree. The pleasure attending *mirth* being, comparatively speaking, faint, the relaxation of the nerves must consequently be inconsiderable. The due secretion of the humours is but little interrupted; the access of animal spirits to the breast is trifling; barely sufficient, not to overwhelm, but stimulate the nerves; and, by a certain mild irritation, to produce that agreeable convulsion called *laughter*. That *irritation* is the immediate cause of *laughter* is evident, from involuntary laughter being produced by *tickling*, which can only operate by irritating the nerves. That the *irritation*, in the case of *mirth*, proceeds from an extraordinary afflux of humours may be inferred from this, that violent and long continued *laughter* is always attended by an evacuation of humours in the form of *tears*. That the emotion of the mind, of which *laughter* is an expression, does actually produce some *relaxation* of the frame, and that the nerves are indeed *irritated*, may fairly be collected from our experience, that involuntary *laughter* is incident to hysterical patients, in whom the nerves being weak and irritable, an uneven and interrupted secretion is produced by their weakness, and perpetually assails their irritability. That *laughter*, when expressive of *pleasure*, expresses but a *pleasure* of a faint and subordinate kind, is manifest from its taking place so early in young children. It is observable

\* Essay on Sublime, p. 163, § on the physical cause of love.

that infants not many days born laugh; they even laugh in their sleep long before they are susceptible of mirth or sorrow, even before they begin to shed tears. In that early stage, before the nerves have gained their tone, or the organs learned their use; before the creature pays any attention to external things, laughter seems to be its uniform, indeed its only expression of pleasure or delight, from whatever cause. That pleasure must be merely animal, and if we consider the dulness and imperfection of the child's perceptions, we may well suppose it to be of a very faint and subordinate kind, perhaps produced by some external cause, that mildly irritates, and stimulates his nerves.

I proceed now to trace out the sources of the ridiculous; and I think all its objects, various as they seem to be at first glance, may be found in one or other of the following classes:

First. Those actions and gestures of the brute creation, which imitate the actions and gestures of man. Here the resemblance leads to a comparison with ourselves, the comparison produces a sense of comparative superiority, that sense of superiority a triumph, and that triumph is expressed by laughter. These imperfect and grotesque imitations, by the brute creation, are a sort of practical *caricatures* of human actions; or, as Mr. Addison very justly expresses it, the actions of beasts, which move our laughter, bear a resemblance to a human blunder. This source of the *ridiculous*

is but scanty, and the pleasure derived from it of a subordinate degree. The inferior creatures that imitate man are not numerous; and the human actions, which they are competent to mimic, are but few. The resemblance is generally remote, often rather fanciful than real; and, as the distance is so wide, and the inferiority so palpable, the comparative triumph, and the pleasure resulting from it, will be proportionably small.

Secondly. Slight corporeal blemishes and defects are the next source of the *ridiculous*, to which we are led by an easy transition from the former; Cicero himself tells us—*est etiam deformitatis & corporis vitiorum satis bella materies ad jocandum*; but this must be taken with the restriction I have already mentioned, that the defects and blemishes must not prevent the person from enjoying the pleasures, or performing the functions of life. They must not include the supposition of causing pain; they must not be ghastly or offensive to the sight; for in such cases they would cause in us not mirth, but pity, disgust, or aversion\*. To this class we may refer *caricatures*, and other burlesque paintings, and many dramatic characters where much of the pleasantry is drawn from the corporeal peculiarities of the personage introduced; as, for instance, the Falstaff and Bardolph of Shakespear, the Corbaccio of Ben Jonson.

Thirdly. Unforeseen disasters or mischances, which are no way tragical, nor of a serious nature; as,

\* I know not whether I should refer to this or the foregoing head, that mirth which arises from tracing out some resemblance to the brute creation in the form and lineaments of man; and from seeing or hearing human creatures imitate the motions, noises, and other actions of brutes.

for instance, should a beau dress out for an assembly fall in the dirt, or a blast of wind hurry away a fine lady's cap and artificial tresses: here the accident excites our triumph, by a mischance from which we are exempt; and there is no collateral affecting circumstance to call in the graver emotions of humanity, and check the rising contempt. Under this head we may include practical jokes, a never-failing source of merriment among the vulgar; ludicrous paintings, like the *Enraged Musician*, *Hints for bad Horsemen*, and other productions of *Hogarth\**, and his school; and most of the laughable situations and comic incidents in dramatic and other humorous writings.

Fourthly. The last and principal source of the ridiculous, is an incongruity or inconsistency in the words and actions, and as far as they can be traced or are notified to us, in the thoughts of men. This fund of ridicule is by far the most copious, from the infinite diversity of objects which it comprehends; and it excites a species of mirth more refined and pointed, because the triumph being over man himself, in something peculiar to him as such, is more full and complete than that over the brute creation, or man with respect to external accidents; and in this we recognize the admirable contrivance of Providence. For this is the branch of ridicule which has the most important influence on the conduct of life and manners, and therefore it is destined to affect us the most forcibly. This last source of the ridiculous may be subdivided into several members. I do not

propose the following distribution as strictly logical and scientific, but it may serve well enough to explain the subject.

First. Incongruity between the words, actions, or sentiments of a person, and his physical situation; that is to say, his corporeal accidents of youth, age, beauty, deformity, strength, weakness, sickness, health. When a very young man, for instance, talks in a style of dogmatical gravity; when an old decrepid wretch conceals his years, and boasts of his youth and vigour; when a strong Herculean fellow assumes the dress of a *petit-maitre*, and affects to limp and amble; or some diminutive and feminine form would, with the military garb, put on the menacing brow and martial stride; all these abortive attempts to assume a quality which the person does not possess, are as fair subjects of laughter as a monkey when he imperfectly mimics the actions of man. The incongruity striking us excites the idea of relative imperfection; the sense of our own superiority, in this instance, produces an inward triumph, and this triumph is expressed by laughter.

But here it may be objected, and I shall once for all answer the objection, that laughter is sometimes produced where no idea of relative inferiority is impressed, no triumph excited. In support of this objection we are referred to the instances of witty drolls, and facetious persons, who, though capable of acting with the utmost decorum and accuracy, fall into voluntary blunders and studied solecisms, merely to entertain their companions; and of

\* I cannot mention the name of that excellent satirist and moral painter without expressing my admiration of his skill in depicting life and manners.

performers on the stage, who represent clowns, and other low and absurd characters. To this I reply, that both the jester and the player exhibit to us a fictitious character; we laugh rather with them than at them; not at what they really are, but at what they would seem to be; the first emotion excited by blunders and improprieties is contempt: this is the impression of the moment; it is not until afterwards, and on reflection, that we perceive the imperfection or absurdity to be merely affected, and that the jester plays the fool or the blunderer for his own and our amusement. We are moved to laughter in precisely the same manner by the real blunders and *grossièreté* of a country bumpkin, and by the representation of a skilful actor, who exhibits such a character on the stage; in the first feelings there is no difference whatsoever, but this is the illusion of the drama; in the sequel, and on reflection, we despise the absurdity and ignorance of the clown, and admire the skill and address of the player. So that the whole argument turns on the overlooking a circumstance very obvious to be seen, namely, that affected imperfection or incongruity excites only a transient and momentary contempt, whereas a similar emotion of a permanent duration is excited by that which is real. In short, whether we laugh or weep at the drama, our emotion is excited, not by the real, but assumed person and character of the actor before us; and the affected blunderer in company is, in that instance, an actor; and on the same principles we may explain the effects of *irony*. Where a person seems to possess an opinion, or assert a fact the very contrary of what he means to establish; this is

a sort of intellectual acting, or playing a feigned character. We distinguish in a moment between the real and effectual assertion or opinion of the person.

Secondly. *Incongruity* between the manner of speaking, acting, and thinking, and the civil or political situation of the person; a departure from the decorums of character and propriety of acting conformable to rank and station; as if a grave personage, a statesman, or philosopher, should be discovered riding on a hobby-horse; or a great monarch be surprized at the unkingly pastime of playing taw, or catching flies. Yet even such mean and ridiculous actions as these (which confirms the preceding theory) may be qualified and ennobled by collateral circumstances. Socrates was not ashamed to be caught in some such situation; nor would it degrade even a monarch, in the eye of wisdom, should he be found, in a moment of paternal tenderness, playing at taw among his children.

Under the foregoing head we may include such characters as the Parson Trulliber of Fielding, the ambitious cobbler mentioned in the Spectator, who contrived to gratify his pride by framing the figure of a beau in wood, who kneeled before him in a suppliant posture; female pedants, and small politicians. From this fund of the ridiculous are derived the *mock heroic* or *parody*, and the low burlesque. The *mock heroic* represents mean agents, and low characters speaking the language which common use has appropriated to the august and exalted; *parody* applies the very identical expressions which had been employed on some great and solemn occasion, and by an exalted and dignified personage,

to some vulgar and little incident. The low burlesque, on the contrary, represents exalted personages engaged in mean pursuits (as, for instance, Dido building an *house of ease*) and using the dialect of the rabble. It is remarkable that these two species of composition, although they seem to differ so widely in their genius, produce their effect, *laughter*, by the very same sort of incongruity.

Thirdly. A departure from the manners, language, and customs of the age and country, or even of our own peculiar class in life, profession, or province. The rude and vulgar every where are disposed to laugh at the peculiar habits and customs of foreigners; and even the polite and liberal, who have learned from an extensive commerce with the world the precept of Horace, *nil admirari*, could scarce restrain their mirth were they to see a modern Englishman dress in the ruff of Queen Elizabeth's day, and hear him talk in the dialect of Spenser, with his antiquated words, *estjpoons*, *yclept* and *whilome*. Every nation has that degree of predilection for its own customs and manners, that it supposes a departure or variance from them to be an instance of inferiority, and to show a want of refinement or of understanding. The difference of garb is found to have a striking effect on the human mind; even in the same country and nation, the respect which individuals pay to each other is, in some degree, regulated by an attention to dress; the mutual contempt and antipathy which sometimes subsist between nation and nation, are very much supported and kept alive by the difference of habilitment. Under this head we may class the travelled coxcomb and fop

who affects to renounce the garb, language, and manners of his own country; and scenes of low humour, that turn on national peculiarities and prejudices; or professional modes of thinking or speaking, as the characters of Frenchmen, Teagues, sailors, lawyers, so frequent in comedy; and on this principle it is that the simple representation of humble life sometimes excites mirth.

Fourthly. A disparity between passions and their objects, between means and their ends, which stand forth in human life, and excite contempt under the denomination and form of foibles and absurd opinions. It were endless to adduce examples of these, they are multiform and various as the pursuits and actions of man; suffice it to say, that every passion, when carried to excess, impresses us with the idea of incongruity, and consequently of relative imperfection; and so does every palpable disproportion between the end and the means, on which side soever the deficiency or inferiority falls, and will excite laughter by contempt; provided, however, that there is nothing of serious affliction to the agent himself, or serious damage or danger to other persons, which may call forth emotions of a more vigorous character and a deeper hue.

Were I to search for a portrait which at once combines in itself, and illustrates all the different forms of the ridiculous abovementioned, I should instance that of Don Quixote; his words and actions do not accord with his physical situation, for with his single arm he would rout armies and overthrow giants; nor with his civil and political existence, for he pretends to overthrow empires, distribute kingdoms, and confer

confer titles and honours. His dress, his arms, his notions, his phraseology, are not of the country or age in which he lives; his passions, love and honour, for instance, are in excess, and their objects mean and contemptible; the ends he proposes are extravagant, and the means he employs are insufficient; all these form such a tissue of incongruity, unqualified by any tragical circumstance or incident, as is truly comic; and they are heightened by slight corporeal defects, and called out and illustrated in a variety of cross adventures and petty misfortunes.

For the sake of perspicuity I shall rank **BLUNDERS IN SPEAKING AND ACTING** in a distinct class of the ridiculous, being the fifth, of what I should call the intrinsically ridiculous, or incongruity in the words, actions, or thoughts of men. Yet this is but a bastard class; for it will appear, on examination of every individual circumstance belonging to it, that they may be referred to one or other of those preceding.

Though I have hitherto considered and treated the sources of the *ridiculous*, as if ridicule were something stable and certain, nothing in fact can be more variable and fluctuating in its nature. Things appear ridiculous or not according to the education, course of life, constitution, and temper of the observer, which vary his notions of propriety, perfection, and order, on the one hand, and of indecorum, defect, and incongruity, on the other. Virtue, religion, truth, honour, every thing serious and venerable, have and daily do become subjects of ridicule among certain unhappy classes of men. The vulgar will laugh at many coarse jests and indelicate al-

lusions, while persons of a more happy education and refined taste will be shocked at such mirth, as inhuman and indecent. One man may receive as facetious observations, what would offend his neighbour as daring impieties; but wherever a laugh is produced, it invariably proceeds from the conscious triumph of self-superiority, either real or imaginary.

The variable nature of *ridicule* may serve to convince us that *ridicule* cannot be the *test of truth*; a *test* should be independent and substantive; *ridicule* depends in a great measure on the temper and disposition, the education, endowments, acquisitions, habits, and pursuits of the observer; *truth* is universal and invariable; but were *ridicule* the *test of truth*, the same identical propositions would be *true* to one man and *false* to another.

Mr. *Brown*, in his essays on *Shafsbury*, has laboured, and at some length, to show that *ridicule* cannot be the *test of truth*, because it is a mode of *eloquence* tending to affect and agitate the mind; as much a mode of *eloquence* as the *πάθειναι*, the pitiable or pathetic; and his reasoning is conclusive; but this point may be demonstrated in a few words, and I think with a mathematical strictness. *Ridicule* cannot be the *test of truth*, for being a branch or mode of the imitative arts, it represents, as that name imports, a picture of some object, and cannot be the *criterion* of that of which it is only the *representation*. 2dly, The *ridiculous* not only consists in the representation of a picture, but it is a single positive picture; there is no relative view, no collation of two objects; but to the existence of *truth* or *falsehood*, the collation of two objects



objects is necessary. 3dly, The perception of *ridicule* is instantaneous, the perception of *truth* or *falsehood* is a progressive operation of the mind. A proposition must be formed; the subject and predicate of this proposition must be compared, and from this comparison the understanding collects their agreement or disagreement. This progression takes place even in propositions called *intuitive*, that is to say, where the truth or falsehood is perceived without the intervention of proofs or means. Now, if *ridicule* were the test of truth, the perception of the *ridiculous*, and the perception of *falsehood*, would be one and the same, and would in every case be not *progressive* but *instantaneous*.”

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*Account of a Visit paid by Mons. Savary to Ismael Aga, a Turk of Consequence in the Island of Candia, antiently Crete.—From M. Savary's Letters on Greece.*

To M. L. M.

I AM now going to introduce you, Madam, to one of the most amiable Turks in the island, nor can I suppose you will be displeas'd with your new acquaintance. Ismael Aga, one of the wealthiest land proprietors in Canea\*, is a man of about seventy years of age, of a majestic stature, a fine face, and still exhibits in his features the marks of strength and vigour. He has had the command of several of the Grand Signior's caravelles, and pass'd some time at Venice; he has travelled through Egypt, and visited,

according to the religious custom of the Mahometans, the tomb of his Prophet. His travels have entirely divested him of that pride, with which ignorance, and the prejudices of their religion, inspire the Turks, nor does he, like them, despise strangers; but, on the contrary, takes pleasure in, and courts their society. Having invited us to spend some time at his country-house, he sent horses for us, and ordered his sons to shew us the way. We accordingly set out from Canea at eight in the morning, cross'd that beautiful part of the country covered with olive-trees, which extends to the foot of the White Mountains, and having rode through the whole length of the delightful plain of myrtles, arriv'd about noon at his house, situated a league beyond it, on the declivity of a hill. Ismael received us with friendship, but without any of those demonstrations of joy and pleasure which ceremony lavishes in other countries. You are welcome, said he, with an air of cool satisfaction; and immediately conducted us to the place of entertainment.

The heavens were clear and serene, but the atmosphere was heated by a burning sun, to which we had been four hours expos'd: nothing could now be so desirable to us as coolness; and our wishes were amply gratified. The table was spread in the garden, under the shade of orange-trees. Six of these beautiful trees, planted in a circle, united their branches, which had never been mutilated by the sheers, and formed over our heads a roof impenetrable to the rays of the sun. In the middle of a very hot day,

\* The antient Cydon.

we enjoyed, in this arbour, which nature had so profusely embellished, a delicious coolness. On every side, flowers hung in garlands over the guests, and formed a crown for each. The brightness of their colours, their exquisite odours, the beauty of the foliage, gently agitated by the zephyr, every thing conspired to make us imagine ourselves suddenly transported to some enchanted grove. To complete the whole, a beautiful stream, which descended from the adjoining hills, passed under the table, and contributed to preserve the pleasantness and coolness of our arbour; on each side of us we beheld it gliding over a golden sand, and winding its crystal stream through the garden, in which a great number of small canals had been dug to convey its waters to the orange, the pomegranate, and almond trees, which repaid the moisture they received with interest, in flowers and fruits.

The table was now served; the Aga had endeavoured to provide for us suitable to our tastes; we were presented with all the utensils common in France; and our host himself conformed to all our customs. Knowing that we were used to take soup, he supplied us with a great dish of roast-meats covered with a delicious jelly. Round this were bartavelles almost as large as our hens, and with a *fumet* which excited the appetite: there were beside excellent quails, a tender and delicate lamb, and hashed-meat dressed with rice, and perfectly well seasoned. The wine

corresponded with the excellence of the rest of our entertainment; we were served with *vin de loi*\*, malmsey of mount Ida, and a sort of perfumed red wine, equally agreeable to the smell and the taste. Our good patriarch, wishing to imitate his guests, and take his glass in defiance of the prophet, had sent away his servants, and his children. Laying aside the Turkish gravity, which never condescends to smile, he chatted with much vivacity, and frequently astonished us by the penetration of his understanding, the aptness of his replies, and the justness of his ideas. When the dishes were removed, we were presented with Moka coffee, and pipes. Do not be too much shocked, Madam, the pipes made use of here are of jasmine, and the part applied to the mouth, of amber; their enormous length entirely takes away the pungency of the tobacco, which, in Turkey, however, is mild; and, being mixed with the wood of aloes, produces a vapour neither disagreeable nor incommodious, as in other countries.

We reposed ourselves agreeably under the shade, and enjoyed the delicious fragrance of the orange flowers; our host was extremely so-cial, and took the lead in the conversation. No offer was here made to shine, by those flashes we call wit, to ornament splendid nothings in gaudy colours, or to disseminate agreeable scandal. To attempt this would only have been to lose time. Isnael would have understood no-

\* The wine made by the Jews is called *vin de loi*, or wine of the law, and is little known in France; it is rather bitter, but leaves an agreeable flavour in the mouth, and excites a gentle warmth in the stomach.

