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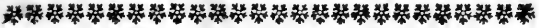








THOUGHTS
ON
EDUCATION.



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THOUGHTS

Geo. ON *Baillie*

EDUCATION.

By the late BISHOP BURNET.

Now first printed from an original Manuscript.



LONDON:

Printed for D. WILSON, at Plato's Head,
in the Strand. M,DCC,LXI.

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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE late Bishop Burnet's abilities, as a writer, are so universally acknowledged, by the best judges, that I flatter myself, the fugitive little piece, which I here offer to the public, will be received with pleasure.

Of its authenticity there can be no doubt, seeing the manuscript is entirely and evidently the Bishop's own hand writing;

as appears by comparing it with a receipt granted by him for a year's stipend, in 1665, when he was minister of Saltoun; in the body of which receipt he declares the same to be written with his hand: and in verification of this voucher, nothing more need be said, than that it was furnished by the Right Honourable the Lord Milton, one of the Senators of the College of Justice, keeper of his Majesty's Signet in Scotland, and the representative of the great Andrew Fletcher Esq; of Saltoun.

The

The original MS. together with this proof of its being the genuine work of Bishop Burnet, was put into the publisher's hands, (where any person of curiosity may have the satisfaction of seeing and comparing them) by Sir Alexander Dick of Prestonfield, Baronet; who found the MS. among the papers of his grand father, Sir John Cunninghame of Caprington, Baronet, a very learned man and eminent Scotch lawyer in the reign of King Charles II.

Of this Sir John Cunninghame, the Bishop gives an excellent
cha-

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character, in the history of his own times, Vol. I. p. 238. *
folio,

* The person, whom I believed the best as to all such things, was one Sir John Cunningham, an eminent lawyer, who had an estate in the country, and was the most extraordinary man of his profession in that kingdom. He was episcopal beyond most men in Scotland, who for the far greatest part thought that forms of government were in their own nature indifferent, and might be either good or bad according to the hands in which they fell; whereas he thought episcopacy was of a divine right, settled by Christ. He was not only very learned in the civil and canon law, and in the philosophical learning, but was very universal in all other learning: he was a great divine and well read in the Fathers, and in ecclesiastical history. He was above all, a man of eminent probity,
and

folio, and seems to value himself on the personal friendship and intimacy with which he was honoured by him. This circumstance, added to that of the MS. being found among that gentleman's papers, would naturally lead one to think that it was addressed to him; were it not that our author gives him to whom he writes the title of a Lord: whereas it does not appear that Sir John was ever raised to the dignity of Lord Advocate, or of a Lord of Session.

and of a sweet temper, and indeed one of the piourest men of the nation.—

How-

x P R E F A C E.

However, it is plain from the contents, that this Essay was written at the desire, and for the use, of some very considerable personage, about the latter end of the year 1668, when the Author, as he tells us, was not quite 25 years of age; having been born, as appears from his life, at Edinburgh, in 1643.

The subject of this little treatise is, most certainly, of a very interesting nature, not only to parents and such others as are more immediately and directly concerned in the right education of youth, but to the whole
com-

community in general: and in both these views our Author seems to have attentively and honestly considered it, never losing sight of his Pupils, even from the lisping state of infancy, up to that of ripe manhood.

The counsels he gives, and the regulations he proposes, together with his reasons for them, seem well to deserve the serious and mature consideration of every parent, guardian, governor, and preceptor of youth: for though every one of these will not, probably, think fit to adopt all his sentiments, in every cir-
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cumstance; yet those who do not think with him, may perhaps learn from him to think for themselves.

As to the language, the reader will not expect the English to be so correct, so pure, or so elegant as that of the Bishop's later works, when he considers that this Essay was written near an hundred years ago, in Scotland, and to a friend, without the least suspicion that it would ever be published. It would indeed have been easy to give it a more fashionable dress, by proper corrections of the spelling, the ex-

6 pres-

pression, and indeed of the grammatical construction, about which the Scotch, not much used to write in those days, were but too careless: but the editor, thinking it would be more satisfactory to the curious, to see how such an author as Bishop Burnet wrote so long ago as 1668, hath here faithfully and literally copied the original manuscript. In short, he conceived that he could not act otherwise, without taking an unjustifiable liberty with his author, and with the publick.