The malmsey of mount Ida is more unctuous, more agreeable to the palate, and not less fragrant.

thing of our jargon. We were obliged to content ourselves with listening to solid observations, and returning answers according to the dictates of reason, and sound sense. As soon as the great heat was over, he called his sons, and ordered them to attend us on a shooting party; we descended into a plain where we found plenty of quails, and had the pleasure of killing many without fatigue. The darkness, which now advanced over the hills, brought us back to the house; and, as the nights at this season are as clear and fine as the days are beautiful, we supped in the arbour of orange-trees. Rarely do we enjoy this luxury in France; the night air has always a degree of chillness that makes us shudder, or a copious dew falls injurious to health. In Crete, during the summer, you are not exposed to these inconveniencies, which, though trifling, interrupt the enjoyment of the company. The sky was without a cloud, the coolness agreeable, and the air so calm, as scarcely to disturb the light of four large wax-tapers, which illuminated the foliage in a thousand different ways, and the varied reflections of which produced lights and shades of an admirable effect. Here the leaves shone upon, assumed a brilliant yellow, and there a deep verdure, while in some places the whiteness of the flowers suspended in festoons, was heightened by a golden ground; further on, the opening of two leaves left a passage for the resplendence of a star, which sparkled like the diamond. The condensation of the air had collected the fragrant perfumes of the flowers and shrubs, and every sense was delighted. The luminous coruscations which played upon the foliage,

and the contrast of light and shade, which continually varied its form and colours, produced a scenery so delightful, that this flowery canopy extended over our heads appeared to me more beautiful by night, than amid the splendor of day. Perhaps, too, the delicacy of our good cheer, the excellence of the wine, and the novelty of the decorations, might give new vigour to imagination, and that enchantress might take a delight in still further embellishing so voluptuous an abode.

The Turks do not reserve in their houses separate apartments for every person of the family; the women only have distinct chambers; the men sleep together in spacious halls, on mattresses spread on the carpeting, and provided with sheets and a blanket. Agreeable to this ancient custom, still observed by the orientals, we were shewn into a large room, round which our beds were placed upon the ground. Only two centuries ago, it was usual, even in France, for the whole family to pass the night in the same apartment; since that time, our manners have undergone a great change; they have infinitely more delicacy and convenience, nay, perhaps decency; but are they more social?

The day had scarcely begun to break, when the servants came to awaken us; for the Mahometans rise with the dawn, to repeat the morning prayer, and to enjoy the first rays of the sun, and the delicious coolness diffused throughout the air. When we came down from our chamber, breakfast was waiting for us; we drank moka, smoked the odoriferous tobacco of Anatolia, and, accompanied by the sons of the

Aga, and two game-keepers, made an excursion to shoot partridges. I have only seen one species of that bird in this island; the bartavelle, which inhabits the mountains, where it multiplies prodigiously; its colours are more lively, and it is much larger than our red partridge, and excellently well tasted: we found innumerable coveys of these birds on all the hills. Our morning was fatiguing, but very successful. Frequently, after straying over eminences covered with briars, we descended into a valley overspread with myrtles and laurel roses. The game retires into such places during the violent heat of the sun, and we sprung partridges, quails, and hares, from the midst of these flowery thickets.

On our return to the Aga's, an excellent dinner, the malmsey of mount Ida, and our delightful arbour, made us forget all our fatigues. His women paid us a gallant attention, by the present of a large cake made with their own hands; it was composed of flour, perfumed honey, fresh almonds, and pounded pistachio-nuts, mixed with a little rose-water: this pastry was very light, and we all allowed it to be excellent.

During the whole time we passed at the seat of Ismael Aga, we experienced from him nothing but the utmost politeness; he made us no great compliments, but he studied our tastes; and we were sure of finding on our table the dishes to which we seemed to give a preference. One morning, rising before my companions, and walking among the

neighbouring orchards, I perceived this venerable mussulman standing near a fountain contiguous to the house: he was washing his face and hands, and chaunting the first chapter of the Koran, that is to say, one of the finest hymns ever addressed by man to the Supreme Being\*. He seemed entirely absorbed in the adoration he was paying to his Creator; and I conceived a favourable opinion of a man, who fulfilled, with so much dignity, the first of all duties.

This Turkish nobleman possessed several other country-houses. That to which we were invited he only occupies in the spring, for he passes the violent heat of the summer in a charming retreat, situated among the mountains. There, while the sun scorches up the plain, and the whole atmosphere seems on fire, he enjoys a delicious temperature; and beholds the country round him clad in verdure, and covered with flowers and fruits.

Such, Madam, is the life led by the rich Mahometans in Candia: they pass three-fourths of the year on their estates, and repair in winter to the towns, to sell the superfluity of their produce; the oil, which they make in great quantities, the wax, the wine, and the wool of their flocks, procure them very considerable wealth. Content with their possessions, they aspire after none of those public employments which might endanger their safety, but see them, without envy, in the possession of strangers. Uncontrolled monarchs on their own estates, they command and receive implicit obedience.

\* The chapter called *the Introduction*, which serves in fact as a preface to the Koran: it breathes that sublimity, that ancient simplicity, which seems to be the proper language of man to the Almighty.

Possessing the handsomest women of the island \*, they bring up their numerous offspring in the respect and submission due to the chief of the family. These Mahometans, enjoying without pain, anxiety, or ambition, all the bounties offered them by nature, pass their days in tranquillity and happiness, and retain, even in a very advanced age, almost unimpaired good health.

I shall long remember, Madam, the agreeable hours I spent at the country-seat of Ismael Aga; yet I must confess to you, that, amid the pleasures I was enjoying, I could not suppress a feeling of regret for the absence of the fine arts. To this, however, the Mahometans are insensible; but a Frenchman cannot but deplore a want so essential, in one of the finest countries in the world. Were this island the country of a polished people, how would it change its appearance! How much more delightful would its gardens become! What delicious shades would the hand of an able artist there form! How would he display, in brilliant cascades, those

rivulets which rush naturally from the hill-tops! How conjoin the scarlet of the pomegranate-tree with the white of the orange flower! How would the myrtle and the laurel-rose then interweave their branches, and their blossoms, and the charming lilac vary the beautiful mixture! How would those elegant shrubs, distributed in clumps, compose groves unequalled for the fragrance of their flowers, the variety of their colours, and the diversified tints of their foliage. Under these smiling arbours, the poet would feel himself inspired by the Muses, breathe rapturous strains dictated by the Graces, and chaunt hymns to Love. Amid such wondrous natural beauties, letters would flourish as in the days of Anacreon, whose brow was perpetually crowned with roses. Pardon me, Madam, if I thus yield to the pleasing dreams of my imagination: alas! I fear I shall not be able to produce the like in the foggy atmosphere of the Seine.

I have the honour to be, &c."

\* The Turks are not scrupulous in their means of obtaining women: when a Greek has a pretty daughter, and has the misfortune to let her go out of the house alone, that moment they carry her off, and marry her. They do not force her to renounce her religion, if she appears much attached to it; but all the children are Mahometans. I saw at Canea a handsome Greek girl, who had been carried off in this manner from her family. At her husband's death, she returned to her relations; but her children were Mussulmen, and she was obliged to separate from them.

## P O E T R Y.

ODE on His MAJESTY'S BIRTH-DAY, *June 4<sup>th</sup>, 1789.**By T. WARTON, Esq. Poet-Laureat.*

## I.

AS when the demon of the summer-storm  
 Walks forth, the noontide landscape to deform,  
 Dark grows the vale, and dark the distant grove,  
 And thick the bolts of angry Jove  
 Athwart the watery welkin glide,  
 And streams th' aerial torrent far and wide :  
 If by short fits the struggling ray  
 Should dart a momentary day,  
 Th' illumin'd mountain glows awhile,  
 By faint degrees the radiant glance  
 Purples th' horizon's pale expanse,  
 And gilds the gloom with hasty smile :  
 Ah, fickle smile, too swiftly past !  
 Again resounds the sweeping blast ;  
 With hoarser din the demon howls,  
 Again the blackening concave scowls !  
 Sudden, the shades of the meridian night  
 Yield to the triumph of rekindling light :  
 The reddening sun regains his golden sway,  
 And Nature stands reveal'd in all her bright array.

## II.

Such was the changeful conflict that pass'd  
 With trembling tumult every British breast ;  
 When Albion, towering in the van sublime  
 Of Glory's march, from clime to clime  
 Envied, belov'd, rever'd, renown'd,  
 Her brows with every blissful chaplet bound ;  
 When, in her mid career of state,  
 She felt her Monarch's awful fate !—  
 Till Mercy from th' Almighty throne  
 Look'd down on man, and, waving wide  
 Her wreath, that, in the rainbow dyed,  
 With hues of soften'd lustre shone,

And bending from her sapphire cloud,  
 O'er regal grief benignant bow'd;  
 To transport turn'd a people's fears,  
 And stay'd a people's tide of tears:  
 Bade this blest dawn with beams auspicious spring,  
 With hope serene, with healing in its wing;  
 And gave a Sovereign o'er a grateful land  
 Again with vigorous grasp to stretch the scepter'd hand.

## III.

O favour'd King, what rapture more refin'd,  
 What mightier joy, can fill the human mind,  
 Than that the Monarch's conscious bosom feels,  
 At whose dread throne a Nation kneels,  
 And hails its Father, Friend, and Lord,  
 To life's career, to patriot sway, restor'd;  
 And bids the loud responsive voice  
 Of union all around rejoice?  
 For thus to thee when Britons bow,  
 Warm and spontaneous from the heart,  
 As late their tears, their transports start,  
 And Nature dictates Duty's vow.  
 To thee, recall'd to sacred health,  
 Did the proud City's lavish wealth,  
 Did crowded streets alone display  
 The long-drawn blast, the fatal ray?  
 Meek Poverty her scanty cottage grac'd,  
 And sung her gleam across the lonely waste!  
 Th' exulting isle in one wide triumph strove,  
 One social sacrifice of reverential love.

## IV.

Such pure unprompted praise do kingdoms pay,  
 Such willing zeal, to thrones of lawless sway?  
 Ah! how unlike the vain, the venal lore  
 To Latian rulers dealt of yore,  
 O'er guilty pomp, and hated power,  
 When stream'd the sparkling panegyrick shower;  
 And slaves, to sovereigns unindear'd,  
 Their pageant-trophies coldly rear'd!  
 For are the charities, that blend  
 Monarch with man, to tyrants known?  
 The tender ties, that to the throne  
 A mild domestic glory lend?  
 Of wedded love the league sincere,  
 The virtuous consort's faithful tear!—  
 Nor this the verse that Flattery brings,  
 Nor here I strike a Syren's strings:

Here, kindling with her country's warmth, the Muse  
 Her country's proud triumphant theme pursues :  
 Ev'n needles here the tribute of her lay :—  
 Albion the garland gives—on this distinguish'd day.

PROLOGUE, *by the AUTHOR, to FALSE APPEARANCES,*  
*a Comedy, altered from the French.*

*Spoken by Mr. WROUGHTON.*

**L**AUNCH'D on the bosom of the gentle tide,  
 With friendly hands its easy course to guide ;  
 With gilded tackling, and with silken-sail,  
 To catch of kind applause the flatt'ring gale ;  
 Say, what strange frenzy in the Poet's brain,  
 Urg'd his frail bark to tempt the stormy main,  
 (Far from the kindly safe protecting shore)  
 Where the winds whistle and the tempests roar ?  
 With such a cargo too, such motley stuff !  
 For 'tis a strange assortment, sure enough.  
 Some prose, some verse, some merry, and some sad ;  
 Some good, we hope ; and, much I doubt, some bad ;  
 Some old, some new ; some English, some from France,  
 Tho' not their weeping comedy, nor dance.  
 An Abbé, too ! a sight you've seldom seen ;  
 A parrot cloath'd in black, instead of green ;  
 Half church, half lay, half clerk, half militant !  
 Tho' in a band, the creature will not cant.  
 He's light too, not o'ercharg'd with cleric lore ;  
 One good fat parson would outweigh a score :  
 He will not therefore sink us by his weight,  
 And if he makes you laugh, he pays his freight.  
 We're all aboveboard—did not mean to steal,  
 But to declare our goods, and fairly deal ;  
 All in the legal way of importation,  
 Tho' there may be some small *adulteration*.  
 Some merit yet 's our merchant author's plea,  
 From Gallic chains he set his drama free ;  
 Where the ear's wearied with perpetual rhimes,  
 Like the dull jingle of their clatt'ring chimes ;  
 Where male and female verse, with constant strife,  
 Drag one sad endless yoke, like man and wife.  
 But let our blame be bounded as it ought,  
 No general censure suits a single fault.  
 How often mix'd in the same garden grows  
 The baneful hemlock with the fragrant rose !  
 And 'tis here common sense each man relies on,  
 To chuse the perfume, and reject the poison.



In fame and honour long their stage has shin'd,  
 Correct in manners, as in taste refin'd;  
 We'd not detract an atom from their praise,  
 But add the civic to the Muse's bays;  
 And should the Genius of this happy isle  
 On Gallia's sons at length propitious smile,  
 While in each breast the patriot spirit glows,  
 We'd hail as brothers whom we've met as foes;  
 To the same point their generous ardour tends,  
 The friends to freedom must be Britain's friends,  
 And may the Sov'reign Power that rules above,  
 Unbounded in its wisdom as its love,  
 To no one nation, no one spot confin'd,  
 Extend that best of blessings to mankind!

EPILOGUE, by Lieutenant General BURGOYNE.

Spoken by Miss FARREN.

(A Looking Glass hanging from her Wrist.)

SOLDIERS turn'd Poets!—that's no mighty wonder;  
 But, 'stead of tragic battle, death, and thunder,  
 Our Bard takes *False Appearances* in hand,  
 A subject he could never understand.  
 Peace, then, to efforts in these scenes display'd,  
 I come to try the world in masquerade;  
 From every borrow'd dress to strip the mind,  
 And, 'midst distortions, Nature's image find.  
 This wondrous mirror—look at it with awe—  
 Is that which Addison in vision saw,  
 When, beaming o'er each sex in age and youth,  
 The hand of Justice held the glass of Truth.  
 Where it has lain, none knows—by interest hid,  
 In cities dreaded, and in courts forbid;  
 But, with this wreath of fadeless laurel round it,  
 Dropt in the Muse's walk, our Poet found it.  
 Ye party tribes blest with so many faces,  
 Ye know not which to chuse in certain cases;  
 Or ye with *one*, one ever-pregnant smile,  
 Proof to all changes of this changeful isle;  
 Maids, wives, and widows, all are in my power,—  
 'This is no dreaming, visionary hour;  
 For by this light of conscious lamps I swear,  
 'This dear, sweet gift, shall shew me what you are.  
 Hats off,—down fans,—no hoodwinks while you're try'd;  
 And, Sir, your head not quite so much aside.

[Offering to lift up the glass.

L 4

Come,

Come, don't be frighten'd, harshness I disclaim :  
Soft as the modified electric flame,  
This subtle influence, tho' 'twould pierce a rock,  
Shall play, not injure,—I'll keep back the shock.

Now for it. [*Waving the glass over all the House.*]

Culprits, you are all detected!

[*A long pause.*]

Upon my word, better than I expected!  
Save one fond pair, caught in a tender oath,  
Sigh'd, look'd, return'd, and felt—a fib in both;  
Save wedded sweetlings, mutually sincere,  
Who mean, “My devil!” when they list, “My dear;”  
Save certain smirks to cover peccadillos,  
And keep all quiet on domestic pillows.  
From high to low, from perriwig to feather,  
More honest folks were never met together.  
Yet, hold—methought I saw,—I vow I've got 'em—  
O Lord! how near my eye the glass has brought 'em—  
Two critics, with whole pocket-books of hints  
For *False Appearance* in to-morrow's prints;  
For bard, and actors, comments false and true,  
To mix with ministers, and buff and blue.  
Well, for the stage there's candour, though there's jest;  
But will your private satire stand the test?  
Look to *that* hint, ere with concentred rays  
This burning-glass sets columns in a blaze.  
Wit, whose clear essence never stains the paper,  
Shall separate and mount in pleasing vapour:  
But the black line drawn against real merit,  
The coarse thick virulence of party spirit;  
The pen envenom'd, and the hand unknown:  
Oh, what a smoke from sulphur, all their own!  
This touches few; the general point I yield;  
For *False Appearance* Britain is no field:  
Witness this audience, so well off to-night;  
Witness new audiences whom I invite.  
Come for the proof of being what we seem,  
And take my *fiat* for the world's esteem.  
Come crowds, and after-crowds, nor dare denial,  
On pain of being deem'd afraid of trial:  
Come with true pride, with open boldness come,  
You'll find me almost every night at home.

## S O N G.

By Dr. GLYNN, M. D. Fellow of King's College, Cambridge.

**T**EAZE me no more, nor think I care,  
 Tho' monarchs bow at Kitty's shrine,  
 Or powder'd coxcombs woo the fair,  
 Since Kitty is no longer mine.  
 Indiff'rent 'tis alike to me,  
 If my favourite dove be stole,  
 Whether its dainty feathers be  
 Pluck'd by the eagle or the owl.  
 If not for me its blushing lips  
 The rose-bud opens, what care I  
 Who the od'rous liquid sips,  
 The king of bees or butterfly?  
 Like me, the Indians of Peru,  
 Rich in mines of golden ore,  
 Dejected see the merchant's crew  
 Transport it to a foreign shore.  
 Seeks the slave despoil'd to know,  
 Whether his gold, in shape of lace,  
 Shine on the coat of birth-day beau,  
 Or wear the stamp of George's face?

## S O N G.

By RICHARD LOVELACE.—*From Specimens of the Early English Poets.*

**W**HY dost thou say I am forsworn,  
 Since thine I vow'd to be?  
 Lady, it is already morn;  
 It was last night I swore to thee  
 That fond impossibility.  
 Yet have I lov'd thee well, and long;  
 A tedious twelve-hours space!  
 I should all other beauties wrong,  
 And rob thee of a new embrace,  
 Did I still doat upon that face.

## S O N G.

ANONYMOUS.—*From the same.*

**I** Do confess thou'rt smooth and fair,  
 And I might have been brought to love thee;

But

But that I found the slightest pray'r  
 'That breath could move, had power to move thee;  
 But I can leave thee now alone  
 As worthy to be lov'd by none.

I do confess thou'rt sweet, but find  
 'Thee such an unfruit of thy sweets,  
 Thy favours are but like the wind  
 That kisseth every thing it meets.  
 Then, since thou canst with more than one;  
 Thou'rt worthy to be kiss'd by none.

The virgin rose, that untouch'd stands,  
 Arm'd with its briars, how sweet it smells!  
 But pluck'd and strain'd through ruder hands,  
 It's sweet no longer with it dwells.  
 But scent and beauty both are gone,  
 And leaves drop from it one by one.

Such fate, ere long, will thee betide,  
 When thou hast handled been awhile;  
 With fear flow'rs to be thrown aside,  
 And I shall sigh, while some will smile,  
 To see thy love for every one  
 Hath brought thee to be lov'd by none!

### T H E I V Y.

*This little Piece is modern, and its being a beautiful Imitation of the old  
 Poets is but the least of its Merits,*

**H**OW yonder ivy courts the oak,  
 And clips it with a false embrace!  
 So I abide a wanton's yoke,  
 And yield me to a smiling face.  
 And both our deaths will prove, I guess,  
 The triumph of unthankfulness.

How fain the tree would swell its rind!  
 But, vainly trying, it decays;  
 So fares it with my shackled mind,  
 So wastes the vigour of my days.  
 And soon our deeds will prove, I guess,  
 The triumph of unthankfulness.

A last, forlorn for lack of grace,  
 My kindly pity first did move;  
 And, in a little moment's space,  
 'This pity did engender love.  
 And now my death must prove, I guess,  
 The triumph of unthankfulness.

For now she rules me with her look,  
 And round me winds her harlot chain;  
 Whilst, by a strange enchantment struck,  
 My nobler will recoils in vain.  
 And soon my death will prove, I guess,  
 The triumph of unthankfulness.

But, had the oak denied its shade,  
 The weed had trail'd in dust below;  
 And she, had I her suit gainsay'd,  
 Might still have pin'd in want and woe:  
 Now, both our deaths will prove, I guess,  
 The triumph of unthankfulness.

## S O N G,

*Translated from the Greek\*, by JOHN BAYNES, Esq.*

QUAFF with me the purple wine,  
 And in youthful pleasures join;  
 With me love the blooming fair,  
 Crown with me thy flowing hair;  
 When sweet madness fires my soul,  
 Thou shalt rave without controul;  
 When I'm sober, sink with me  
 Into dull sobriety.

## S O N G,

*Translated from PHOENIX of COLOPHON, by the same.*

† Y E who to Sorrow's tender tale  
 With pity lend an ear,  
 A tribute to Corone † bring,  
 Apollo's favourite care.  
 Or barley-sheaf, or salt, or bread,  
 Corone shall receive,  
 Or clothes, or wheat—what every one  
 May best afford to give.  
 Who now bring salt, some future time  
 Will honey-combs prepare;  
 For most Corone's taste delights  
 Such humble homely fare.

\* See Athenæus.

† There were among the Greeks, as there are with us, blind men, who begged from door to door singing. This is one of their songs, preserved by Athenæus.

‡ The finger used to carry a raven on his hand, which he called *Corone*, (the Greek name for that bird) and for which he affected to beg.

Ye servants, open wide the door—  
 But hark,—the wealthy lord  
 Has heard,—his daughter brings the fruit  
 To grace Corone's board.  
 Ye gods! let suitors come from far,  
 To win the lovely maid;  
 And may she gain a wealthy youth  
 With every grace array'd!  
 Soon may she give an infant son  
 To bless her father's arms,  
 And place upon her mother's knee  
 A daughter full of charms!  
 O may she live to see her son  
 With every honour crown'd;  
 Her daughter, beauty's fairest flower,  
 Belov'd by all around!  
 While I, where'er my footsteps guide  
 My darken'd eyes along,  
 Cheer those who give, and who refuse,  
 With—all I have—a song.

PROLOGUE, *spoken by Mr. W. FECTOR, at his Private Theatre  
 at DOVER, Dec. 18, 1787.*

*Written, on the Occasion of the Performance of the Tragedy of Matilda, by  
 Mr. PRATT.*

**T**O fight, or not to fight?—that is the question?  
 The grand debate, and general suggestion:  
 The martial note of warlike preparation,  
 Rings an alarum bell throughout the nation:  
 There 's ammunition in each face you meet,  
 And smells of gunpowder in every street:  
 The regimental'd and the trowler'd trains  
 Already count their conquests and their gains.  
 The hardy veteran, now restor'd to pay,  
 Again anticipates the glorious fray,  
 Grasps his good sword, which peace condemn'd to rust,  
 And sees in vision squadrons bite the dust—  
 While the brave youth feels all his bosom glow,  
 Dreams every night he rushes on the foe:  
 Ev'n beardless boys assume the proud cockade,  
 Brandish their bamboos, and cry, “*who's afraid?*”  
 In short, so broad has spread the martial passion,  
 That blue and scarlet will be all the fashion.  
 O! had there been a war, Sirs, ere we play'd,  
 We would ourselves have join'd the glorious trade:

In case of proclamation, I bespoke—  
 An *Epic Prologue*, full of *fire* and *smoke* :  
 I had contracted with the *Muse*, to sound  
 The clarion till it echo'd ten miles round.  
 You should have seen, although no blood they spill,  
 A more than blunderbuss in every quill :  
 Here would we pitch our tents, and prove an host,  
 And *FECTOR*'s buskin'd heroes guard the coast.  
*To arms! to arms!*—blank verse and rhyme should rattle,  
 And every scene should animate the battle.  
 The foe should hear us more than half seas over,  
 And *dread* our cannonading here at *Dover*.  
 As erst in *Rome*, the dazzling eagle stood  
 On the chief's beaver in the *Granic* flood ;  
 Upon our helmets should it proudly light,  
 And our sport emulate the real fight :  
 Our little itage a war-office should be,  
 Fraught with *Dramatical Artillery!*  
 And *Master of our Ordnance*—*Nat. Lee*.  
 While *even you*, ye fair, in *Glory's cause*,  
 Would aid our thunder with your kind applause ;  
 For oh! in peace or war, in beauty's frown  
 More terror lies than sacking of a town ;  
 And from your smiles dart forth such conquering powers,—  
 I feel them *now*,—the victory is ours.

EPILOGUE to *Matilda*; *Written by Mr. COZZ, Author of the First Floor, &c. &c.*

*Spoken by Mr. FECTOR.*

WHILE, like the clock, the satirist so four  
 Still points his finger to the passing hour ;  
 In follies present loses follies past,  
 And swears this age much worse is than the last :  
 Why will not some good-natur'd souls among ye  
 Proclaim aloud how much such blockheads wrong ye ?  
 Improvement now old hobbling Time derides,  
 And hurries after with gigantic strides ;  
 Learn what you will, an advertising tutor,  
 Who teaches by the hour, becomes your suitor.  
 Why send a boy for years to school and college,  
 When he may travel post the roads of knowledge,  
 Where the blind tutor gallops, tho' a stranger,  
 Faster than him whose eyes descry his danger ?  
 Should your son wish in minuet step t' advance,  
 Twenty-four lessons teach the boy to dance.  
 Or, soaring to "*Comment vous portez vous?*"  
 French he may jabber in a day or two.

Then

Then as for music, half an hour each night,  
 And he 'll soon play an easy tune at sight.  
 Improvement thus improv'd by *distillation*,  
 A week at most compleats an education.  
 Would our young hero farther yet proceed,  
 And think it necessary he should read ;  
 Kind criticism, with candour long unknown,  
 (On pocket volumes rais'd her new-made throne)  
 ESSENCE of *Authors* daily advertises,  
 And sells their beauties at the lowest prices.  
 Nay, should the task of reading be too great,  
 There are " Societies for Free Debate,"  
 Where, for a single sixpence, once a week,  
 You 're taught to read,—at least you 're taught to speak ;  
 Where the wide range of subjects must admit  
 A something which shall every speaker hit.  
 The *Financier*, who, warm with rhet'ric grown,  
 Pays Britain's debts, but thinks not of his own,  
 Mourns o'er her treasury, tells how to stock it,  
 Speaks but of what he feels—an empty pocket.  
 Or, should debate round to taxation wheel,  
 There all must speak of what they all must feel.  
 The *City Blood*, who rails at the police,  
 Best knows its weakness, for he breaks the peace ;  
 Knocks watchmen down, to prove our laws not right,  
 And in the watch-house roars reform all night.  
 —But hold, our Prompter beckons !—could I stay,  
 I meant to give the moral of our play ;  
 To talk of *Edwin's* virtues—*Morcar's* rage—  
 And sermonize the follies of the age ;  
 Then quick as thought digress to silks and gauze,  
 To Rival Theatres, and Monstrous Craws ;  
 Mix politics with satire on a gown,  
 And put in rhyme the news of all the town.  
 All this, aye, and much more, I had to say,  
 But for this Prompter, whom I must obey ;  
 Who swears he will not prompt another time :  
 So go I must,—adieu ! the fault's not mine.

## L I N E S

Written by MARY Queen of SCOTS, on the Loss of her Husband, FRANCIS II.  
 of France, with an English Translation.

From *Anecdotes*, by M. P. ANDREWS, Esq.

**E**N mon triste & doux chant,      **I**N melting strains that sweetly flow,  
 D'un ton fort lamentable,      Tun'd to the plaintive notes of woe,  
Je



Je jette un œil tranchant,  
De perte incomparable,  
Et en soupirs cuisans  
Passe mes meilleurs ans.

Fut-il un tel malheur,  
De dure destinée,  
Ny si triste douleur  
De dame fortunée,  
Qui mon cœur & mon œil  
Voix en bierre & cercueil ?

Qui, en mon dou printems,  
Et fleur de ma jeunesse,  
Toutes les peines sens  
D'une extrême tristesse,  
Et en rien n'ay plaisir,  
Qu'en regret et desir.

Ce qui m'estoit plaisant  
Ores m'est peine dure,  
Le jour le plus luisant,  
M'est nuit noire & obscure,  
Et n'est rien si exquis,  
Qui de moy soit requis.

J'y au cœur, & à l'œil,  
Un portrait & image,  
Qui figure mon deuil ;  
Et mon paste visage,  
De violettes teint,  
Qui est l'amoureux teint.

Pour mon mal estranger,  
Je ne m'arreste en place ;  
Mair, j'en ay beau changer,  
Si ma douleur j'efface ;  
Car mon pis & mon mieux,  
Sont mes plus deserts lieux.

Si en quelque séjour,  
Soit en bois ou en prée,  
Soit pour l'aube de jour ;  
Ou soit pour la vesprée,  
Sans cesse mon cœur sent,  
Le regret d'un absent.

Si par foi vers ces lieux,  
Viens a dresser ma veüe,

My eyes survey, with anguish fraught,  
A lofs beyond the reach of thought :  
While pass away life's fairest years  
In heaving sighs and mournful tears.

Did cruel Destiny e'er shed  
Such horror on a wretched head ?  
Did e'er once happy woman know  
So sad a scene of heart-felt woe ?  
For ah ! behold on yonder bier  
All that my heart and eyes held dear.

Alas ! even in my blooming hours,  
Mid op'ning youth's resplendent flow'rs,  
I'm doom'd each cruel pang to share,  
Th' extremest sorrows of despair,  
Nor other joy nor blifs can prove  
Than grief and disappointed love.

The sweet delights of happier days,  
New anguish in my bosom raise ;  
Of shining day, the purest light  
To me is drear and gloomy night ;  
Nor is there aught so good and fair,  
As now to claim my lightest care.

In my full heart and streaming eyes,  
Portray'd by woe, an image lies,  
Which sable robes but faintly speak,  
Or the pale languor of my cheek,  
Pale as the violet's faded leaf,  
The tint of love's despairing grief.

Perplex'd by this unwonted pain,  
No place my steps can long detain,  
Yet change of scene no comfort gives,  
Where sorrow's form for ever lives.  
My worst, my happiest, state of mind,  
In solitude alone, I find.

If chance my listless footsteps leads  
Thro' shady groves, or flowery meads,  
Whether at dawn of rising day,  
Or silent evening's setting ray,  
Each grief that absence can impart,  
Incessant rends my tortur'd heart.

If to the heavens, in rapturous trance,  
I haply throw a wistful glance,

Je

Je doux trait de ces yeux,  
Je vois en une nûe ;  
Soudain je vois en l'eau.  
Comme dans un tombeau.

Si je suis en repos,  
Sommeillant sur ma couche,  
J'oye qu'il me tient propos,  
Je le sens qu'il me touche :  
Et labour, en recoy,  
Tousjours est prest de moy.

Je ne vois autre objet,  
Pour beau qu'il le présente  
Aqui que soit subjer  
Onques mon cœur consente,  
Exempt de perfection,  
A cette affliction.

Mets, chanson, icy fin,  
A si triste complainte,  
Dont sera le refrain.  
Amour vraye & non feinte  
Pour la séparation,  
N'aura diminution.

His visionary form I see,  
Pictur'd in orient clouds ; to me,  
Sudden it flies, and he appears,  
Drown'd in a wat'ry tomb of tears.

Awhile if balmy slumbers spread  
Their downy pinions o'er my head,  
I touch his hand in shadowy dreams,  
His voice to soothe my fancy seems.  
When wak'd by toil, or lull'd by rest,  
His image ever fills my breast.

No other object meets my sight,  
How'er in robes of beauty dight,  
Which to my sad despairing heart,  
One transient wish will e'er impart ;  
Exempt from that unalter'd woe,  
Which this sad breast must ever know.

But cease my song—Cease to complain !  
And close the sadly plaintive strain,  
To which, no artificial tears,  
But love unfeign'd the burthen bears.  
Nor can my sorrows e'er decrease ;  
For ah ! his absence ne'er can cease.

*On the late AMERICAN WAR.*

UPON a trefle, pig was laid,  
And a sad squealing sure it made.  
Kill-pig stood by with knife and steel :  
“ Lie quiet, can't you ?—Why d' ye squeal ?  
“ Have I not fed you with my pease,  
“ And now, for trifles such as these,  
“ Will you rebel ?—Brimful of victual,  
“ Won't you be kill'd and cur'd a little ?”  
To whom thus piggy, in reply :  
“ Think'st thou that I shall quiet lie,  
“ And that for pease my life I'll barter ?”—  
“ Then, piggy, you must shew your charter ;  
“ Shew you're exempted more than others,  
“ Else go to pot like all your brothers.—  
“ Help, neighbours ! help !—his pig's so strong,  
“ I think I cannot hold him long.  
“ Help, neighbours ! I can't keep him under !  
“ Where are you all ?—See, by your blunder,  
“ He's burst his cords !—A brute uncivil,  
“ He's gone !—I'll after—to the devil !”

EPIGRAM.

## E P I G R A M.

**D**O you, said Fanny, t'other day,  
 In earnest love me as you say?  
 Or are those tender words applied  
 Alike to fifty girls beside?  
 —Dear, cruel girl, cried I, forbear;  
 For by those eyes—those lips—I swear—  
 —She stopp'd me as the oath I took,  
 And cried, you 've sworn—now kiss the book.

## E P I G R A M.

*Ignotum omne pro magnifico.*

**A**VERSE to pamper'd and high-mettled steeds,  
 His own upon chopt straw Avaro feeds:  
 Bred in his stable, in his paddock born,  
 What vast ideas they must have of corn!

*Verfes on Miss FARREN's acting in DUBLIN for the Benefit of Persons  
 confined for small Debts.*

*By Sir HERCULES LANGRISH, Bart.*

**T**HE lovely Farren's tender breast,  
 Glowing with generous sympathy,  
 Aspires to comfort the oppress'd  
 And bid captivity be free.—

Yet still her kind exertions fail,  
 Her charms retract the boon she gave,  
 And whilst her magic breaks the jail,  
 Her eyes make every man a slave.

*Translation of three Hymns, supposed to have been written by the Greek Poet  
 DIONYSIUS, and set to ancient Greek Music.—From Dr. BURNEY's His-  
 tory of Music.*

*H Y M N to the Muse CALLIOPE.*

**O**MUSE beloved, Calliope divine,  
 The first in rank among the tuneful nine,  
 Guide thou my hand, and voice, and let my lyre  
 Re-echo back the notes thy strains inspire.

And thou, great leader of the sacred band,  
 Latona's son, at whose sublime command  
 The spheres are tun'd, whom god and men declare  
 Sov'reign of song, propitious hear my pray'r.

## HYMN to APOLLO.

THROUGH nature's wide domain  
 Let solemn silence reign ;  
 Let all the mountains, hills and floods,  
 The earth, the sea, the winds and woods,  
 The echoes, and the feather'd throng,  
 Forbear to move, or tune their song.

Behold the lord of light  
 Begins to bless our sight ;  
 Phœbus, whose voice divinely clear  
 E'en Jove himself delights to hear ;  
 Great father of the bright-eyed morn,  
 Whose shoulders golden locks adorn !

Swift through the azure sky  
 O let thy coursers fly ;  
 And with them draw that radiant car,  
 Which spreads thy splendid rays afar,  
 Filling all space at thy desire  
 With torrents of immortal fire.

For thee, serene advance  
 The spheres in solemn dance,  
 For ever singing as they move  
 Around the sacred throne of Jove,  
 Songs accordant to thy lyre,  
 While all the heav'nly host admire.

And when the god of day  
 Withdraws his golden ray,  
 Do thou, sweet Cynthia, bless our sight  
 With thy mild beams and silver light ;  
 Oh spread thy snowy mantle round,  
 And wrap the world in peace profound.

## HYMN to NEMESIS.

AVENGING Nemesis, of rapid wing,  
 Goddess of eye severe, thy praise we sing :  
 Against thy influence, ruler of our lives,  
 Daughter of Justice, man but vainly strives.  
 'Tis thine to check, with adamantinè rein,  
 The pride of mortals, and their wishes vain,

Of insolence to blunt the lifted dart,  
And drive black envy from the canker'd heart.

Still at the pleasure of thy restless wheel,  
Whose track the fates from human eyes conceal,  
Our fortune turns ; and in life's toilsome race  
'Tis thine, invisible, our steps to trace ;  
To strew with flow'rs, or thorns, the doubtful maze,  
And by thy rule to circumscribe our days.

Insulting tyrants, at thy dire decree,  
Bow the proud head and bend the stubborn knee :  
Inflexible to each unjust demand  
Frowning thou hold'st thy scales with steady hand,  
Incorruptible judge, whom nought can move,  
Nor less infallible than mighty Jove ;  
Great guardian ! ever watchful, ever near,  
O sacred minister of justice, hear !

Avenging Nemesis, of rapid wing,  
Goddess of eye severe, thy praise we sing ;  
And let Aetrea, thy companion, share  
Our pious praises, and our fervent pray'r.  
She mounts the skies, or plunges into hell  
With rapid flight, the deeds of man to tell ;  
Dread justice ! whose report has power t' assuage  
The wrath of gods, and calm infernal rage.

*Translation of Greek Scolia or festive Songs.—From the same Author.*

V I L E riches should no favour find,  
By land or sea, among mankind ;  
But should be sent with fiends to dwell,  
Down in the deepest, blackest hell :  
For 'tis from them, e'er since the world began,  
The greatest ills have sprung, which torture man.

*Another.*

A T the genial board I sing  
Pleasures which from plenty spring :  
Whilst the wreath adorns our brows,  
Ceres well deserves our vows.  
Plutus too, thy name I'll join,  
And thy sister Proserpine.

Ye our social joys augment,  
From your bounty flows content.

Bless our city with increase,  
And our song shall never cease.

*Another.—On PAN.*

O PAN, delight of nymphs and swains,  
Protector of Arcadian plains,  
Who lead'st the frolic dance ;  
The laughing fair, who play the prude,  
But fly from thee to be pursued,  
Their favours to enhance.

They love thy rustic oaten reed,  
They know thy vigour, force and speed,  
And feign a modest fear.  
Our jocund strains shall swell for thee,  
And render, by their mirth and glee,  
Thy name for ever dear.

ARISTOTLE'S *Hymn to HERMIAS.*

VIR TUE, thou source of pure delight,  
Whose rugged mien can ne'er affright  
The man with courage fir'd ;  
For thee the sons of Greece have run  
To certain ills, which others shun,  
And gloriously expir'd.

Whene'er thy sacred seeds take root,  
Immortal are the flow'rs and fruit,  
Unfading are the leaves ;  
Dearer than smiles of parent kind,  
Or balmy sleep, or gold refin'd  
The joys thy triumph gives.

For thee the twins of mighty Jove,  
For thee divine Alcides strove  
From vice the world to free ;  
For thee Achilles quits the light,  
And Ajax plunges into night,  
Eternal night, for thee.

Hermias, the darling of mankind,  
Shall leave a deathless name behind,  
For thee untimely slain ;  
As long as Jove's bright altars blaze,  
His worth shall furnish grateful praise  
To all the muse's train.

VERSES *by the late Sir JOHN HENRY MOORE, Bart. written to a Lady a few months before his death.*

**I**F in that breast, so good, so pure,  
 Compassion ever loved to dwell,  
 Pity the sorrows I endure,  
 The cause I must not—dare not tell.

The grief that on my quiet preys,  
 That rends my heart and checks my tongue,  
 I fear will last me all my days,  
 But feel it will not last me long.

The following IMITATIONS are selected from “Poems, by the late Thomas Russell, fellow of New College.”