T H O U G H T S

T H O U G H T S

O N

E D U C A T I O N.

TH E R E is nothing the law of nature doth more oblige men to, than carefully to educate and cultivate their children, this being the truest expression of a father's love. And therefore the philosopher Crates often said that he would goe to the most remarkable place of the city and call aloud, O Fathers, what doe you? so carefully to gather fortunes to your children, and so little to consider what they are, to whom you leave them. And upon good ground did the wise Theban,
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being asked in the school at Athens, what were the causes of the ruine of a state, reckon one of the chiefe, to be the neglect of the education of the youth. For since there is in man a natural by-as and propensity to corruption, it is not to be doubted, but ill disciplined children will prove, for most part, dissolute and profligate men. The obliquity of trees is easily corrected, if observed while they are young and small; but after many years growth, neither by force nor industry, can that which is crooked be made straight; and of this Lycurgus convinced the Spartans, by the whelps both procreated and whelped at once, but by the diversity of their breeding, the one was excellent for hunting, and the other fit for nothing but to lick dishes, and lay by a fire. Of such importance did the Romans judge the education of their youth, that
there.

there was one incharged with the inspection of it; and this office was judged a high trust and a great honour, and was a step to the censorial, if not to the consular dignity.

But besides the bonds of nature and of society, we christians are under a closer tye, since to fathers the care of children is so often enjoined in holy Scriptures; as likewise fathers become sponsors for their children in baptisme; and therefore, by that suretyship, are engaged to the utmost care and diligence in seeing to their christian, virtuous, and rational education.

But all this, I know, is needless to your lordship, whose chiefe care and solicitude about your children is, that they be good christians and wise countrymen, and in whom I have observed no more

passionate desire of any thing than of discreet governours, and wholesome rules for improving and polishing the minds of your children: and as this generous care is indeed singular in you, so your humility is to be reckoned among those virtues which shine with the brightest lustre, appearing in this, that notwithstanding of your own great reach in all things, you are yet so distrustful of your own measures in such an important affair, as to ask my poor thoughts about it.

My Lord, my pride were as base as your virtue is noble, if I judged myself capable of advising, much lesse directing you herein: yet so closely is my soul linked to all your concerns, by the straitest bond of a close and entire friendship, and so ardently do I desire the welfare of your family and hopeful chil-

children, that I shall give you a full and copious account of my thoughts on this matter, which though they be no other way useful to you, yet shall at least tell you how often and seriously I think on you and yours, even when I see you not, and how I value not my time nor pains, when any thing that may be the subject of advantage, pleasure, or divertisement to you call for them. I should also preface of my own unfitness for this task from my few yeares, and the small experience I have had in this affair; but I shall frankly, and without further formality, give you my best and maturest thoughts; wherein if I come short of your expectation, it is because your opinion of me exceeds my merit. I therefore subject all to your censure, desiring that you will forgive the unpolished rudeness of style in me, who by a long and dayly converse

with Clownes am become more than halfe a Bour myfelfe.

The first step of our Thoughts, in reference to children, should be a wise and discreet choice of her who shall be their mother; for as graffes bear fruit of the kind of the stock whence they are cropt, so often doe children receive deep and lasting impressions of their mother's temper; and for this causedid the Lacedemonians threaten their King, when he was about to marry a dwarfe, alledging that she would bring forth not Kings but Kinglings. And also parents should avoid all waisting intemperance, and excess; for since the minds of children are moulded into the temper of that case and body wherein they are thrust, and the healthfulness and strength of their bodies is suitable to the source and fountain whence they sprung,

it clearly appears that persons wasted by drunkenness or venery must procreate unhealthful, crazy, and often mean-spirited children ; though there being so many things joyning in this compound of a man, none of these probabilities must passe for assertions or conclusions.

A child being born, the first care is its nursing ; and indeed it is an affectionate and Christian piece of the mother's care, recommended by the holy women in Scripture, and the more virtuous in all ages, to nurse her own children, if her nourishment be abundant and good, and if her health and strength will permit ; and to decline it upon any other account bewraies either immodesty, or, a lazy inexcusable softness. That the child sucks in with the milk many spirits, and by consequence much of the nurse's

temper, is apparent. She should be therefore well chosen, and particularly she should be free of those vices that infect the body; such as uncleanness, boldness, or love of drink.

All a child can be then taught is cleanliness; upon which what a value the ancients set, appears from that a philosopher, among the moral precepts he gives a child, reckons this, to keep his hands always clean; and besides the suitableness the purity of the mind hath to the cleanliness of the body, a habitual love of cleanness may prove a good curb to preserve children from many nasty tricks.

The next choice should be of the women that shall keep them after they are weaned, that they be discreet and modest; for many base sluts learne children
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very early obscene talk and impure actions.

How soon as a child can distinctly pronounce every word, and understands all that is spoken, he should be taught to read, which is usually when they are four years old or five. Then should some of the seeds of religion be dropt into them, that there is a God, a Heaven, and Hell should be often told them, but chiefly the last, which they can best understand: only the terrifying them with frightful stories or visars is a mighty error; for beside the present prejudice it may occasion by their sudden startling and discomposure, it may nourish and breed in them a bogling humour, which may stick to them and trouble them at a riper age.

They should be also taught some very short forms of Prayers, the Lord's Prayer,

Prayer, the Doxology, or the like, and be made say them, not in their beds, but on their knees, morning and evening; so that there may grow in them with their years a reverence to God.

For their manners, so green an age is capable of few precepts, habitual lying should be well guarded against; for this base custom being once acquired in youth will not easily be driven away. The chief occasions of it in them are fear and malice. Severe parents or masters, by their rigorous punishing the faults of little ones, teach them this slavish and hateful sin. The best ward against this hazard is to promise a child a ready pardon for the greatest fault if they candidly confess it: and indeed to teach an habitual ingenuity may well deserve a connivance at great escapes. A humour also of telling ill
of

of those whom they emulate doth also feed this custom of lying; which is the more to be guarded against, because it is coupled to another evil almost as bad, detraction and envy. This fault will also be best corrected by a constant pardoning the child accused, and a translating the punishment due to the fault upon the tatter.

Swearing, Obscenity, and terms of Scolding are also to be looked to in Children; but a discreet choice in their servants and play-fellows is the surest preservative against these vices.

As for their Reading we have two errors in our common course: the one is to begin them with a scurvy black letter, and with a Catechism full of long and harsh words, unintelligible
to

to children. Now since it is an universal rule to begin with what is easiest, this way is not to be used. A book of a white and fair letter should be first put in their hands: as also they should begin with the Psalms, where the frequent repetition of the same words together with the plainness of the style, will make their labour easier. In their reading, they should be taught to pronounce fully and plainly, without peeping, tone, or chirping; and therefore I like not their reading first the Psalms in metre, where the cadence of the line learns them a tone; but the chief care in reading should be to see that they syllable well, and be exact to do it without book. The officious haste of some masters, to drive children fast through books loseth them in this.

As their memory and capacity groweth, they should be made to get short and select sentences of Scripture by heart, for if a child at six or seven years be made every day to remember one verse, and to repeat them always on the Saturday or Lords Day, he shall know much Scripture, ere he arrive at a ripe age. And this Rule deserves the rather to be followed, because the impressions that are made in that age are well rooted and long-lived.

As for punishing children on this side of seven or eight years old it must be managed with discretion. All the humours, follies, wildness, and indiscretions of children, except those I have above marked, should be passed over in laughter: for to expect or force other things from children is to contradict nature, which made children children and not men. Remif-

Remifness in ftudy fhould alfo be little confidered: two hours a day till they be fix, and three or four till they be feven or eight is penance enough for young children.

If a child need ftrokes, it muft bewray either much weaknefs in his father or mafter, or a great frowardnefs in the child. Praise and kindnefs are the beft encouragements of children, and to reward their diligence and good manners with pretty knacks, gilded books, fuch ornaments to their clothes as their rank and purfe will allow, pieces of money, and gratifications of the palate, will more sweetly engage a child, than any crofsgrained carriage. The punishments alfo of moft faults, fhould be a with-holding thefe rewards; and if there be another whom the child emulates, to confer them on him. If this prevail

vail not, frowning will not, and should never be used, but in the very act of correction: for frequent chiding either makes it to be wholly slighted, or alienates the heart of the child from his parent or master. And indeed the philosopher's stone, and master-piece of education, is so to ply a child as to gain his heart, and retain his affection. The faults we intend not to punish, we should not notice, for it is much better a child judge that he misseth the rod, through his master's ignorance or not observance, than that his faults are connived at, and he suffered to behave as he pleaseth; which apprehension may be the source of much evil. Otherways of punishing are scorning children, and publick shaming them out of their follies; which course may be practised with good success, till a child be ten or twelve years of age; but after that it
is

is no more to be practised. Children should be seldom threatened but seldom-er beaten, yet when need doth require it, it should be done to some purpose; and the more unfrequent and severe it be, it shall breed more terrour in the child; for customary or slight corrections make them little dreaded.