S O N E T T O  
 DI FAUSTINA MARATTI.

**D**ONNA, che tanto al mio bel Sol piacesti,  
 Che ancor de' pregi tuoi parla sovente,  
 Lodando ora il bel crine, ora il ridente  
 Tuo labbro, ed ora i faggi detti onesti;  
 Dimmi, quando le voci a lui volgesti,  
 Tacque egli mai, qual' uom che nulla sente?  
 O le turbate luci alteramente,  
 Come a me volge, a te volger vedesti?  
 De' tuoi bei lumi alle due chiare faci  
 Io so ch' egli arse un tempo, e so che allora—  
 Ma tu declini al suol gli occhi vivaci?  
 Veggo il rossor, che le tue guance infiora:  
 Parla, rispondi; ah! non risponder, taci,  
 Taci, se mi vuoi dir, ch' ei t' ama ancora.

S O N N E T,

*Imitated from the preceding.*

**T**OO beauteous rival, whose enticing charms  
 Once to my heart's sole darling seem'd so fair,  
 That oft he praises still thy ivory arms,  
 Thy ruby lips, blue eyes, and auburn hair;  
 Say, when he heard thy tongue's seducing strain,  
 Stood he e'er silent, or with scorn replied,  
 Or turn'd with alter'd brow of cold disdain  
 From thy soft smiles, as now from mine, aside?  
 Once, once, too well I know, he held thee dear,  
 And then, when captive to thy sovereign will—

But why that look abash'd, that starting tear,  
 Those conscious blushes which my fears fulfil?  
 Speak, answer, speak; nay answer not, forbear,  
 If thou must answer, that he loves thee still.

## B E L I N D E.

## EIN SONNET VON HERR GLEIM.

**D**AS letztere leichtflatternde gewand  
 Sank! Welch ein blick! die artige Belinde  
 Ward um und um ein spiel der sanften winde,  
 Wo sie, wie Venus einst, auf Ida stand.  
 Durch ihren reiz, durch ihre zarte hand,  
 Von der ich noch den sanften scherz empfinde,  
 Durch alles was an ihr mein auge fand,  
 Floss in mein herz das süsse gift der sünde.  
 Erstaunt, entzückt, mir selber unbewußt,  
 Bemächtigte sich die gewalt der sinnen,  
 Ach! allzubald der tugend meiner brust.  
 Du, der du sagst; Ich will den sieg gewinnen;  
 Ach! laß doch nie das süsse gift der lust,  
 Laß es doch nie nach deinem herzen rinnen.

## S O N N E T,

*Imitated from the preceding.*

**F**ROM her fair limbs the last thin veil she drew,  
 And naked stood in all her charms confess'd,  
 The wanton gales her ringlets backward blew,  
 To sport themselves more freely on her breast:  
 From each warm beauty of th' uncover'd maid,  
 Before scarce guess'd at, or but seen in part,  
 From all, for all was to my eyes display'd,  
 Delicious poison trickled to my heart:  
 Since thus I gaz'd (was mine to gaze the blame?)  
 Nor bliss my soul has tasted, nor repose;  
 The subtle venom glides thro' all my frame,  
 And in my brain a fiery deluge glows:  
 Thou, who my pangs wouldst shun, with wiser care  
 The spot, where Cynthia bathes at noon, beware,

## S O N E T O

## DE LUIZ DE CAMOENS.

**A** Fermosura desta fresca serra,  
 E a sombra dos verdes castanheiros,  
 O manso caminhar destes ribeiros,  
 Donde toda a tristeza se desterra;

O rouco



O rouco fom do mar, a eſtranha terra,  
 O eſconder do Sol pelos outeiros,  
 O recolher dos gados derradeiros,  
 Das nuvens pelo ar a branda guerra;  
 Em fim tudo o que a rara natureza  
 Com tanta variedade nos ofrece,  
 Me eſta, ſe não te vejo, magoando :  
 Sem ti tudo me enoja, e me aborrece,  
 Sem ti perpetuamente eſtou paſſando  
 Nas môres alegrias mór triſteza.

## S O N N E T,

*Imitated from the preceding.*

**T**H E S E hills that lift their verdant heads ſo high,  
 Theſe towering palms that form a cooling' ſhade,  
 Theſe moſs-grown banks for peaceful ſlumbers made,  
 This lingering ſtream that flows in ſilence by,  
 The diſtant-murmuring main, the zephyr's ſigh,  
 The ſun that ſinks behind yon duſky glade,  
 The nibbling flocks that crop their evening blade,  
 Thoſe glittering clouds that fringe the weſtern ſky ;  
 Each various beauty, which the vernal year  
 Pours out profuſe on woodland, vale, or plain,  
 Each paſtoral charm, ſince thou no more art near,  
 Smiles not to theſe ſad eyes, or ſmiles in vain ;  
 Even ſcenes like theſe a cheerleſs aſpect wear,  
 And pleaſure ſickens, till it turns to pain.

## A N E I N V E I L C H E N.

Von C. F. W E I S S E.

**M**E I N Veilchen, laſs die ſchmeicheleyen  
 Des jungen Zephyrs dich nicht reuen,  
 Du unſrer gärten erſte Zier!  
 Dich ſoll ein ſchöner loos beglücken ;  
 Den ſchönſten buſen ſollſt du ſckmücken,  
 Und alle Grazien mit dir.

Ja, an dem buſen von Selinden  
 Sollſt du den ſtolzen wohnplatz finden !—  
 Vor freuden, ſeh ich, zitterſt du :  
 Hier laſs dich ſtolzre blumen neiden,  
 Und duſt ihr dankbar alle freuden  
 Der ſüßeſten gerüche zu !

Geh hin zu ihren schönen händen !  
 Durch dich, mein glücke zu vollenden,  
 Sey ihr mein treues herz erklärt !—  
 Umsonst ! wie könnte dies geschehen ?  
 Wie bald, wie bald wirst du vergehen,  
 Da ewig meine liebe währt !

## T O A V I O L E T.

*Imitated from the two first stanzas of the preceding POEM.*

**T**H O' from thy bank of velvet torn,  
 Hang not, fair flower, thy drooping crest ;  
 On Delia's bosom shalt thou find  
 A softer sweeter bed of rest.

Tho' from mild Zephyr's kiss no more  
 Ambrosial balms thou shalt inhale,  
 Her gentle breath, whene'er she sighs,  
 Shall fan thee with a purer gale.

But thou be grateful for that bliss  
 For which in vain a thousand burn,  
 And, as thou stealest sweets from her,  
 Give back thy choicest in return.

*From ODE XVII. of "Exposulatory Odes to a great Duke and a little Lord, by PETER PINDAR, Esq."*

**J**UST one word more, my Lords, before we part—  
 Do not vow vengeance on the tuneful art ;  
 'Tis very dang'rous to attack a poet—  
 Also ridiculous—the end would show it.  
 Though not to *write*—to *read* I hear you're able :—  
 Read, then, and learn instruction from a fable.

*The PIG and MAGPIE. A Fable.*

Cocking his tail, a saucy prig,  
 A Magpie hopp'd upon a Pig,  
 To pull some hair, forsooth, to line his nest ;  
 And with such ease began the hair attack,  
 As thinking the fee simple of the back  
 Was by himself, and not the Pig, possess'd.  
 The Boar lock'd up as thunder black to Mag,  
 Who, squinting down on him like an arch wag,  
 Inform'd Mynheer some bristles must be torn ;  
 Then busy went to work, not nicely culling ;  
 Got a good handsome beakfull by good pulling,  
 And flew without a "Thank ye" to his thorn.

The Pig fet up a dismal yelling ;  
Follow'd the robber to his dwelling,  
Who, like a fool, had built it midst a bramble :  
In manfully he sallied, full of might,  
Determin'd to obtain his right.

And midst the bushes now began to scramble.

He drove the Magpie, tore his nest to rags,  
And, happy on the downfall, pour'd his brags :

But ere he from the brambles came, alack !

His ears and eyes were miserably torn,  
His bleeding hide in such a plight forlorn,

He could not count ten hairs upon his back.

---

This is a pretty tale, my Lords, and pat :  
To folks like you, so clever, *verbum sat*.

## ACCOUNT of BOOKS for 1789.

*Three Essays on Picturesque Beauty, on Picturesque Travel, and on sketching Landscape—to which is added a Poem on Landscape Painting. By William Gilpin, M. A. Prebendary of Sarum, and Vicar of Boldre in New Forest near Lyminster.*

THE author of the picturesque tours through Great Britain, hath been many years most successfully engaged in delineating the infinitely varied scenery of his native country, as it presented itself to him in its most sublime and beautiful forms, of mountain, wood, lake, river, sea views, a continually diversified level, and what gives the most enchanting effect to the whole, that exquisite verdure, conveying the united ideas of beauty and fertility, in which respect it shines unrivalled by any other climate.—The powers of his pen and pencil have been combined in illustrating a subject so worthy of them, and it is hard to determine, whether the skill of the *artist* has been more happily displayed in *sketching* objects, than the taste of the *writer* in the energy and perspicuity of his *verbal delineation*. There subsists undoubtedly a strict analogy between the arts of *painting* and *fine writing*—he who admires one, has invariably an exquisite relish of the other. Of the mutual light and reciprocal assistance they may afford each other, our author has given us

a striking instance in his remarks at p. 18. “Language,” he observes, “like light, is a medium; and the true philosophic style, like light from a north window, exhibits objects clearly and distinctly, without soliciting attention to itself. In painting subjects of amusement indeed, language may gild somewhat more, and colour with the dies of fancy: but where information is of more importance than entertainment, though you cannot throw too strong a light, you should carefully avoid a *coloured* one. The style of some writers resembles a bright light placed between the eye and the thing to be looked at; the light shews itself, and hides the object; and it must be allowed, the execution of some painters is as impertinent as the style of such writers.

Mr. G. by the extent and variety of his classical learning, hath been enabled to open the great storehouse of picturesque description, which the Greek and Roman poets have so amply supplied, more eminently Homer and Virgil, who were never so delightfully engaged as in *painting* the sublimity and simplicity of nature.

But though the scientific painter, and all whose taste has been cultivated on the true principles of the art, have long known how to appreciate the value of Mr. Gilpin's works, and have long acknowledged their consummate merit: it must be confessed that the author appeals  
with

with great disadvantage to the ordinary opinion of the public, who are contented to admire without discrimination general objects of beauty, as affording equal sources of amusement—while the eye well practised in the art, is pleased only with things as they are properly disposed for the pencil, and examines the face of nature only by the rules of painting, the ordinary reader, accustomed to derive exquisite relish from a general survey of things, was offended to be told, that his views were misdirected and his sensations of nature's beauty false and ill founded, that he must not judge of beauty till he is grown scientific, and has formed his acquired taste by artificial rules dictated by his instructor.—In the order of things perhaps *these* essays, which chiefly contain a summary of scientific principles, might with more propriety have preceded the publication of *his tours*, which present a practical illustration of these principles by example—he might previously and gradually have unfolded his design, and prepared the eye to survey proper objects in their due positions and lights—he might thus have easily obviated much misconception and much prejudice resulting from it.

The purport of the first essay is to mark the distinguishing characteristic of such *beautiful* objects as are suited to the *pencil*. To avoid confusion, and correct misapprehension, he holds it necessary to separate what is simply *beautiful* from what is strictly *picturesque*—that which pleases the eye in its natural state, from that which has a quality capable of being illustrated in *painting*.—Ideas of beauty vary with the object and the eye of the spectator, and

those artificial forms are the most beautiful to each eye respectively, which are most *habitual*. The *scenarion* admires a well jointed wall, which the *architect* overlooks. As there exists a *real* difference between the beautiful and the picturesque, it is worth while to enquire what is that quality in the constitution of objects which particularly marks them as picturesque.—The real object affords one source of beauty in that species of elegance we call *smooth* or *neat*; we see it in the polish of the marble and glitter of the silver, and in the brightness of the mahogany, as if the eye delighted to glide smoothly over the object. But in *picturesque representation* he rejects *neat* and *smooth* from any pretensions to beauty; on the contrary, he makes *roughness* or *ruggedness* the essential difference of the beautiful picturesque, and contends that this *particular* quality makes the object pleasing in *painting*, whether it be in the outline and bark of a tree or in the rude summit and craggy sides of a mountain. Apply this theory to experience. Introduce the most elegant piece of Palladian architecture into a picture, and it becomes a *formal* object. To give it picturesque beauty, you break it into heaps of ruin; instead of smooth, you make it rough, and it becomes picturesque. The human form in a *quiescent* state admits of high *beauty*; yet when it is agitated with passion, and its muscles swollen with strong exertion, the frame is then shewn to great advantage, and becomes picturesque; we admire the Laocoon more than the Antigonus—we admire the horse as a real object, his elegant form and his glossy coat; but in the picture of Berghem, you still more admire the worn-out cart-horse, whose harder

lines and rougher coat better express the graces of the pencil. The lion with his rough mane, the bristly boar, the ruffled plumage of the eagle, are all objects of this sort. It is not for the greater *ease of execution*, as some suppose, that the artist prefers the *rough* to the smooth object; his composition requires it. If the history painter threw all his draperies *smooth* over his figures, his groups would be very awkward. In landscape painting smooth objects would produce no composition at all. *Variety* and *contrast* too he finds in rough objects, and none at all in the smooth—the effect of light and shade, the richness of a *surface* and the catching light, all result from *rough* objects.—These only give the advantage of colouring, while smooth bodies afford an uniform colour as well as surface. Not that we are to exclude every idea of smoothness from picturesque beauty.—The smooth lake, the marmoreum æquor we acknowledge to be picturesque, tho' it subsists more in *reality* than *appearance*. Were the lake spread on the canvas in one simple hue, it would be a dull object; to the eye it appears broken by various shades, by the undulations of water and the reflection of rough objects around it—it is in fact chiefly picturesque by contrast, as the beauty of an old head is improved by the smoothness of the bald pate.—If we ask why the quality of roughness makes the essential difference between the *beautiful* and the *picturesque*; after a variety of conjectures, the author shrinks from the investigation. We are baffled in our search after first principles: “in philosophy, in physics, in metaphysics, and even in the polite arts, the enquiry is equally vague, we are puzzled and bewil-

ered but not informed.”—It appears that Sir J. Reynolds, in his letter to Mr. G. understood the term *picturesque* as synonymous with *taste*, and so applicable to Rubens and the Venetian school, not to Raphael or Michael Angelo; as it might be applied to Pope and Prior and not to Homer and Milton.—Mr. G. uses it merely to denote such objects as are proper subjects for painting, the cartoons or a slower piece being, according to his definition, equally picturesque.

In treating of picturesque travel, in the second *essay*, he considers first its object and then its *sources* of amusement.—Its object is beauty of every kind, either in art or nature; but chiefly of the species last considered.—The picturesque traveller pursues it through the scenery of nature, and tries it by the rules of painting; he seeks it among all the ingredients of *landscape*, which in themselves are infinitely varied; they are varied secondly by combinations, and again almost as much by lights and shades and other aerial effects.—Sometimes they exhibit a *whole*, but oftener only beautiful *parts*.—Sublimity alone does not make an object of picturesque, it must necessarily be connected with some degree of beauty, as the ocean, unaccompanied by circumstances, loses its sublime character.—The curious fantastic forms of nature, the spiry pinnacle and castle-like rock, do not please the picturesque eye: it is fond of the simplicity of *nature*, and sees most beauty in her most *usual* forms: the Giants' Causeway strikes as a novelty, the Lake of Killarney gives delight: it would repose in the sweet vales of Switzerland, but glances only through the glaciers of Savoy. But it examines

not only the form and composition of objects, it connects them with the infinitely varied *effects of the atmosphere*.—Besides the inanimate face of nature, and its living forms of men and animals and every shape of being, it ranges also through the limits of the arts, and surveys the picture, the statue, the garden: it is most eagerly inquisitive after the elegant relics of antient architecture, the gothic arch, the ruined castle and abbey.—From the objects of picturesque travel we turn to its *sources of amusement*; or what is higher than amusement, when in the search of beauty we look up to the great *origin of all beauty, the first good, first perfect and first fair*.—The primary source of amusement to the picturesque traveller is the pursuit of his object, when novelty meets him at every step, and every distant horizon promises a fresh gratification.—After the *pursuit we attain the object*; we now examine the scenes we have discovered, we examine them as a *whole*, the composition, colouring and light under one comprehensive view. But we are more commonly employed in analysing the *parts of scenes*, we try to amend the composition, to find how little is wanting to reduce it to the rules of our art, and how slight the limit between beauty and deformity.—But our *supreme delight arises*, where a grand scene opens to the eye and arrests every faculty of the soul, when we rather feel than survey it.—Our next amusement is to enlarge and correct our general stock of ideas; by acquisition and comparison we grow learned in nature's works, and become more familiarly and accurately acquainted with her.—We may amuse ourselves too to sketch out with a few strokes

those ideas that have most pleased us, to recall and retain the scenery, and even the splendid colouring which existed in the real scene.—By a correct knowledge of objects we have the power of creating and representing scenes of fancy, yet suitable to the reality of nature, when aided by the cultivation of taste and chastened by the rules of art, and by the vigorous powers of imagination we can convert the barren waste into a fruitful source of amusement.

The third essay comprises a great number of minute rules for the practice of sketching and colouring, and the art of *perspective*—which being very concise in themselves are not susceptible of abridgment. They appear to be directed by the nicest skill and taste, grounded on his own happy experience, and accompanied with a few prints well calculated to illustrate the rules by an immediate example.—There follows a didactic poem of considerable length, in which while he displays the science of a *painter*, he gives very happy proofs that he possesses the kindred spirit of a *poet*. The poem receives much additional value from the commentary annexed.

But the best illustration of the author's ideas will be found in the elegant publications, to which we shall refer the reader—these consist of the following works.

*Observations on the river Wye and several parts of South Wales, &c. relative chiefly to picturesque beauty, made in the summer of the year 1770.*

*Northern Tour, made in the year 1772.*

*Observations on several parts of Great Britain, particularly the Highlands of Scotland—made in the year 1776.*

*Remarks on forest scenery, and other woodland views, in three books.*

We shall select a few passages from these different works, that the reader may be enabled to judge, with what degree of consistency the author has applied the principles laid down in his essays to those views of nature which he describes.

“The beauty of these scenes (speaking of the Wye between Ross and Chepstow) arises chiefly from two circumstances—the lofty banks of the river, and it’s mazy course, both which are accurately observed by the poet, when he describes the Wye, as *echoing through its winding bounds*. It could not well echo unless its banks were lofty and winding.

From these two circumstances the views it exhibits, are of the most beautiful kind of perspective, free from the formality of lines.

Every view on a river, thus circumstanced, is composed of four grand parts; the *area*, which is the river itself; the *two side screens*, which are the opposite banks, and mark the perspective; and the *front screen*, which points out the winding of the river.

If the Wye ran, like a Dutch canal, between parallel banks, there could be no front screen: the two side screens, in that situation, would lengthen to a point.

If a road were under the circumstance of a river winding like the Wye, the effect would be the same: but this is rarely the case. The road pursues the irregularity of the country. It climbs the hill, and sinks into the valley; and this irregularity gives the view it exhibits, a different character.

The views on the Wye, though composed only of these *simple parts*, are yet *infinitely varied*.

They are varied, first, by the *contrast of the screens*. Sometimes one of the side screens is elevated, sometimes the other, and sometimes the front. Or both the side screens may be lofty; and the front either high, or low.