But the greatest difficulty in breeding young ones, is whether to do it by publick masters in school, or by private ones at home. The advantages of schools are great; for since emulation is that which presseth children most effectually to their studies in schools, they have many provocations that way; as also company makes all go most vigorously about their work; and besides in a school there are many pretty recreations, which exhilarates children; and therefore undoubtedly a school if

well managed, is a speedier and more successful course ; but for all this, I should be slow to advise one, whose purse can answer to a private education, to adventure on a school ; for I judge the morals of a child to be that which deserves the chieffe care, and the great dissoluteness that must needs be in a rabble of base ill-bred boys, doth much scare me from school education. As also I do not conclude it a good and safe course to ripen children too fast : for since discretion doth not ripen, but with years, to fill a child's sails with too much wind of knowledge, before he can have the ballast of settled wisdom, seems an error in breeding ; as also by reason of the small encouragement and contempt schoolmasters lye under, few of spirits ply that art except it be for a livelihood till they be fit for mounting higher, and so are more buied in minding the course

of life they intend to follow, than their present employment; and they for the most part neglect children: and as for the ordering their morals, which I account the chieffe part of education, they scarce oncemind it, or if there be some few more expert in that employment, their schools are much flocked to, so that the greatest part are much neglected, and the most considerable are less looked too by one who hath perhaps a hundred others to divide his care amongst, than by one whose only and entire work it is to see to him.

But asforemulation, I confess, without it, I shall expect but small, and slow progress from all children, if they be not singularly rare: it will be therefore a good course to have another learning with the child, not a servant, lest he disdain to enter the lists with him; not one too far beyond

yond him in years and standing, lest he be discouraged ; yet one who by all likelihood may outrun him.

As for the place of education, it seems fittest for persons of quality to breed their children out of their own houses, if their health be any way good and regular ; and that because oft the fondness of parents, especially the mothers, is the loss of children ; as also in a great family among many servants, especially grooms and footmen, there are many debordings and occasions of corrupting youth ; and these also by their vain flatteries spoil children. Great confluence of company will also occasion many necessary avocations to a boy ; and too great a table may make a child too much a slave to his belly and taste. A private house, therefore, of some discreet friend, will be perhaps the best place for a

child's education. Thus the Carthaginians put all children of quality, after they were three years old, into the temples among the Priests, where they lived till they were twelve.

For a child's exercises, he should be allowed all that he hath a mind to, if they be not too excessive wasters of his body, and devourers of his time, and a child, from whom parents would expect much comfort, should not be bred too softly, deliciously, or arrogantly; for this debauches them into fordid luxury and effeminacy. They should be therefore taught to eat any thing, and not to expect that every thing be done to them by servants; but learn to put on and off their clothes, and other things belonging to themselves; that so, however their fortune alter, they be early taught to bear a
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lower condition. Only fine clothes, and variety of them, is an encouragement I would not have denied to children; especially to such as see others of their own rank in good order. And so far have I adventured to say of children, while their childhood lasts; that is, till they be seven or eight years old; though many of the advices I have suggested may be of use to a riper age.