Again, they are varied by the *folding of the side screens* over each other; and hiding more or less of the front. When none of the front is discovered, the folding side either winds round, like an amphitheatre; or it becomes a long reach of perspective.

The *simple variations*, admit still farther variety from becoming *complex*. One of the sides may be compounded of various parts; while the other remains simple: or both may be compounded; and the front simple: or the front alone may be compounded.

Besides these sources of variety, there are other circumstances, which, under the name of ornaments, still farther increase them. *Plain banks* will admit all the variations we have yet mentioned; but when this *plainness* is adorned, a thousand other varieties arise.

The *ornaments* of the Wye may be ranged under four heads—*ground—wood—rock—and buildings*.

The *ground*, of which the banks of the Wye consist, (and which hath thus far been considered only in its *general effect*,) affords every variety which ground is capable of receiving; from the steepest precipice, to the flattest meadow. This variety appears in the line formed by the summits of the banks; in the swellings, and excavations of their declivities; and in the unequal surfaces of the lower grounds.

In many places also the *ground* is broken: which adds new sources of variety. By *broken ground*, we mean only



only such ground as hath lost its turf, and discovers the naked soil. Often you see a gravelly earth shivering from the hills, in the form of water-falls: or perhaps you see dry, stony channels, guttering down precipices; the rough beds of temporary torrents; and sometimes so trifling a cause as the rubbing of sheep against the sides of the little banks, or hillocks, will often occasion very beautiful breaks.

The colour too of the broken soil is a great source of variety; the yellow, or the red oker; the ashy grey; the black earth, or the marley blue! and the intermixtures of these with each other, and with patches of verdure, blooming heath, and other vegetable tints, still increase that variety.

Nor let the fastidious reader think these remarks descend too much into detail. Were an extensive distance described, a forest scene, a sea-coast view, a semicircular range of mountains, or some other display of nature, it would be trifling to mark these minute circumstances. But here the hills around exhibit little except *foregrounds*, and it is necessary, where we have no distances, to be more exact in finishing objects at hand.

The next great ornament on the banks of the Wye, are its *woods*. In this country there are many works carried on by fire; and the woods being maintained for their use, are periodically cut down. As the larger trees are generally left, a kind of alternacy takes place; what is, this year, a thicket, may, the next, be an open grove. The woods themselves possess little beauty, and less grandeur; yet, when we consider them as the *ornamental*, not as the *essential* parts, of a scene;

the eye must not examine them with exactness, but compound for a *general effect*.

One circumstance attending this alternacy is pleasing. Many of the furnaces on the bank of the river, consume charcoal, which is manufactured on the spot, and the smoke, which is frequently seen issuing from the sides of the hill, and spreading its thin veil over a part of them, beautifully breaks their line, and unites them with the sky.

The chief deficiency, in point of wood, is of large trees on the *edge of the water*; which, clumped here and there, would diversify the hills, as the eye passes them, and remove that heaviness, which always, in some degree, (though here as little as any where) arises from the continuity of ground. They would also give a degree of distance to the more removed parts; which, in a scene like this, would be attended with peculiar advantage: for as we have here so little distance, we wish to make the most of what we have. — But trees *immediately on the foreground* cannot be suffered in these scenes, as they would obstruct the navigation of the river.

The rocks, which are continually starting through the woods, produce another *ornament* on the bank of the Wye. The rock, as all other objects, though more than all, receives its chief beauty from contrast. Some objects are beautiful in themselves. The eye is pleased with the tastings of a tree; it is amused with pursuing the eddying stream; or it rests with delight on the shattered arches of a gothic ruin. Such objects, independent of composition, are beautiful in themselves. But the rock, bleak, naked, and undorned, seems scarce to deserve a place

place among them. Tint it with mosses, and lichens of various hues, and you give it a degree of beauty. Adorn it with shrubs and hanging herbage, and you still make it more picturesque. Connect it with wood, and water, and broken ground, and you make it in the highest degree interesting. Its *colour*, and its *form* are so accommodating, that it generally blends into one of the most beautiful appendages of landscape.

Different kinds of rocks have different degrees of beauty. Those on the Wye, which are of a greyish colour, are, in general, simple, and grand; rarely formal, or fantastic. Sometimes they project in those beautiful square masses, yet broken and shattered in every line, which is characteristic of the most majestic species of rock. Sometimes they slant obliquely from the eye in shelving diagonal strata: and sometimes they appear in large masses of smooth stone, detached from each other, and half buried in the soil. Rocks of this last kind are the most lumpish, and the least picturesque.

The various *buildings*, which arise every where on the banks of the Wye, form the last of its *ornaments*; abbeys, castles, villages, spires, forges, mills, and bridges; one or other of these venerable vestiges of past, or chearful inhabitants of the present times, characterise almost every scene.

These *works of art* are however of much greater use in *artificial*, than in *natural* landscape. In pursuing the beauties of nature, we range at large among forests, lakes, rocks, and mountains. The various scenes we meet with, furnish an inexhausted source of pleasure. And though the works of art may often give animation and contrast to

these scenes, yet still they are not necessary. We can be amused without them. But when we introduce a scene on canvas—when the eye is to be confined within the frame of a picture, and can no longer range among the varieties of nature; the aids of art become more necessary; and we want the castle, or the abbey, to give consequence to the scene. Indeed the landscape-painter seldom thinks his view perfect, without characterising it by some object of this kind." *Observations on the Wye*, sect. 2. p. 17.

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 " From *clumps* we naturally proceed to *park scenery*, which is generally composed of *combinations of clumps*, interspersed with lawns. It is seldom composed of any large districts of wood; which is the characteristic of forest scenery.

The park, which is a species of landscape little known, except in England, is one of the noblest appendages of a great house. Nothing gives a mansion so much dignity as these home demesns; nor contributes more to mark its consequence. A great house, in a course of years, naturally acquires space around it. A noble park therefore is the natural appendage of an ancient mansion.

To the size, and grandeur of the house the park should be proportioned. *Blenheim-castle* with a paddock around it; or a small villa in the middle of Woodstock-park, would be equally out of place.

The house should stand nearly in the centre of the park; that is, it should have ample room about it on every side. *Petworth-house*, one of the grandest piles in England, loses much of its grandeur from being placed at the extremity of the park, where it is elbowed by a church-yard.

The

The *views* *do* depend intirely on ground. There are grand situations of various kinds—in general the houses are built first, and parks added afterwards, by the occasional removal of inclosures. A great house stands most nobly on an elevated knoll, from whence it may overlook the distant country, while the woods of the park screen the regularity of the intervening cultivation. Or it stands well on the side of a valley, which winds along its front, and is adorned with wood, or a natural stream, hiding and discovering itself among the clumps at the bottom of the vale. Or it stands with dignity, as Longleat does, in the centre of demefures, which shelve gently down to it on every side:—even on a dead flat I have seen a house draw beauties around it. At the seat of the late Mr. Billon Legge, (now lord Stavel's) in the middle of Holt Forest, a lawn unvaried by a single swell, is yet varied with clumps of different forms, receding behind each other, in so pleasing a manner, as to make an agreeable scene.

By these observations I mean only to shew, that in whatever part of a park a house may have been originally placed, it can hardly have been placed so awkwardly, but that, in some way or another, the scenery may be happily adapted to it: there are some situations, indeed, so very untoward, that scarce any remedy can be applied: as when the front of a house immediately urges on a rising ground. But such awkward situations are rare; and in general, the variety of landscape is such, that it may almost always be brought, in one form or another, to serve the purposes of beauty. The many improvements of the ingenious Mr.

Brown, in various parts of England, bear witness to the truth of these observations.—The beauty however of park scenery is undoubtedly best displayed on a *varied surface*—where the ground swells, and falls—where hanging lawns, screened with wood, are connected with vallies—and where one part is continually playing in contrast with another.

As the park is an appendage of the house, it follows that it should participate of its neatness and elegance. Nature, in all her great walks of landscape, observes this accommodating rule. She seldom passes abruptly from one mode of scenery to another; but generally connects different species of landscape by some third species, which partakes of both. A mountainous country rarely sinks immediately into a level one: the swellings and heavings of the earth grow gradually less: thus as the house is connected with the country, through the medium of the park, the park should partake of the neatness of the one, and of the wildness of the other."

Having thus considered various kinds of woody scenery, and traced the peculiar beauty of each, we proceed next to the *forest*, which in a manner comprehends them all. There are few extensive forests, which do not contain, in some part or other, a specimen of every species of woody landscape. The wild forest view, indeed, differs essentially from the embellished one; though sometimes we find even the forest-lawn in a polished state, when browsed by deer into a fine turf, and furnished by *Rarely* wood. *Beauty*, however, is not the characteristic of the forest; its peculiar distinction

distinction is *grandeur* and *dignity*. The scenes we have hitherto considered, are all within the reach of art; and in fact have all been the objects of improvement. But the forest disdains all human culture: on it the hand of nature is only impressed. The forest, like other beautiful scenes, *pleases the eye*; but its great effect is to *rouse the imagination*.

The word *forest* immediately suggests the idea of a *continued uninterrupted track of woody country*. But forests in general are much more varied. They consist indeed of tracks of woody country; but these tracks are, at the same time, intermixed with patches of pasturage, which commonly bear the same proportion to the woods of the forest, which lawns do to the clumps of a park.—These intermingled scenes of wood and pasturage are again divided from other intermixtures of the same kind, by wide heaths, which are sometimes bounded by a naked line of horizon; but more frequently skirted with wood. This intermixture of wood and pasturage, with large separations of heath, give a variety to the forest, which a boundless continuance of woody scenery could not exhibit: though it must be acknowledged, that in many forests, and especially in New Forest, these tracks of heathy country are often larger, than picturesque beauty requires.

Having given this *general idea* of the species of country which I mean to treat of under the idea of a forest, I shall proceed to particulars. Let me just recall to the reader's memory, what was observed before, that all *great woods*, diversified as forests are, though not properly denominated *forests*, as not subject to

*forest laws*, will however naturally fall under the description of forest scenery.

The forest, under the division of *wood*, *pasturage*, and *heath*, presents itself to us as a picturesque object, in a double view,—as the scenery of a *fore ground*, and as the scenery of a *distance*; in both views it is equally an object of picturesque beauty: but as its effects are different in each, I shall endeavour to delineate their respective beauties.

When we speak of forest scenery, as a *fore ground*, we mean the appearance, which its woods present, when we approach their skirt, or invade their recesses. Forests, in their nature, are woods *ab origine*, not *newly planted*; but *natural woods*, *set apart* for the purposes of sheltering and securing game. The trees, therefore, of which these natural woods are composed, consist of all ages, and sizes, from the ancient fathers of the forest to the scion and the seedling. They grow also in that wild, disordered manner, which nature prescribes; as the root casually runs, which throws up the scion; or as the seed, or acorn, finds soil, and room to establish itself and increase. But though the richness of the scenery depends greatly on this multifarious mixture, which masses and fills up all the various combinations, yet the most ancient trees of each species are the glory of sylvan landscape. Young trees, though even in distant views inferior to old, will however in that situation exhibit a better appearance, than on the spot; where no forest scenery can fill the eye, without a proper assemblage of such trees, as have seen ages passed over them: these form those bold and rough exhibitions, in which the pride and dignity

dignity of *forest views* consist. We have already observed, that the wild and rough parts of nature produce the strongest effects on the imagination; and we may add, they are the only objects in landscapes, which please the picturesque eye. Every thing trim, and smooth, and neat, affects it coolly. Propriety brings us to acquiesce in the elegant and well-adapted embellishments of art; but the painter, who should introduce them on canvases, would be characterized as a man void of taste, and utterly unacquainted with the objects of picturesque selection. Such are the great materials, which we expect to find in the skirts, and internal parts of the forest—trees of every kind, but particularly the oldest and roughest of each. We examine next the *mode* of scenery which results from their combinations.

In speaking of the *glen*, we observed that the principal beauty of it, arose from those little openings, or glades, with which it commonly abounds. It is thus in the forest woods. The great beauty of these *close scenes* arises from the openings and recesses, which we find among them.

By this I do not mean the *lawns*, and *pasturage*, which I mentioned as one of the great divisions of forest scenery; but merely those little openings among the trees, which are produced by various circumstances. A sandy bank, or a piece of rocky ground, may prevent the contiguity of trees, and so make an opening; or a tree or two may have been blasted, or have been cut down; or, what is the happiest of all circumstances, a winding road may run along the wood.—The simple idea which is varied through all

these little recesses, is the exhibition of a few trees, just seen behind others. The varieties of this mode of scenery, simple as it is, are infinite. Nature is wonderfully fertile; the invention of the painter may form a composition more agreeable to the rules of his art, than nature commonly produces; but no invention can reach the varieties of *particular objects*."

*Remarks on Forest Scenery,*  
vol. i. p. 184 and p. 209.

"From Ambleside we set out for Keswick, which is about 18 miles farther north. We were now about to enter the middle, and most formidable part, of that vast chain of mountains, which I have before mentioned, as the barrier between Cumberland and Westmorland; and which promised, from a distant view, to present us with a great variety of very grand scenery. Our morning's voyage on the smooth expanse of the lake aided our present expedition with all the powers of contrast.

But before we enter these majestic scenes, it may be necessary to premise a distinction between a *scene of mountain*, and a *mountain scene*.

Mountainous countries most commonly present only the former. The objects are grand, but they are huddled together, confused, without connection; and the painter considers them only as *studies*, and forms them into pictures by *imaginary combinations*.

We sometimes, however, see a mountainous country in which nature itself hath made these beautiful combinations—where one part relates to another, and the effect of a whole is produced. This is what I call a *mountain scene*.

Of this latter kind is almost the whole road between Ambleside and Keswick. The mountains are naturally combined into scenes, which if not in all parts purely picturesque, are in all parts marked with the great lines of composition; tho' often on too wide a scale for imitation.

The first object of our attention, on leaving Ambleside, was Rydal hall, the seat of Sir Michael le Fleming. It stands on a rising lawn; on the north and east it is sheltered by lofty mountains. In front, towards the south, it commands a noble distance, consisting of the extensive vale of Windermere, bounded by the lake. The mountains, on the north, called Rydal-cragg, rising close behind the house, is high and rocky. That on the east is of inferior size, but is covered with wood. Between these mountains runs a narrow, woody valley, through which a considerable stream, falling down a quick descent, along a rocky channel, forms a succession of cascades.

One of these, though but a miniature, is so beautiful both in itself and its accompaniments, as to deserve particular notice—it is seen from a summer-house, before which its rocky cheeks, circling on each side, form a little area, appearing through a window like a picture in a frame. The water falls within a few yards of the eye, which being rather above its level has a long perspective view of the stream, as it hurries from the higher grounds, tumbling, in various little breaks, through its rocky channel, darkened with thicket, till it arrive at the edge of the precipice before the window, from whence it rushes into the basin, which is formed by nature in the native rock. The dark

colour of the stone, taking still a deeper tinge from the wood, which hangs over it, sets off to wonderful advantage the sparkling lustre of the stream, and produces an uncommon effect of light: it is this effect, indeed, from which the chief beauty of the scene arises. In every representation, truly picturesque, the shade should greatly overbalance the light. The face of nature, under the glow of noon, has rarely this beautiful appearance. The artist generally courts her charms in a morning or evening hour, when the shadows are deep and extended, and when the sloping sun-beam affords rather a catching, than a glaring light. In this noble exhibition we had an admirable idea of the magical effect of light, picturesquely distributed.

On leaving Rydal, we entered a vast chasm between mountains, which may be properly called a portal to the scenes we approached.

On passing it, we were presented with a grand *scene of mountains*, adorned by a lake called Rydal water, on the left; not indeed adequate to the greatness of the surrounding objects, but of such beauty as immediately to fix the eye. In the middle of it is a rocky island, covered with wood—the little river Rotha, winding round a promontory, enters it on the north.

Leaving these scenes, we ascended a very steep hill; from the summit of which was displayed a prospect of desolation in a very dignified form: it was an amphitheatre of craggy mountains, which appeared to sweep round a circumference of at least thirty miles; tho' in fact, perhaps, it did not include half that space; but great objects naturally form a wide scale

of mensuration—the soul involuntarily shuddered at the first aspect of such a scene. At the distant part of it lay Grafmer-lake, which being so far removed from the eye seemed only a bright spot at the bottom of the mountains.

To this lake the road directly led. A nearer approach presented us with some beautiful views on its banks; though on the whole its principal merit consisted in refreshing the eye with a smooth expanse of water, in the midst of such a variety of rough mountain scenery. As we skirted its limits, it seemed larger than that of Rydal; and though it appeared like a spot at a distance, became now the principal feature of this vast vale.

From hence the road led us into another amphitheatre, wild, and immense like the former; but varied greatly in the shapes of the mountains, which were here more broken and irregular; shooting in many places into craggy summits and broken points.

And yet even these wild scenes, covered as they are with crags, and scarce furnishing the least tint of vegetation, are subject to rights, for which none but the hard inhabitant would think it worth his while to contend. You see every where their bare and barren sides marked with partition walls—stones without mortar, laid upon each other, crossing at right angles, and running down steep, and along precipices, where the eye can scarce conceive that they have any foundation. All these *partitions of desolation*, as they may be called, have their inhabitants; each maintaining a few stunted sheep, which picking the meagre tufts of grass which grow under the sheltered sides of crags

and stones, earn, like their owner, a hard subsistence.

At the conclusion of this immense amphitheatre, into which we last entered, we found an exit equal to the scene,—another grand mountain-gap, or portal, through which the road carried us up another steep mountain. At the top we paused, and looking back on the scenes we had left, were presented with a view, which wholly filled the imagination. It was a *retrospect* of the amphitheatre we had passed; but in a file still grander, than the prospect of it. It was more strongly marked with the great lines of composition; and was, of course, more a whole.

A wide vale, thrown by perspective into a circular form, lay before the eye. Here also the distant part seemed occupied by the lake of Grafmer; but a greyish mist left the idea ambiguous: beyond the lake arose various mountains, which bounded it; and still beyond these appeared the blue heads of other mountains. Those which formed the side screens of the vale, advancing forward from the distant mountain beyond the lake, approached the eye in a grand sweep, by the easy gradations of perspective. The promontories and recesses of the more removed parts were marked with a faint shadow, till, by degrees, both the side screens, growing boldly on the eye, were lost behind the two cheeks of the craggy portal, which, with the road between them, formed a fore-ground equal to the scene. The whole view is entirely of the horrid kind. Not a tree appeared to add the least cheerfulness to it.

With regard to the adorning of such a scene with figures, nothing could suit it better than a groupe of banditti: of all the scenes I ever

law, this was most adapted to the perpetration of some dreadful deed. The imagination can hardly avoid conceiving a band of robbers, lurking under the shelter of some projecting rock; and expecting the traveller as he approaches along the valley below."