Having thus dismissed our child, I come next to examine how his boyish youth-hood should be managed; that is, till he be fourteen years old, which is the next period of life. And the first thing here to be thought on, is the choice of a Governour and Preceptour. For if one's fortune can answer this double charge, I would wish these offices were in sundry hands; for as there

be few furnished with so much discretion as is requisite in a governour fit or able to teach, or of a temper to stoop to so mean an employment, so there be few able preceptours who are in any degree qualified for the government of youth; they being for most part pedantick, imperious, and trifling people; and further, the authority a governour should preserve, can hardly be kept up in the person of a preceptor, who by the many quarrellings he must have with the boy, and by the many unpleasant tasks he must put him to, cannot have so deep a share in his affection, as a governour ought to have. If the father be a man of wisdom and virtue, and have leisure and opportunity to stay much at home, he will prove the best governour himself; but when this is denied him, great diligence and care must be had, to make a good choice,

choice. Marc Aurele, that he might find good governours for his son, called for all the eminentest in the liberall sciences throw the world, out of which number, after he had used himself all imaginable exactness in trying them, he made choice of fourteen, two for every liberal art; and that he might the better observe their carriage and behaviour, he kept them always nigh himself; and undoubtedly the whole education of the child depends on the fitness of this choice. What a deplorable errour is it to intrust youths presently come from college, who cannot govern themselves, and pedants, with the breeding of noblemen, whose arrogance, ignorance, indiscretion, rudeness, and misbehaviour doe ruine youth.

The two great causes of the penury of governours, are these; first the con-

tempt that this employment is exposed to, they being held and treated as servants, which makes gentlemen or men of parts disdain it. Otherwise did Aurele the Emperor, who made his son's governours eat at his own table; and Theodosius who once found his son's governour, Arsenius, standing bare while he was sitting, and ordered that in all time thereafter, his sons should stand uncovered by him, and he sit covered. And as a more respectful way of treating governours would allure many to the employment, so it should conduce much to preserve in the youths respect towards their governour. In Athens wee read that the noblest and best of that state were educators of youth; such as Socrates, Plato, Epicurus, and Aristotle. The like was also at Rome.

Another

Another reason of the penury of governours, is the unworthy niggardness of parents, who grudge to give a considerable reward, whereby they may be well maintained and encouraged. It is a frugality, the wisdom whereof I cannot comprehend, to mesnage a youth's fortune, at the loss of his education. What an inexcusable folly is it, to see parents bestow largely for a horse to their son, and for grooms to dress him, and for trimming of his clothes and linnens, and yet stand upon a good salary for a discreet governour. Aristippus having counselled a father to see for a good tutor to his son, he was asked what would that amount too; he answered a hundred crowns; the covetous wretch replied, that such a sum might buy him a slave; Well, said Aristippus, bestow your money so, and

and you shall have two slaves, the one your ill-bred son, and the other he whom you buy for your money. A large and considerable salary therefore, whereby one may live as a gentleman, if it procure a good governour, is the best mesnaged money the boy can have.

All histories tell us, beside the evidence reason gives for the thing, what advantages youths have reaped from wise educators, and the best and greatest Princes have been those whom philosophers bred. Darius was bred by Lichan the philosopher; Artaxerxes by Menandre; Alexander by Aristotle; Xeniad king of Corinth by Chilon; Epaminondas by Elyfis; Pyrrhus by Artemius; Trajan by Plutarque; and many more.

The

The measures whereby governours should be chosen are these; first, he should be one that sincerely fears God: for, since that is the chief design of man, it should be first looked to; yet superstition in religion should be none of the qualifications I would desire in one, but one of generous, sublime, and rational maxims, should be chiefly sought for. Branches of these are virtue, candor, contempt of the world, humility, and meekness; for one that hath crooked notions or bad practises in any of these, must make a bad governour.

Wisdom and discretion is to be sought in the next place, without which even a good man will prove a bad governour, if he have not the wise arts of gaining the youth's love, of tyeing reproofs, of insinuating precepts, and of moderating his corrections.

A serene good nature is also a very necessary qualification for a governour; that by his morosenes he may not deterre the youth from his company, but by his sweet behaviour may make him delight in his conversation: yet with this there must be joyned gravity, otherwise he shall quickly lose his authority; and indeed it is a rare compound to find a just mixture of douceur and gravity. For the want of this did Marc Aurele turn off fyve of his son's governours; because at table upon the occasion of some buffonery they laughed so intemperately, that they stamped, clapped their hands and frisked with their bodies.