*Observations relative to picturesque, made in the year 1772, p. 159. vol. i.*

“From Loch Leven we continued our route northward, through a country of little curiosity. About eight miles before we reach Perth, we have a noble view, from the higher grounds, of an extensive vale, the fertile country of Strathern; through which the river Erne appears, winding with many a meander, till it enters the Tay. This vale extends at least thirty miles; and the eye commands it from end to end. Of the beautiful situations it affords, great advantage hath been taken by the gentlemen of the neighbourhood. You see it in many parts marked with distant plantations; and can often distinguish the buildings, of which these plantations are the appendages. Far to the west stands Drummond-castle, once the residence of the earls of Perth—now an ill-fated, forsaken mansion.—In an opposite direction, beyond the Erne, you distinguish a rich scene of plantation. There the earl of Kin-noul has extended his wood on every side. You may yet distinguish Duplin castle rising among them, but soon the woods will totally obscure it. In its neighbourhood was fought the celebrated battle of Duplin, in which the family of Hay, like the Roman Fabii, were almost cut off to a man. From a passage in Claudian one would suppose the Erne to have been often

before dyed with blood—*Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.*

Beyond the vale of Erne, which is a much richer landscape, than is commonly found in Scotland, the eye is still carried into a distance more remote. It easily distinguishes where that river, at the end of the vale, enters the Tay, which is now a grand estuary, and is one of the principal features of the view. You trace it, if the day be clear, as far as Dundee; where making a sudden turn it retreats behind the higher grounds: this whole vast distance, both of Strathern, and of the vale of Tay, is bounded by mountains, as the Scotch views in general are, which add both ornament and dignity to them.

We did not however see this landscape with full advantage. The day was clear, and a noon-tide sun, in all its dazzling brightness, had spread over it all that profusion of light which is so unfavourable to landscape. A perpendicular ray scarce allowed the existence of shade; whereas, to give the landscape its full advantage, the shadow, not the light, should have prevailed: the mountains particularly should have been in shade. In almost all cases the darkened mountain makes the most respectful figure, except perhaps, when under a morning or evening sun, you wish to tip its prominent knolls with light. Under the shadow of the mountains a gentle light, spreading into the vale, would have had a beautiful effect; and as it decayed, it might have marked two or three objects with splendour, to carry on the idea to the end of the scene.

We did not enter Strathern; but left it on the right, and made towards the mountains of Moncrief.

From these heights we had a retrospect



trofpect of the fame scenes, only more extended. The vale of Erne, which lay before to the north, was now removed to the fouth, but under this different afpect had ftill a better effect; at leaft, it was fo much better enlightened, when we now faw it, that it appeared to much greater advantage. In another direction, the eye extended over the rich plains of Gowry, and the frith of Tay, even to its junction with the ocean."

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*A general History of Music, from the earliest ages to the prefent period. By Charles Burney, Muf. D. F. R. S. in four volumes, 4to.*

THE first volume of this elaborate work was published by fubfcription, in the year 1776; and when we confider the extent of the undertaking, the variety of the materials to be confulted, collected, and arranged, and the critical accuracy of the execution, we cannot be furprized at the length of time, which has been found neceffary to bring it to its prefent ftate of perfection.

The general plan of the work may be collected from the following paffages, taken from the preface to the first volume:—"With refpect to the prefent work, there may, perhaps, be many readers, who wifh, and expect to find in it a deep and well-digefted treatife on the theory and practice of mufic: while others, lefs eager after fuch information, will be feeking for mere amufement in the narrative. I wifh it had been in my plan and power fully to fatisfy either party; but a hiftory is neither a body of laws nor a novel. I have blended together theory and practice, facts

and explanations, incidents, caufes, confequences, conjectures, and confeffions of ignorance, juft as the fubject produced them. Many new materials, concerning the art of mufic in the remote times of which this volume treats, can hardly be expected. The collecting into one point the moft interefting circumftances relative to its practice and profefors; its connection with religion, with war, with the ftage, with public feftivals and private amufements, have principally employed me: and as the hiftorian of a great and powerful empire marks its limits and refources, its acquisitions and loffes, its enemies and allies, I have endeavoured to point out the boundaries of mufic, and its influence on our paffions; its early fubferviency to poetry; its fetting up a feparate intereft, and afterwards aiming at independance; the heroes who have fought its batties, and the victories they have obtained."

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"It was my intention, when I firft entered upon this work, to trace the genealogy of mufic in a right line, without either meddling with the collaterall branches of the family, or violating the reverence of antiquity. I wifhed and determined to proportion my labour to my powers; and I was unawares led into a courfe of reading and conjecture, upon matters beyond the reach of human ken, by the chief fubject of my enquiries being fo extenfively diffufed through all the regions of literature, and all the ages of the world. I found ancient mufic fo intimately connected with poetry, mythology, government, manners, and fciences in general, that wholly to feparate it from them, feemed to me like taking a fingle figure out

of a group in an historical picture, or a single character out of a drama, of which the propriety depends upon the dialogue and the incidents. If therefore a number of figures appear in the back-ground, I hope they will give relief, and somewhat keep off the tediums and fatigue, which a simple subject in a long work, or a single figure if often repeated, though in different points of view, is apt to produce."

Proceeded to the history of Egyptian, Hebrew, Greek, and Roman music, which occupies the whole of the first volume, we have a very learned and ingenious dissertation "on the music of the ancients," in general. The study of ancient music he justly considers as the business of an antiquary more than of a musician; and he thinks it perhaps a fortunate circumstance for modern music, that the ancient is lost. We cannot however entirely concur with him in this opinion. His argument, that it might not have suited the genius of our language, and might yet have tied us down to precedent, as well as the illustration drawn from modern lullaby, is evidently inconclusive. With regard to its merits, there is doubtless, from the obscurity in which the subject is involved, much room for hesitation and distrust. The difficulty of reconciling the accounts handed down to us by ancient authors, of the powers of their music, and of the extraordinary effects produced by it, with the simplicity and weakness of their instruments, as represented in ancient sculpture, appears to be insuperable. And, upon the whole, the reader will perhaps be disposed to fall in with Dr. Burney in the opinion he endeavours to establish in the

10th section, which treats expressly of the effects of the ancient music, and in which he has critically examined some of the most celebrated instances that are recorded, viz. that after rejecting what is evidently fabulous and extravagant, much of what remains is to be attributed to various concomitant causes, which the circumstances of the story itself will, in almost every case, evidently point out.

The dissertation is divided into ten sections. The first treats of the notation or tablature of ancient music, including its scales, intervals, systems, and diagram. The second, of the three genera, diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic. The third, of the modes. The fourth, of mutations. The fifth, of melopodia. The sixth, of rhythm. The seventh, of the practice of melopodia, with examples. The eighth, whether the ancients had counterpoint, or music in parts. The ninth, of dramatic music. The tenth, of the effects attributed to the music of the ancients.

In the seventh section the reader is presented with a copy of the original manuscript of the three hymns, published at the end of the Oxford edition of Aratus, in 1672, with the Greek musical characters or notes to which they were sung; the same music, in equivalent modern notes, and an English translation of each hymn; which the reader will find, together with other selections from this work, at the end of our poetical article.

In the chapter concerning Egyptian music, we have the following account, accompanied with an engraving, of a musical instrument of two strings, with a neck to it, taken from one of the obelisks brought from

from Egypt by Augustus Cæsar, and supposed to have been erected at Heliopolis by Sesostris.

"This instrument," he observes, "deserves a particular description, not only from its great antiquity, but from its form; for, by having been furnished with a neck, though it had but two strings, it was capable of producing from them a great number of notes; for instance, if these two strings were tuned fourths to each other, they would furnish that series of sounds which the ancients call a heptachord, consisting of two conjunct tetrachords, as B, c, d, e. E, f, g, a; and if the strings of this instrument, like those of the calascione, were tuned fifths, they would produce an octave, or two disjunct tetrachords; an advantage which none of the Grecian instruments seem to have possessed for many ages after this column was erected. Indeed I have never yet been able to discover, in any remains of Greek sculpture, an instrument furnished with a neck; and father Montfaucon says, that in examining the representation of near five hundred lyres, harps, and citharas, he never met with one in which there was any contrivance for shortening strings during the time of performance, as by a neck and finger-board.

"This instrument, therefore, is not only a proof that music was cultivated by the Egyptians in the most remote antiquity; but that they had discovered the means of extending their scale, and multiplying the sounds of a few strings by the most simple and commodious expedients."

We have next a description of the celebrated Theban harp of Mr. Bruce, in a letter from that gentleman to the author, in which

he has added an account of several other instruments discovered by him in his journey to the foundations of the Nile.

The history of Hebrew music contains an account of the several musical instruments mentioned in the Bible, and particularly in the book of Psalms; together with an explanation of the titles prefixed to several of the Psalms, and other musical terms that occur in them. To these are added several charts to the Psalms, as practised by the modern German and Spanish Jews.

The history of Greek music is divided into six chapters. The first treats of music in Greece during the residence of pagan divinities of the first order upon earth. The second, during that of the terrestrial or demi-gods. The third, is concerning the music of heroes and heroic times. The fourth, of the music of Greece from the time of Homer, including the musical contests at the several public games. The fifth, of ancient musical tests, and theories of sound. The sixth, of the festivals, or songs of the ancient Greeks.

The Romans borrowed their music almost entirely from Greece, and that too at a late period, the account of it is comprised within a very small compass. At the end of this volume are added a few reflexions upon the construction and use of some particular musical instruments of antiquity; together with three plates, in which their forms are delineated.

The second volume commences with an account of the introduction of music into the church, and of its progress there previous to the time of Guido. Our author proves, from various authorities, he

use of music by the primitive Christians, even before churches were built, or their religion established by law.

“ With respect to the music that was first used by the Christians, or established in the church by the first emperors that were first converted, as no specimens remain, it is difficult to determine of what kind it was. That some part of the sacred music of the Apostles, and their immediate successors, in Palestine and the adjacent countries, may have been such as was used by the Hebrews, particularly in chanting the psalms, is probable; but it is no less probable that the music of the hymns which were first received in the church, wherever paganism had prevailed, resembled that which had been many ages used in the temple worship of the Greeks and Romans. Of this, the versification of those hymns affords an indisputable proof, as it by no means resembles that of the Psalms, or of any other Hebrew poetry. And examples may be found in the breviaries, missals, and antiphonaries, ancient and modern, of every species of versification which has been practised by the Greek and Latin poets, particularly the lyric; such as the Alcmanian, Alcaic, Sapphic, &c.

“ Father Menestrier conjectures, with great appearance of truth, that the manner of reading and singing in the church, was taken from the public theatres, which were still open when chanting was established; and the passion of our Saviour being a kind of tragedy, it is very probable, that in singing it to the people, he priest imitated the melody of tragedy: whence the custom was introduced of performing the mass

by different persons and in different tones. It is certain, at least, that the moderns have taken their ideas of tragedy from religious mysteries.”

Our author then proceeds to give an account of the specific difference between the Ambrosian and Gregorian chant; after which is given an ample account and explanation of the singing clefs and musical characters of the middle ages. This is followed by a short account of modern Greek music, and its notation, and of the establishment of church music in England and France. The organ, the use of which is traced up as high as the Emperor Julian the Apostate, appears to have been commonly used in churches and convents some time before the end of the tenth century.

The second chapter contains an account of the invention of counterpoint, and of the state of music from the time of Guido to the formation of the time-table. In this part of his work, the author has endeavoured to ascertain with greater precision than had been done before, the inventions of that celebrated monk, and the true limits of the improvements for which modern music is indebted to him. These he considers under the following heads:—gammut; lines and clefs; the harmonic hand; hexachords and solemnisation; points, counterpoint, discant, and organizing; and the polyplectrum or spinet.

The first appears to have been undoubtedly the invention of Guido; and though parallel lines were of higher antiquity, yet he first established the regular staff of four lines, and suggested the use of lines and spaces *together*, and consequently

sequently of clefs. The harmonic hand, and hexachords or solemnisation, are evidently parts of the same system; and though Dr. Burney is of opinion that this system is not wholly developed in the writings of Guido, yet as the invention is ascribed to him by contemporary writers, he considers him as fully entitled to all the praise it deserves. Our author has here added an account of the several attempts that have since been made to augment the number of syllables in solemnisation, in order to furnish a distinct name for every accidental flat and sharp.

With respect to counterpoint, he observes, that it does not appear, from the few specimens given in the *Micrologus* of Guido, that practical harmony, such as is now understood by harmony in different parts, had made any considerable advances towards perfection when that tract was written; and that such attempts at simultaneous harmony as he has exhibited, are to be found in treatises that have been preserved of much earlier writers.—Of these, of the introduction of the organ, and the progress of descant or organizing plain chant, an ample detail is given.

The third chapter treats “of the formation of the time-table, and of the state of music from that discovery till the middle of the fourteenth century.” Notwithstanding the benefit conferred on music by the invention of a time-table, which extended the limits of ingenuity and contrivance to the utmost verge of imagination, nothing is known with certainty concerning its author. John de Muris, to whom the honour is usually ascribed, mentions “Franco as the inventor of the figures of the *cantus mensurabilis*;

and Franco himself, in his treatise on measured music, acknowledges “that he has not scrupled to insert what others before him had said well on the subject.” He was however the first approved writer on measured music; and our author has given us an analysis of his celebrated treatise.

The following chapter treats “of the origin of modern languages, to which written melody and harmony were first applied; and of the general state of music till the invention of printing, about the year 1450.”

Our author observes that, during near two centuries after Guido's arrangement of the scale, and the invention of the time-table, no remnants or records of secular music can be found, except those of the Troubadours or Provençal poets. And though, in the simple tunes which have been preserved of these bards, no time is marked, and but little variety of notation appears, yet it is not difficult to discover in them germs of the future melodies of France and Italy. Of these the most ancient that our author has been able to discover, are some stanzas written by Anselm Faidit, a Troubadour, upon the death of our Richard the First, which are preserved in the Vatican, and together with a fac simile of the musical notes, and the same melody, with a base in modern notes, are here inserted. As specimens of the ancient French songs and music, he has given two old chants for the feasts of St. Stephen and St. John; the *chançon de Roland*, an old military song; and three songs of the *Chârelain de Coucy*, written and set about the year 1190. We have also two songs, the composition of Thibaut king of Navarre, who

who was born at the beginning of the thirteenth century, which, our author observes, will remind us of many French airs of the present century, and that vocal melody has remained nearly stationary in France ever since the former period.

With respect to the music of the middle ages in Italy, he says, that the most ancient melodies he was able to find, which had originally been set to Italian words, were in a collection of *Libri Spirituali*, preserved at Florence. A society for the performance of these religious poems was instituted there as early as the year 1318, and had subsists. Of these sacred songs a specimen is given, from which it appears that they are five more than chants, and without base. Sufficient proofs, our author is of opinion, are to be found in Petrarch's works of the practice of counterpoint in the fourteenth century; and this he further confirms by several passages in the tales of Boccaccio.

The history of English minstrelsy comes next in order; but no remains of our ancient domestic secular melody, prior to the reign of Henry the Fifth, have reached the present age. A song, composed on occasion of the battle of Agincourt, is given as the only relic of that period. "The number of tracts that were written on the subject of music before the middle of the fifteenth century, is however so considerable, as not only to make us believe that it was in great favour, but incline us to expect more perfection than is found in the specimens of composition that have been preserved."—Of the most valuable of these tracts, which are for the most part inclined, Dr. Burney has given a full account. A descriptive song upon

the approach of summer, of about this period, beginning, *Summer is / come on,* is recommended to the reader's attention, as being the first example of a later sort in its parts, as well as of a canon, tregue or catch, and can be produced, and consequently, as serving an use in vocal harmony.

In the reign of Edward the Sixth the musicks of the King were incorporated; and as our author conceives this to be the origin of those musical establishments of the chapel royal and King's band, he has given us an account of their employments and allowances.

The ninth chapter contains an account of the state of music from the invention of printing till the middle of the sixteenth century, including its cultivation in the masses, metrets, and secular songs of that period. Of the labour which the author has gone through in this part of his undertaking the reader may form some idea from the following quotation. "Though we are arrived at that period when the productions of the press will considerably diminish the labour of research, yet the difficulty of finding materials will be only changed to that of selection; and the perusal of old music after it is found, is attended with much more trouble than literary works of an equal antiquity; for being published and preserved in *single parts*, these parts must previously be put into such a state, that the eye may compare their several relations at one glance; or, to use the language of musicians, they must be *scored*, before their beauties or defects can be discovered; and this, from the difficulty of obsolete notation, and the want of *bars*, is rendered a very slow process. But being determined to speak of

no music with which I am unacquainted, or of which I am unable to furnish specimens, I have transcribed, in *partitura* or *score*, many volumes, not only of the same age, but sometimes of the same author, in order to select the best productions I am able for my work, or at least to qualify myself to judge of each composer's abilities and resources. Of the productions of each period I have endeavoured to procure examples from the works of those who were the chief favourites of their cotemporaries, in order to put it into the power of critics in composition to compare musical excellence, and build their opinions of superiority upon the works themselves, and not upon system, conjecture, or prejudice."

Of the early contrapuntists on the *continent*, of whose compositions specimens are given in this chapter, there are eight, and the same number of English, beginning with William Newark, and ending with Robert Parsons; these specimens are accompanied with a critical analysis and judgment upon their respective merits.

The third volume begins with an account of the progress of music in England during the reigns of Henry VIII. Edward VI. and Elizabeth. With regard to church music, though it appears to have undergone no other change in the time of Henry, than being applied to the English instead of the Latin language, yet it was in frequent danger, from the fanaticism of some furious reformers, of total abolition. Our author has inserted some curious specimens of the violent outcry made by the puritans of this and the following reigns, against this part of the church service; in which it

is described as *roaring, howling, whistling, piping with organs, and tossing about the psalms from one side of the choir to another, with the squeaking of chanting choirsters abjured in white surplices, &c.*

Our author traces the origin of metrical psalmody, as distinct from chanting in cathedrals, to the first German reformers. By them it was brought into England in the reign of Edward VI. and soon became general, through the means of the version of Sternhold and Hopkins. Dr. Barrey is, as might be expected, no admirer of this dull, uninteresting psalmody, and pleads strongly for the admission of a better species of music into the service of the church. His argument is short and simple — "Such singing," says he, "as is customary in our parochial service, gives neither ornament nor dignity to the psalms or portions of scripture that are drawn out and bawled with a unanymal and unmeaning vehemence. It cannot be for the sake of the sentiments or instructions which the words contain, that are better understood when read by the clergyman and clerk; and why, after being read, they should be sung, unless music is supposed to add to their energy or embellishment, is not easy to discover." He then proceeds to give an account of that superior species of church music, which during the reign of Elizabeth was cultivated with so much success by *Tallis, Byrd, and Mundy*; and concludes with a brief account of the *secular* vocal and instrumental music of the same period.

The five following chapters treat of the state of music, during the sixteenth century, in Italy, Germany, France, Spain, and the Netherlands. Our limits will not permit me to

company this indefatigable historian through the whole of his laborious course: we shall therefore content ourselves with remarking, that the use of *double discords* by Montaverde; of what are now called *chromatic* passages by Orlando di Lasso; and the bold and unexpected modulations of Cipriano di Rore, will attract the attention of the musical reader, as forming memorable epochs in the history of the art.

In the seventh chapter, our author resumes the history of the progress of music in England, and carries it on to the end of the seventeenth century. We have here a curious and amusing account of *masques*, which, by the introduction of recitative, were afterward converted into the English *opera*. Indeed the masque written by Ben Jonson, and performed for the entertainment of the French ambassador, in 1617, was in all its parts a complete and genuine *opera*. Under the article of *social chamber music*, several specimens are given of the madrigals, canons and catches of that period, from a work called "*Pammelia*, or Musick's Miscellanie," published in 1609, and which Dr. Burney calls the "primitive catch-book." *Instrumental* music follows; in the account of which there is a critical examination of the merits of the compositions of that age called *fantasias*. After pursuing his course through the reign of Charles I. and the *interregnum*, our author gives the following account of the remarkable change which took place in the style of church music, immediately after the *restoration*. It is taken from a curious MS. written by the Honourable Roger North, entitled, "Memoirs of Musick."—"The standard of church

music begun by Mr. Tallis, Mr. Bird, and others, was continued for some years after the restoration, and all composers conformed themselves to the pattern which was set them.