And in the last place, I would chuse one of various learning. I place this last, for indeed I judge learning the meanest piece of education, and were
it

it not that study preserves youths from idleness and worse exercises, I should not very earnestly recommend it to the breeding of all youth: for indeed the right framing of their minds, and forming their manners, is most to be thought upon: as also, since I would have languages taught by a distinct preceptor, I should not much stand on it whether the governour were exact in them or not: but I would not have him one who hath made one science his whole study; for often confined students have straitned and narrow thoughts; as also one of various literature may give the youth hints of all things, whereby as he shall teach him many things, so the variety of the matters he can discourse of to the boy, will make his conversation more agreeable and pleasant; whereas if he alwaies harp upon one string, that will
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breed a nausea ; but chiefly by giving him an insight into many things he shall best discover where his strength lyeth, and to what study his inclinations lead him.

Having got a governour as nigh this as can be had at any rate, he must be engaged to love the child and family where he is : for love and friendship are most forcible motives and attractives, which prevail more with ingenuous spirits than all fallerys. Having him thus engaged by true friendship, as you shall be assured of his utmost diligence, so you shall be secure from fears of having him pulled from you by the offer of a greater or better condition ; since friendship in a vertuous mind downweighs all other considerations ; and a change in a governour is
among

among the greatest prejudices a boy can sustain.

Being thus well served in a governour, I should not be very anxious about a preceptor; being satisfied with any that hath ability and dexterity for teaching these things for which I seek him; though I could be heartily glad to get one well qualified as to other things, that in case of the governour his sickness or necessary absence, he might in some tolerable degree fill his place.

And so farre of the choice of a governour, on which I have enlarged and insisted perhaps to tediousnes: but I hold it to be the most important matter in this whole work, which being well done, the whole designe is as good as gained.

But

But next I shall consider how our boy should be trained up. In the first place, the main care should be to infuse in him early, a great sense of the Deity, together with a holy reverence to Scripture, joined with a high esteeme of vertuous persons and actions, and as great a contempt of vicious ones. These should be ever and anon repeated and inculcated in children ; and as their spirits mature and ripen, so should the truths of Christianity be further explained to them. And that they may be the more capable to receive these, a governour should study to illustrate them, by obvious and plain metaphors, whereby as they shall be the more distinctly transmitted into the youth's understanding, so they shall be received with affection, and retained tenaciously : and this way is the more to be practised because youth is not capable

pable of strong reason ; and this method did our Saviour practise to his young disciples ; and Pythagoras, and all the ancients, taught their profoundest theories and maximes thus. As for virtuous practices, he must be made still to read Scripture, and study to retain much of it, if his memory be good ; he must be taught to pray devoutly, and used to it thrice a-day, good and short forms being given him for that purpose. A reverence for the Sabbath should also be begotten in him, as also gravity in all the acts of Christian worship, and hearing sermons. All these his governour should oblige him to by serious and reiterated remonstrances ; but chiefly by his own unaffected example.

He should also earnestly insinuate to him a love of ingenuity, and by his
D
practice

practice or discourses discover nothing that favours of doublenes: he sould therefore beget in him ane abomination at lying. Trajan the emperor, after a long warre with Ceball king of the Daces, who had often falsly prevaricated, took him and subdued his kingdome, and after his death was educating his son, with ane intention, according to the Roman custome, to restore him his father's kingdome, making him his tributary and vassal; but seeing him once break into a garden, at night he asked where he had been all afternoon; the boy answered, in school; with which disingenuity the emperor was so offended, that all the intercession of the Daces, and many Romans, could never induce him to make good what he had intended for him; saying alwaies, that he who begunne so early

to

to prevaricate, could never deserve a crown. And indeed disingenuity is the pest to youths.

He must also wean him by degrees from passion, malice, and pettish conceits : and certainly the surest way to root out these humours, is to see that they be not irritated by any provocations, as much as is possible ; for these are bellows and nourishers of these vices, which without such irritaments will die through desuetude. To contend against a passionate temper, may well heighten it, but shall never extirpate it : to reprove one for these faults, while he is in the passion, is lost labour ; but when the humour is over and composed, then will it be fitt that he with all gentle calmnes show him the folly of these humours.

He must study to wean him insensibly from the love of his palate, and from softnes ; but this must be done slowly. Only boldnes, arrogance, vainglory, opiniastrity, and talking, must not be much repressed, unlesse they swell to ane extravagant height before one be twelve or fourteen yeares of age ; for these humours are the chieffe incitements that drive boyes to study ; neither are they capable of the contrary impressions ; yet it will be necessary often to discourse to the boy of the excellence of the vertues opposite to these ; and to teach a boy reason in all his actions, and to doe nothing wilfully, a master should injoyn him nothing but that for which he shews him good reason,

But the vertue which must be most carefully infused in youths, is good nature

nature and gentleness ; for a boy who is once brought to this point, is capable of all admonitions, and susceptible of every impression.

Now all these virtues should be taught not by mere precept, but by rational discourse ; shewing the excellence, sweetness, and advantage of them ; and this will be best insinuated by examples brought either from history or experience.

It may seem that these advices are more proper for the age of a youth than a boy ; but any that would rear up a noble superstructure in the minds of youth, must lay the foundation betimes. A frequent and daily discoursing of these subjects will at long-runne prove notably useful ; for alwaies some what will stick.

As for his letters, the first thing the Grecians and Romans thought on, was to teach their boyes the elegancies of their own tongue; for which end every city was full of the schooles of rhetoricians: and perhaps the neglect of teaching boyes the purity and propriety of their mother-tongue, hath occasioned the great rudeness critics judge our westerne languages to be guilty of; oratory in them having never been made a study before Cardinal Richelieu his erecting that colledge at Paris.

But I confesse I doe not so much approve this way of education so early: for to teach rhetorick or logick (all the difference betwixt these being that the one is reason in a court dresse, the other in a military garb) before one have arrived at a solide understanding of things, is a reversing the right order, which

which requires that wee know things, before wee think of ordering them. Therefore I judge the teaching of foraine languages to be the fittest work for a boy; the Latine or French are these in which all learning is now to be found, and so one of these must be exactly known and understood. But because Latine, as it is the ancients and more universall, so by a long politure hath in it I know not what handsomenes peculiar to it selfe; as also by its long reigne in the world hath been and is to this day the language of learned men. I therefore conceive it necessary to presse a boy in earnest to the acquiring, and exact understanding, and facility in this tongue; but withall I must adde, that I would not so countercarre with a boy, but if I discovered either a great defect in his memory, or ane unconquerable aversion in him, so that no art could sub-

due it, I would not for that judge him lost, nor drive him so to it as to alienate his mind quite from study; since he may be a knowing man without a word of it.

And so I equally blame the French, who begin universally to neglect the Latine, and our countrymen, who insist too much upon it, and give over the education of a boy for lost, if he goe not through with his grammair.

Next I must tell you that the whole manner of teaching Latine in Scotland displeaseth me: and certainly there must be some grand error in teaching it, when dull boyes after manny yeeres uselesse study therein, goe to France or Holland, and in six or eight moneths acquire a perfection in these tongues: and

and why might they not learn Latine as soon?

And first, our grammare, how good soever, or full, it be in itself, is certainly the unfittest to teach by that can be imagined: for it is so tedious, so crabbed, and unpleasant, that it serves rather to scarre than to invite boyes. There is no need for learning anomalies, or all particular rules, by grammare; for these are best taught by practise; and to force boyes to get so many barbarous rules by heart, is to torture rather than to teach them. The rudiments, Lillie's accidence, or Voffius his grammare, are the best; and as to what is wanting in these, it must be supplied by practise. The other way of teaching parcells of manny authors I as little approve; though it be true that

variety

variety breeds delectation : yet that desultory way of study losseth them as to a stile. I should therefore choose one or two of the best authors, such as Cæsar and Terence, and oblige the boy to read these over and over again ; by which means he should learne much better how to forme his stile. As for poets, Virgile alone is worth all for purity and noblenes of stile ; though for his fancy he deserve not the name of a poet, but of a eloquent versifier. These therefore I would have children learne exactly. I should also advise boyes to be made read Castellio his Bible ; where the knowledge of the matter will facilitate the understanding the language. That translation I recommend for the elegant purity of the stile ; though it be none of the Bibles I most value or approve of.

Another

Another error in our schooles is, the making boyes speak Latine one with another. I know to many this will seem a great paradoxe ; since exercise is the properest meanne for acquiring languages : but this holds only where we speake to those who understand better than ourselves, and can correct us when we say amisse. But to boyes to talk one to another, may well learne them a readines of speaking, and a command of words, but will assuredly prove the occasion of ruining them as to all ornacy or purity in diction ; for if one in the acquiring any language get at first any wrong sett, it will prove a greater labour to wear out that, than the teaching the whole language ; and such confabulations among boyes at play, where their master is not by to correct their errors, will teach them a base and rascally stile.