"His majesty (Charles II.) who was a brisk and airy prince, coming to the crown in the flower and vigour of his age, was soon, if I may so say, tired with the grave and solemn way which had been established by Tallis, Bird, and others, and ordered the composers of his chapel to add symphonies, &c. with instruments, to their anthems; and thereupon established a select number of his private music to play the symphony and ritornellos which he had appointed. The old masters of music, Dr. Child, Dr. Gibbons, Mr. Low, &c. organists to his majesty, hardly knew how to comport themselves with those new-fangled ways, but proceeded in their compositions according to the old style, and therefore there are only some services and full anthems of theirs to be found.

"In about four or five years time, some of the forwardest and brightest children of the chapel, as Nelham Humphrey, John Blow, &c. began to be masters of the faculty in composing; this his majesty greatly encouraged, by indulging their youthful fancies, so that every month, at least, they produced something new of this kind. In a few years more, several others educated in the chapel produced their compositions in this style; for otherwise it would have been all in vain to please his majesty."

Dr. Burney now mentions the particular pleasure he feels, in being arrived at that period of his labours, which allows him to speak of *Henry Purcell*.—"The unlimited powers of this musician's genius, embraced every



every species of composition that was then known with equal felicity. In writing for the church, whether he adhered to the elaborate and learned style of his great predecessors, Tallis, Bird, and Gibbons, in which no instrument is employed but the organ, and the several parts are constantly moving in fugue, imitation, or plain counterpoint; or, giving way to feeling and imagination, adopted the new and expressive style of which he was himself one of the principal inventors, accompanying the voice parts with instruments, to enrich the harmony, and enforce the melody and meaning of the words—he manifested equal abilities and resources. In compositions for the theatre, though the colouring and effects of an orchestra were then but little known, yet as he employed them more than his predecessors, and gave to the voice a melody more interesting and impassioned than, during the last century, had been heard in this country, or perhaps in Italy itself, he soon became the delight and darling of the nation. And in several species of chamber music which he attempted, whether sonatas for instruments, or odes, cantatas, songs, ballads, and catches for the voice, he so far surpassed whatever our country had produced, or imported before, that all other musical productions seem to have been instantly consigned to contempt or oblivion."

To this panegyric he has added a minute critical examination of two of the most excellent productions of this favourite composer, the *Te Deum*, and *Jubilate*. The chapter concludes with an account of the progress of the *violin* in England, to the end of the last century.

The four subsequent chapters are again occupied in tracing the pro-

gress of music upon the continent during the seventeenth century; of these the ninth, which treats of the progress of the violin in Italy, and contains a critical account of the compositions of Corelli and Tartini, cannot fail to be highly acceptable to the musical reader.

The last chapter continues the history of church music from the death of Purcell to our own times; and is enriched with criticisms upon the works of *Croft*, *Weldon*, *Green*, *Boice*, *Stanley* and *Naves*.

The fourth volume opens with an introductory "Essay on the Euphonia, or Sweetness of Languages, and their fitness for Music."—The object which the author professes to have in view in this dissertation, is "to recommend care to our lyric poets in the selection and arrangement of syllables, as well as unity of subject; and attentive observance to the composers who set them to music, not to dwell on harsh, mute, nasal, or guttural words, which either preclude or vitiate all musical sound.

The four first chapters of this volume treat, in order, of the invention of *recitative*, and the establishment of the musical drama or *opera* in Italy; of the sacred musical drama or *oratorio*; of the *opera buffa* or comic opera and *intermezzi*; and of *cantatas* or narrative chamber music. Each of these articles is interspersed with judicious criticisms upon the composers (together with specimens of their works) and curious anecdotes relating to performers, who distinguished themselves in these several branches of the musical art. We have also, in the first chapter, a short account of the origin of the inhuman practice of mutilating children in order to keep the voice in its adolescent state.

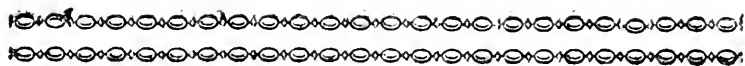
In the fifth chapter we have an account of "attempts at dramatic music in England, previous to the establishment of the Italian opera:" and in the sixth, a full and ample detail of "the origin of the *Italian opera* in England, and of its progress there, during the present century." The first opera, wholly Italian, in poetry, music and performance, that was exhibited on the stage in England, was *Almabride*, in the year 1710, and is well known from the fine humour and raillery in one of the papers of the *Guardian*, to which it gave occasion.

Towards the latter end of the same year, Mr. Handel arrived in England, and soon after produced the opera of *Rinaldo*, the first of thirty-nine, which during a course of twenty-nine years, he composed for the stage. Of all these, in their order of time, Dr. Burney has given us a critical analysis and examination, characterising the different styles, and marking the various degrees of excellence and comparative merits of the several compositions. This part of his work is also interspersed with many entertaining anecdotes,

relative to the cotemporary musical composers and performers.

In 1748, seven years after Handel had retired from the orchestra of the Italian opera, a company of comic singers was, for the first time, brought over from Italy. The subsequent fortunes of the opera-house, with histories and characters of the favourite performers, are continued down to the year 1788; to which is added an account of the commemoration of Handel, in 1784, and the following years.

In the seventh chapter, our author again returns to the continent, and with his usual historical minuteness, and critical judgment, both relates and estimates, in this and the four following chapters, all the musical events of the present century. A view of "the general state of music in England during the present century," forms the twelfth and concluding chapter of this elaborate work,—"a work (to finish with the author's own words) that has been thirty years in meditation, and more than twenty in writing and printing."



T H E

C O N T E N T S.



HISTORY OF EUROPE.

C H A P. I.

*Retrospective view of the affairs of France from the year 1787. Confidence of the parliament of Paris on their success in invalidating the royal edicts for the new taxes. Remonstrance on behalf of their exiled members. Answer. Resolutions, in violation of the King's injunctions. Consequences of the parliament's declaration of its own incompetence to levy, or to concur in levying taxes. Spirit of liberty general, and accompanied with a rage for innovation. Nothing but reforms heard. Admirable reform in the codes of civil and criminal justice. Edict in favour of the Protestants, happily passed. Flame already raised on the subject of Lettres de Cachet, much increased, by the seizing and committal to prison of M. de Catalan, president of the parliament of Tholouse. Long remonstrance from the parliament of Paris to the King, discussing many points relative to the constitution. Some remarks on that piece, with an account of the origin of enregisterring edicts, and of the cause and manner of holding beds of justice. Answer from the King to the remonstrance. Administration deeply, but secretly engaged in framing a new constitution. Some particulars of this system, and of the form, composition and nature of the new supreme court, which was to supersede parliaments in all matters relative to government. Silence, and apparent inactivity of the court, excite suspicions, which are increased to general apprehension and alarm, by circumstances observed at the royal press in Paris. M. d'Espremeuil, by indirect means, becomes master of the whole secret, which he communicates to the parliament. Sudden meeting of that body; various resolutions passed; order copies of their proceedings to be transmitted to all parts of the kingdom. Meet again suddenly on an attempt*

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made to arrest M. d'Espremeuil, and M. de Monsambert. Strong protest, ordered to be presented by a deputation to the king. King refuses to receive the deputation, and the parliament suddenly surrounded by a regiment of guards. Commanding officer enters the assembly, and commands in the king's name, the two obnoxious members to be delivered up. After a long silence, the president answered, that they were all Monsamberts and d'Espremeuils; upon which the officer returning for fresh orders, the parliament continues locked up in its chamber for near twenty-four hours. On the officer's return, charging them, under the penalty of high treason, to deliver up the two members, they still continue silent, but the two gentlemen give themselves up. Bed of justice ordered to be held at Versailles on the 8th of May. Protests entered, and address prepared by parliament. King severely reprehends the conduct of parliament in his introductory speech: Announces the new constitution: Ordinances read and registered: Farther particulars of them. Strong protest of Parliament, dated at seven o'clock the following morning. Protest seconded by a letter signed by a number of the peers, declaring their utter disapprobation of the reforms in government, and their determination to take no part in the functions assigned them by the new ordinances. Clergy no less disposed to adhere to the parliaments than the peerage. Another protest and memorial from parliament, who order their proceedings to be sent to a notary, and effectual means used for their publication. Governor of Paris enters the chambers of parliament at the Palais Royal, seizes their papers and archives, then locks and seals up the doors. All the parliaments in the kingdom about the same time suspended. Chatelet issue a strong declaration against all these proceedings that were inimical to the parliaments. Memorial of an extraordinary nature, signed by forty-seven peers and bishops, presented personally to the King. Alarming aspect of affairs. Seditious and treasonable papers continually posted upon the gates and in the streets of Paris. Publication of an incendiary libel of the most obnoxious and dangerous kind. Great disorders and tumults in the provinces. Bretagne. Count de Perigord, governor general of Languedoc, obliged to fly from Thelouse, and the troops to withdraw from that place. At Grenoble the excesses carried to the highest pitch of violence; much blood said to be shed; Duke de Tonnere saves his life by surrendering the keys of the palace; his large and valuable cabinet of medals and curiosities plundered and destroyed. Arsenal and magazines seized by the rioters. Parliament of Britany meet in defiance of the King's express command. Pass violent resolutions. Are interrupted by the military. Great riots and confusion. Nobles of the province meet, and send a deputation to Versailles, who are sent to the Bastille. Great and visible agitation of the King's mind. Peculiarly unfortunate in the great sacrifices which he made for procuring felicity to his government, and to afford ease and content to his subjects. Recapitulation of some preceding events. Dreadful hurricane destroys the harvest and vintage, in several of the finest parts of the kingdom. Great benevolences to the distressed people; and various measures pursued for their further relief. Arret relative to the meeting of the states general, causes great joy, and occasions the stocks to rise. King obliged to relinquish the new constitution. Arret relative to payments at the treasury, causes the

greatest

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greatest confusion in Paris, along with a violent run upon the bank. Ministry changed. Archbishop of Sens retires to Italy, and Mr. Neckar is placed again at the head of the finances. Great public joy; stocks suddenly rise; and general good humour prevails. Measures pursued by the new minister to support the public opinion. Parliament of Paris met. New altercation with the crown, relative to the prosecution of the late ministers. Great riot in Paris, and several of the populace slain. Parliament publicly burn the King's arrears. Convention of the notables, in order to settle the preliminaries necessary to the meeting of the states general. Distresses of the people greatly increased by the extreme severity of the winter.

### C H A P. II.

Retrospect continued. Emperor's conduct in the Low Countries, renews those dissentments and apprehensions, which seemed happily removed by the late accommodation. Count Trautmansdorff and General Dalton appointed to the conduct of civil and military affairs. Dispute about the new seminary at Louvain unexpectedly renewed. Count Trautmansdorff sends a peremptory order to the heads of the university, to carry the emperor's proposed reforms into immediate execution. They, pleading the laws and the constitution, refuse to comply. Council of Brabant, refusing to give their sanction to the violent measures intended against the university of Louvain, are threatened with compulsion. Military drawn up, and artillery brought forward to intimidate the council. Populace fired on by the troops, and several killed or wounded. Refractory heads of the university of Louvain expelled by force of arms. Kind declaration of the emperor respecting his subjects in the Netherlands succeeded by a cruel slaughter of the people by the troops at Malines, Louvain, and Antwerp. General horror spread throughout the provinces. People of condition emigrate to Holland, Liege, and other neighbouring countries.—Germany.—Country of Lippe Schaumbourg seized, on the death of the prince, by the landgrave of Hesse. Distressed situation of the family. Interposition of the king of Prussia, procures the restoration of their possessions to the infant prince and his mother. Dispute between the elector of Cologne and the pope's nuncio. Spirited conduct of the elector. Liberal grant of the magistracy of Cologne to the protestant inhabitants, allowing them to build a place of worship, a school, and a house for their minister. Wise political conduct of the king of Prussia. Leagues with England and Holland, to counteract the combination of the Eastern powers. Plays a high game in Poland. Diet comes thoroughly into his views. Augmentation of the army to 60,000 men decreed. New commission for the disposition and government of the military force of the republic. King of Prussia proposes a close alliance, and to guarantee all her dominions. Great debates in the diet. Philippic against the emperor. Russian party totally defeated. Growing importance of the republic already apparent. Turkey and Sweden seek alliances with her. Declaration by the Grand Signior. Ministers appointed by the republic to different European powers. Influence of Prussia seems thoroughly established in that country.

# C O N T E N T S.

## C H A P. III.

*Declining state of the king's health in the month of October, 1788, which terminates soon after in a continued delirium; grief of the people, and measures taken by public characters in consequence thereof. Parliament meets pursuant to the last prorogation. Notification to both houses of the state of his majesty's health; immediate adjournment for a fortnight, and summons for the attendance of members ordered; examination of the king's physicians before the privy council; minutes of the council board laid before both houses at their second meeting; doubts started in the house of commons, whether it would not be necessary to examine the physicians at the bar; taken into further consideration on the 8th of December, and a committee appointed in each house to examine the physicians; their report brought up on the 10th, and a committee appointed to search for precedents; Mr. Fox asserts the right of the prince of Wales to the regency; his opinion controverted by Mr. Pitt; Mr. Pitt's conduct sarcastically remarked upon by Mr. Burke; Mr. Fox's opinion condemned by the president of the council, and other lords in the upper house; defended by the lords Loughborough, Stormont, and Portchester. The report from the committee of precedents brought up on the 12th; Mr. Fox explains, and reasserts his opinion relative to the prince's right, and is warmly opposed by Mr. Pitt; farther explanation of Mr. Pitt's opinions upon the regency; discussion of the question of right deprecated in the house of lords; speeches of the duke of York and of the duke of Gloucester; three resolutions moved by Mr. Pitt, December 16; the second resolution, declaratory of the right of the two houses of parliament to appoint a regent, strongly opposed by lord North and Mr. Fox, and supported by the master of the rolls, the lord advocate of Scotland, the attorney and solicitor general, and Mr. Hardinge; reflections of Mr. Rushworth on the minister's conduct; the resolution carried by a majority of 268 to 204; opposed on the report of the committee by Sir Grey Cooper and Mr. Wyndham; amendment moved by Mr. Dempster, and withdrawn; amendment to the third resolution moved by Mr. Dempster; debate thereon adjourned to the 22d of December.*

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## C H A P. IV.

*The minister's explanation of the measures he intended to propose relative to the regency. Resumed debate on Mr. Dempster's motion. The plan of the minister warmly opposed by lord North, Mr. Burke, and Mr. Fox, as tending to an unnecessary and unconstitutional assumption of power. Substance of Mr. Fox's speech on that occasion. The plan and resolutions defended by Mr. Pitt; substance of his speech. Opinion of the solicitor general. Mr. Fox in explanation. Pointed observations from Mr. Sheridan. The resolutions carried by a majority of 251 to 178, and delivered at a conference to the lords;*

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lords; referred to a committee on the state of the nation. Amendment proposed in the committee by lord Rawdon; supported by lords Stormont, Portchester, and Loughborough. Original resolutions defended by lord Camden, the duke of Richmond, and the chancellor; substance of their speeches. The marquis of Lansdowne's approbation of the measures of the ministers, and his argument in opposition to the claims of the prince of Wales. Amendment negatived by 99 to 66. The resolutions finally agreed to, and the commons acquainted therewith. Protest by forty-eight lords. Addresses and petitions sent up from several counties and corporations. — [89

## C H A P. V.

*Death of the speaker, Mr. Cornwall. Election of his successor. Mr. William Wyndham Grenville proposed by lord Euston and Mr. Pulteney; for Gilbert Elliot, by Mr. Welbore Ellis and Mr. Frederick Montagu—the former chosen by a majority of 71. Mr. Pitt communicates to the prince of Wales the plan of the regency. Motion proposed by Mr. Lowden for the re-examination of the king's physicians, previous to the consideration of the restrictions upon the regency. Personal invectives thrown out on that occasion. Committee appointed to re-examine the physicians. Their report taken into consideration Jan. 16th. Mr. Pitt's speech on that occasion; proposes three objects for their deliberations. 1st. Nature of the king's illness; anecdote relative to the queen. 2d. Principles on which they were to proceed. 3d. The limitations which these principles pointed out; viz. in the power of creating peers, of granting places or pensions for life, of alienating the personal property of the king, respecting the care of the king's person, and the disposal of the offices of the household. Mr. Pitt moves five resolutions founded on these principles. They are strongly opposed by Mr. Powys, lord North, Mr. Sheridan, and colonel Fullarton. Celebrated speech of Mr. Grenville in support of the resolutions; amendment moved by Mr. Powys, and negatived by 227 to 154. Second resolution, relative to the creation of peers, voted by a majority of 216 to 159. Third and fourth resolutions carried without a division. Debate on the fifth resolution, relative to the officers of the household, opposed by lord Maitland, Mr. Grey, and Mr. Fox; amendment moved by Mr. Bouverie, and rejected by a majority of 54. Debate on the Resolutions in the house of lords. Able speech of the bishop of Llandaff. Convicts deprived of the benefit of applying to the royal mercy. Lord Camden's opinion relative to the creation of peers by act of parliament. Resolutions carried by a majority of 26. Protests signed by 57 lords. Resolutions ordered to be presented to the prince and the queen. Their answers. Debate on the motion for putting the great seal to a commission for opening parliament. Sessions opened. Motion by Mr. Pitt for leave to bring in the regency bill. Bill read a first and second time. Debates in the committee. Debate on the third reading. Regency bill sent to the lords. Notification of the king's recovery. Account of transactions relative to the regency in the Irish parliament. [105*

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## C H A P. VI.

*New commission issued in consequence of the king's recovery. Speech of the commissioners to the two houses. Addresses of thanks and congratulation. Mr. Fox's observations upon the address of the house of commons. Addresses to the queen. Debate on the ordinance extraordinaries. Question of fortifying the West India Islands discussed; plan opposed by general Burgoyne, Mr. Courtenay, and Mr. Sheridan; supported by Mr. Pitt and colonel Phipps. Mr. Beaufoy's bill for commemorating the revolution, passes the house of commons, rejected by the lords. Mr. Fox moves for the repeal of the shop tax; agreed to by Mr. Pitt. Preamble to the bill of repeal objected. Restrictions on hawkers and pedlars taken off. Message from the king relative to the public thanksgiving day, and the resolutions of the house of commons thereon. Mr. Beaufoy's motion for repealing the corporation and test acts, supported by Mr. Smith and Mr. Fox, and opposed by lord North and Mr. Pitt; lost by a majority of only 20. The earl Stanhope's bill for repealing certain penal statutes rejected on the second reading. The consideration of the slave trade postponed to the next sessions. Mr. Grenville made secretary of state, and Mr. Henry Addington speaker of the house of commons. Budget opened. Animadversions thereon. Motion by Mr. Sheridan for a new committee of finance. The report of the committee of 1786 defended by Mr. Grenville. Plan opened by Mr. Pitt for transferring the tobacco duties to the excise. Strong opposition made to it by the manufacturers, and in both houses of parliament. Extraordinary conduct of the chancellor. Inauguration of the budget opened by Mr. Dundas; animadverted on by Mr. Francis. Bill passed to enable the company to add one million to their capital. Proceedings relative to the trial of Mr. Hastings. His petition to the house of commons, complaining of Mr. Burke; proceedings of the house, and resolution moved thereon. Libel on the house of commons, ordered to be prosecuted. Application from the French government for the exportation of flour, voted inadmissible. Sessions prorogued.*

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## C H A P. VII.

*State of the contending armies on the borders of the Danube and the Black Sea. Imperialists. Marshal Haddick, to supply the Emperor's absence, appointed to the command of the grand army. Ottomans in a much worse situation than they had been in the preceding campaign. Fatal consequences of the loss of Oczakow, and the slaughter of their bravest men. Grand Vizir tried at Constantinople, on the double charge, of not providing for the preservation of Oczakow, and of causelessly evacuating the Bannat. Honourably acquitted of both, he returns to the command of the army. Death of Abdul Hamet, the Grand Signior, the greatest misfortune, at that critical period, which could have fallen upon the Turkish empire. Character of*

*thus*



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that excellent sovereign. Selim, his nephew, soon shows how unworthy he is of being his successor. The wealth of the Grand Vizir, Jusuf Pacha, dooms him to be the first victim to his avarice and cruelty. His destruction followed by that of many others on the same base motives. New Sultan changes all the plans for conducting the war which had been formed by his predecessor and by the late Grand Vizir. Precipitancy, weakness, and rashness, along with rapacity and cruelty, the characteristics of the present reign Turkish commanders and troops lose all their wonted spirit, hope, and vigour, a misfortune which soon produces the most fatal consequences. Small but severe war carried on between the Russians and Turks through the winter in Moldavia, as well as in the Baidziack. Young Tartar prince, son to the Khan, killed in an action near Bender. Humane and honourable conduct of general Kamenkoi, with respect to the body of the prince, and in restoring it to his father. Grateful acknowledgments of the Khan to the Russian general for his generosity and compassion, and the pious consolations with which he endeavours to soothe his own grief. War renewed with great animosity along the frontiers by the Turks and Austrians upon the expiration of the armistice. Empress of Russia exceeds even her usual magnificence in the rewards and honours which she bestows upon the conquerors of Oczakow. Has not yet given up her designs on Egypt, where the Baron de Thorns, late Russian consul at Alexandria, being sent in disguise, and furnished with powers to make great proposals to the Beys to induce them to enter into a treaty, and excite new commotions in the country, the Baron is seized by Ijmael Bey, and sent bound, with his credentials and papers, to the Turkish Bascha, who commits him close prisoner to the castle of Grand Cairo. Desperate and ferocious valour displayed by the Byniacs, fighting entirely on their own account, in defence of their estates, families, and country, against the Austrians. Turkish spirit sinks totally before the Russians. General Dorfilden's victory on the banks of the Sereth; purges his success, attacks the Turkish strong camp at Galatz; forces the camp; seizes the whole as a spoil; and routs, disperses, or destroys the enemy's army. War rages in Transylvania and the Banat. Marshal Laudohn, with the Austrian army on the side of Croatia, makes preparations for the siege of Turkish Gradisca, where he had been foiled the preceding year. That place, the grand outwork to Belgrade, and hitherto famous for its repeated successful resistance, strangely abandoned upon receiving a bombardment. The Marshal immediately commences his preparations for the siege of Belgrade. Prince of Saxe Cobourg has the fortune of retrieving the honour of the Austrian arms, by obtaining the first victory of any moment which they gained in the course of the war. Totally defeats and ruins an army of 30,000 Turks, under the command of a Serajquier, in the strong fortified camp of Fockzan, in Wallachia. Prince of Anhalt Bernbourg, with a part of Kamenkoi's army, defeats a body of Turks who were going to the relief of Bender, and takes the whole convoy. New Grand Vizir, with a vast army, totally defeated at Mantzesti, by the prince of Saxe Cobourg and general Suwarow, with very inferior forces. Grand Turkish army totally dispersed and ruined. Belgrade besieged and taken by Marshal Laudohn, who grants favourable conditions to the go-

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*rijoſon and inhabitants. Grand admiral, Haſſian Paſcha, quits the ſleet in the Black Sea, and takes the command of the army in Beſſarabia, in the hope of ſaving Bender; but, forſaken now by his uſual good fortune, is totally defeated, after an obſtinate battle, by the Princes Potemkin and Repnin, at Tobak. Bender taken after a long ſiege. Bialagrod and Kyliä Nova, likewiſe taken by the Ruſſians. Auſtrians no leſs ſucceſſful, take Buchareſt and other places, until the noble defence made by the gariſon of Orſova put a ſtop to their farther progreſs.* — — [165

### C H A P. VIII.

*Difficult and embarrassed ſtate of the king of Sweden's affairs at the cloſe of the year 1788, notwithſtanding the armiſtice with the Denes, and the retreat of their army out of the kingdom. Situations in which the moſt daring and hazardous meaſures become prudent and neceſſary acts. Guſtavus heroically determines to overcome his difficulties, and thereby retrieve his affairs, or to periſh in the encounter. Fortunately, notwithſtanding ſome inter-vening jealousies, the three lower claſſes of the people ſtill continued much attached to him. Incurable animoſity of the equeſtrian order. Diet ſummoned to meet at Stockholm. King calls a meeting of the magiſtrates, accompanied by fifty of the moſt ancient and reſpectable citizens of that capital, to whom, as to a grand council of ſtate, he communicates, in a moſt eloquent ſpeech, the whole ſtate of his affairs; ſhews how his inveterate foreign enemy had, by inſidiously practiſing upon his own diſaffected ſubjects, rendered them the inſtruments of frustrating all the well-laid deſigns, and blaſting all the fair hopes of the preceding campaign. Aſſembly encourage the king to the proſecution of the war, and engage to ſupport him with their lives and fortunes againſt all his enemies. Diet meets. Equeſtrian order ſoon ſhew their indiſpoſition to ſtand upon good terms with the king. They fiſt cavilled about the body of free Dalecarlians, which had joined the king with ſo much zeal in the preceding ſeaſon of danger, being gariſoned in Stockholm. This the nobles reſented with much ill-humour, on the double account of its being an inſraction of the freedom of the diet, and of its being a direct affront to their order, from its implying a ſuſpicion of their loyalty and honour. But being totally unsupported by the other orders, their ill-humour on this ground comes to nothing. The king having appointed count Lowenhaupt to be marſhal of the diet, the nobility, on that account, inſult him ſo groſſly, that he abſents himſelf from diſcharging the duties of his ſtation under ſuch public diſhonour. The king, finding himſelf ſecure in the attachment of the three other orders, goes to the diet to demand reparation for the inſult offered to himſelf through the marſhal. High words and very harſh language between the king and the nobles, until he throws out a charge of diſſection and treaſon, without naming particular perſons, when they all quit the aſſembly in a body. King makes a ſpeech to the remaining ſtates, which is received with ſatisfaction. Three days after, their houſes being ſuddenly ſurrounded by detachments of the guards and of the armed burghers of Stockholm.*

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25 of the principal nobility of the kingdom are seized, and sent prisoners to the castle of Fredericshoff. Mutinous commanders and officers in Finland already arrested, and on their way, as prisoners, to Stockholm, to be tried for their lives. Ordered to prepare for their trials. Names of several of these unfortunate gentlemen. King's conduct meets such general approbation, that the smallest commotion is not produced by these violent measures. Numberless resignations take place; spirit and strength of the equestrian order entirely broken. Dangerous precedent established against the nobility, of carrying on the public business in the diet without them. New privileges granted to the peasants. Senate entirely abolished, and a new court appointed to supply its place. King's speech to the diet. Act of confederation. King, triumphant at home, prepares for the prosecution of the war, by sea and land, with the utmost vigour. Severe sentences passed on the Finland officers, considerably mitigated through the king's lenity. Successful efforts of Mr. Elliot, in behalf of the allied courts, to induce the court of Copenhagen to agree to a strict neutrality, relieves the Swedish sovereign from all apprehension on that side. War in Finland. Rough face, and savage nature of the country, little calculated for rapid success or brilliant action. A number of small but severe and bloody actions take place. Encounter between the Russian fleet, and the Swedish commanded by the duke of Sadermania, terminates without decision or effect. Baron Stedink defeats the Russian general de Schultz. This success counterbalanced by the busy and dangerous retreat which the king was obliged to make out of Russian Finland. King exposes his person like a common volunteer. Takes Hogfors, where he is joined by his fleet of galleys, and other light vessels, which are speedily attacked by the prince of Nassau, with a similar armament. Unusually hard-fought, desperate, and bloody action, between the hostile fleets. Swedes worsted, and obliged to retire under the cannon of Sweaburg. Great superiority of the Russians in point of number, could not be compensated by any exertions of valour. This action decisive with respect to the fortune of the campaign. King again retires, with much difficulty and danger, from the Russian territories, and his garrison at Hogfors narrowly escapes being cut off. Russians, while the weather permits, become masters of the sea, and spread terror every where. Winter puts an end to the campaign, and the king returns to his capital. — — — [182

## C H A P. IX.

*New convention of Notables.* Great questions relative to the organization of the States General, which agitate the whole kingdom of France. King resigns himself entirely to the advice of M. Neckar. That minister takes a decided part in favour of the double representation of the commons; but gives no opinion on other questions of great importance, which are left, in the event, to chance. Notables, as well as the parliament of Paris, strongly recommend, that the constitution of 1614 should be the model for the new convention of the states; with which the scheme of a double representation

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presentation directly militates. Parliament of Paris endeavour to recover their popularity by issuing an arret, which, if adopted, might be considered as the Magna Charta of French liberty. Treated with the utmost contempt by the popular parties, as falling short of their views. Violent jealousies and dissensions between the three orders which were to compose the states. Nobles, odious in the extreme. Dukes and peers offer to contribute a due proportion to the public expences; and a similar disposition seems general among the nobles; but this disposition appears too late to afford satisfaction. Nobility, goaded by numberless attacks, publish a declaration of their rights, which renders them still more odious. Divisions and jealousies among themselves at this critical period. Dissensions in the parliaments. Clergy as little united as the nobles. Curates, or parish priests, disposed to side with the commons, or third estate. Commons wish that the three orders should sit in one chamber, deliberate in common, and vote by heads, instead of voting by orders, according to former practice. Strongly opposed by the nobles. In the provincial assembly of the states of Dauphiny, the nobles and clergy coalesce with the commons, and thereby establish a precedent contrary to the general sense of their orders. Differences between the nobles and commons of Britany rise so high as to carry the appearance of a civil war. Count d'Artois with the princes of Conde, and Conti, (who are called the Triumvirate) present a memorial to the king, which increases the popular odium against them to the highest pitch. Measures pursued by the duke of Orleans to acquire popularity in Paris. M. Neckar blamed for not having used any means to reconcile the jarring factions, or to allay the national ferment, previous to the elections. He presents a memorial to the king, strongly urging the measures of double representation, and making himself responsible for its consequences. King accordingly issues a decree for that purpose; but leaves, undecided and open, the very important and critical questions, relative to the manner of voting, and to the sitting of the states in one, or in three chambers. Unfortunate and ruinous consequences of this omission of the ministers. Some well-intended schemes for amending the constitution, which were subsequently proposed, but rejected. Ancient practice and nature of the Cahiers, or instructions given by the electors to their deputies in the states. Nobles bound by oath not to sit or vote in one common assembly. Apboristic statement of the views of the different parties. Some farther particulars relative to them. Most of the deputies to the states arrive at Versailles, but the delays caused by the elections in Paris prevent their opening the assembly. Some explanation of the terms Primary Assemblies, and Primary Elections, with the manner of their application. Violent riot in Paris, and much blood shed. \* [200

## C H A P. X.

Solemn and august opening of the Assembly of the states general at Versailles. Short speech by the king. Keeper of the seals speech. Long harangue by M. Neckar disappoints all parties. Inexplicable conduct of the ministers, in

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in leaving the question of consolidation, and those relative to the manner of deliberating and voting, still undecided. All the legal authority in the kingdom then possessed by the king. Fatal consequences of that omission of the ministers. Scheme thence formed by the third estate, to render the other orders entirely dependent upon them. Explanation of the phrase, *Verification of Powers*. Commons invite the clergy and nobles to come to their hall, in order to proceed in common with them, in the verification of their respective writs of return. Invitation refused, as being contrary to established form, and subversive of the rights of the other orders. Commons pass a resolution, that no writs could be valid that were not verified in their chamber and presence, and that, without going through that form, the two other chambers would be illegal assemblies. Nobles blamed for their obstinacy in refusing to comply with the demand of the commons. Clergy wavering. Privileged orders weakened by their internal dissensions. Meetings of the commons tumultuous and disorderly. Admission of the populace causes shameful disorders, and produces in time great evils. Nobles proceed with their separate verifications, and declare themselves duly constituted. This proceeding treated with the utmost contempt by the commons. Commissioners appointed to settle the differences between the nobles and commons, and the clergy act as mediators; but the disputants can agree in nothing. Ministers alarmed, now persuade the king to interfere, when it is too late. Nobles pass an arret, declaring the deliberation by orders to be essential to the monarchical constitution; and that they would ever persevere in this principle, as being equally necessary both to monarchy and freedom. Conferences between the orders renewed in compliance with the king's request. M. Neckar brings forward his conciliatory plan. Supported by a message from the king to all the orders; accepted, in fact, only by the clergy. While the other orders act to deliberate on it, they clog it with conditions which they know will be inadmissible. Commons alarm the nobles by declaring, that they will constitute themselves into an active assembly, and proceed to business. Nobles continue obstinate, notwithstanding the endeavours of the temperate few among them. Commons indirectly endeavour to render them more inflexible. Nobles and commons severally address the king. Party of the Commons continually gaining ground among the clergy. Three curates of Poitou bring their writs of return for verification to the commons, and are received with acclamations of the highest joy and triumph. Third estate assume the title of national assembly. Signalize their new title by a strong and popular act of sovereignty. Spectators interrupt the debates, hiss and menace the members, and publish lists of the voters, stigmatising those as enemies to their country who vote contrary to their liking. King and ministers, greatly alarmed, determine upon holding a royal session. Preparations for carrying that measure into execution conducted with such imprudence and rashness as to excite the greatest public alarm. National Assembly shut out from their hall by guards and workmen, without any previous notice or knowledge of the intention. Commons, apprehensive of immediate dissolution, hurry through a violent storm of rain to an old tennis court, where they bind themselves by a solemn oath, never to part until the constitution was completed.

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plated. Extreme odium, as well as other evil consequences, which the bad conduct of the ministers in this transaction drew upon the king. Majority of the clergy join the commons. Great joy and triumph upon this occasion. Commons, upon this junction, are confident in their strength. Royal session. Plan of a new constitution or system of government laid down by the king. Various causes which operate to its rejection. Commons refuse to adjourn or interrupt their session. Issue a decree, declaring the persons of their members inviolable. Outrages at Versailles and in Paris. Poissardes, and another order of women, become highly notorious. Extraordinary scenes in the gardens of the Palais Royal. Parisians so proud to revolt, that M. Neckar is obliged to send a letter to allay the ferment. Commons treat the king's system with silent contempt. Archbishop of Paris, terrified by the dangers to which he had been exposed by the rabble, comes, with the minority of the clergy, to the hall of the commons, where they withdrew their protest. Count de Clermont Tonnerre, and M. de Lally, use the most strenuous endeavours to bring the nobles to an union with the commons, but the majority continue inflexible. Minor party of that order desert the same evening, and join the third estate. Majority, at length, after a message from the king, and violent debates, unite with the commons. Great hopes formed of the happy consequences which would ensue from this union of the states. New and alarming councils and measures adopted by the court. Troops drawn from different parts of the kingdom towards the capital. Causes or motives of this extraordinary change of measures not yet clearly developed. Contending parties charge each other with evil designs, which are mutually denied. National assembly had not, since the late union of the states, afforded any visible cause for jealousy or violence. Successful means used in Paris to seduce the French guards from their duty. Parisians force the prison, and rescue the mutinous soldiers of that body who were confined for disobedience of orders, and other acts of contumacy. National assembly present a spirited remonstrance to the king on the near approach of the troops. King answers, that the disorders in Paris afford the only motive for this measure, and proposes to transfer their sitting to Noyon or Soissons, in which case he would remove the court and follow them. Democratic leaders reject the proposal. Horrid designs attributed to the court by the opposite party in this change of system. Opinions of more moderate men on the subject, so far as they can be collected. M. Neckar ordered to resign his place, and to quit the kingdom. Other ministers resign. M. de Breteuil placed at the head of the new ministry, and Marshal Broglie appointed to command the army. Disorders in Paris commence on Sunday morning, on the arrival of this intelligence. Prince de Lambesc, in an ill-judged attempt, with his regiment of cavalry, to disperse the riotous populace in the gardens of the Thuilleries, shamefully repulsed. All government being at an end in Paris, a day of fury and rage is succeeded by a night of the most dreadful panic. On Monday morning above 100,000 people assemble, and seem animated by one common soul. Temporary bodies of electors appointed to the government of their respective districts. Army of 30,000 men suddenly formed. Joined by the French guards. New cockade. Appearance not only of defence but of active war. Plunderers, detected in the fact by the populace, instantly hanged

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by the lantern ropes. Thus commenced the dreadful precedent of the populace becoming in the same instant both the judges and the executioners of the law. On Tuesday morning the new army complete their preparations by seizing the arms in the public depositories. Attack the Bastille. Contradictory accounts of several circumstances relative to the attacking and taking of that fortress. M. de Launay, the governor, dragged to the Place de Greve, and miserably murdered. M. de Lojme, his major, a man of great humanity, and who had treated the prisoners with unusual tenderness, meets the same fate. This day introduced the savage custom of mutilating the bodies of the victims, and of exhibiting their bleeding heads in the streets on pikes. The lives of a handful of invalids, who garrisoned the Bastille, saved by the French guards. The mayor of Paris, being detected in a correspondence with the court, is turned out of office, and ordered to prison for trial, by the committee of electors; but is forced from the guard by the rabble, who murder him on the spot, and exhibit his head in the streets like the others. Only seven prisoners found in the Bastille. On the Sunday and Monday the king's ministers and generals seemed asleep or in a trance; but on Tuesday, the former found themselves suddenly overwhelmed by a deluge of misfortunes from every quarter; and could find no other resource than that of concealing from the sovereign the dismal and dangerous situation in which he was involved. National assembly, with the terrors of dissolution and imprisonment before their eyes, resolved, with the firmness of a Roman senate, not to relinquish a single point. Pass a celebrated resolution. Solicit the king to withdraw his troops. King's answer. Assembly resolve on Tuesday not to separate, but to sit up all night in their hall. System of concealment still pursued. Duke de Liancourt forces his way to the king's bedside at midnight, and acquaints him with the true state of his affairs. King resigns himself next morning into the hands of the assembly. His speech received with loud acclamations, and the whole assembly accompany him back to the palace. Paris now to be considered as a great republic. M. la Fayette appointed to the command of the army. M. Bailly chosen mayor. National assembly send a deputation of 84 members to Paris. King persuaded to the humiliating and dangerous measure of visiting the capital. Met at Seve by 25,000 national guards, who escort him to the town house. Returns safe to Versailles. Inhuman and barbarous songs popular in Paris. Cruel murders of Foulon and Berthier. Speedy dispersion of the late ministers, courtiers, generals, and favourites, who, with the Count d'Artois, his two sons, and the princes of Conde and Conti, escape to foreign countries. Attempts made by the moderate party in the assembly for adopting effectual means to restrain that sanguinary spirit which was now becoming so dreadfully general. Excessive joy at M. Neckar's return. Triumphant entry into Paris. His hopes unexpectedly blasted by the refusal of the Parisians to order the release of M. Bezenval, or to grant a general amnesty. Dreadful state of disorder and cruelty which prevails through the country in general.

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