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The unfrequency of the exercising boyes in versions and translations, is also a great error : for this will be found a better mean to inure them to Latine than either grammaires, lessons, or confabulations.

The way therefore I judge properest for teaching Latine, is after a boy hath once well understood the few principles of the language out of a short grammaire, he should be presently begun to some select author, where in teaching the master should not only expound the book, but make him apprehend the propriety of the words and the elegancy of phrase ; and with this he should begin him quickly to translate out of English into Latine, which that the boy may the better understand, he should, before the boy, translate himselfe the parcell he prescribes for his task, shew-
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ing why he makes choice of every word and phrase, and then take away what he hath done, leaving the boy to his own industry. As also, in examining the translation, he should not be content with bare well constructed Latine, but shew him how every word or phrase should have been better chosen or placed. And though at first, this work goe on slowly, yet a few moneths exact practise this way, will I doubt not be more profitable than the whole year in the ordinary method.

But that which I chiefly rely on, as to the learning this language, is to discourse much with the boy in Latine, and to make him talk alwaies to his master or governour in that tongue; and by this exercise he shall most compendiously learne the speaking a good stile; and shewing oft in discourse,
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what are the flowers of the Latine, and also gently correcting the boy when he speaks amisse.

Now the reason why this excellent method is so little used, is because few masters have that ready abundance of Latine as to discourse promptly in it without study; but this to one who well understands the Latine will be soon arrived at, if he but use himselfe often to compose, discourse, and meditate in Latine. And how troublesome soever this may seem, yet he who takes the breeding of a youth to task, should make it his calling, and so judge himself bound in conscience to spare no pains that may fitt him for an exact discharge of his duty.

Neither will the labour prove so great as may at first appear: for a few
weeks

weeks diligent study will overcome it; after which one shall acquire that which deserved his pains, even though the sense of duty had not exacted it, to witt, a readines in expressing himself in the best of languages.

It is next to be considered what are these subjects he should entertain his pupill with: they should be therefore chiefly vertuous documents: but because a boy cannot be much taken with long lectures of morality, history should be the frequentest subject of his longest discourses, and by this meannes as the boy shall be often released from the drudging pennance of learning a language, which chequer work in his study cannot but much please him, so he shall also learne things, both plain, suitable to his capacities, and usefull. As likewise, since all boyes naturally
love

love talking about histories, he shall be hereby much enamoured of his master's company, and made to preferre it to many of his idle games.

Now for ane apparatus to history, geography must be first discoursed of, and well illuminated maps must be got, which as they will delight the boy, so will they help much to infix places in his memory.

In discoursing of geography and history, the method of painters is to be followed, who first draw the ruder draughts, and mark the proportions; afterwards filling them up with their true colours. In geography therefore all to be told at first going over, is the names and divisions of the several states and kingdoms in the world: but when he goes to give the history of any nation,

tion, its government, chieffe rivers, provinces, and towns, must be remembered, not all at once, but as occasion offers in narrating the history. For the account of the state of the world, the boy sould be made first exactly to know the severall æraes of tyme, with the chieffe periods and fates of states; for without this, did one know never so many transactions, he deserves only the name of a tale-teller, but not of a historian. After this the boy sould be acquainted with the more particular accounts, especially of the European states, and any pretty particular actions sould be also told him: he sould be also acquainted with the state, progrefion, and retrogradation of learning, and with the lives and works of learned men; but chiefly with the state of the church, and these discourses sould be often interlarded with morall ob-

fervations: but never fould either boy
 or youth hear a word of policy; for
 this of all things makes them become
 most arrogant and vain. And woe to
 that land where the young nobility be-
 gin to think of policy, and mending
 the state: for their arrogant selfe con-
 ceit, together with their hardy for-
 wardnes and violence, will not fail to
 subvert and ruine it, and to this among
 other reasons I do not stick to impute
 most of our late disorders. Now a
 boy being thus discourfled to, he shall
 profite admirably both in Latine and
 history, and may be made a good his-
 torian 'ere he read one writer. And
 fince history is fo easily understood, it
 must be a very proper exercise for the
 raw and unripened capacities of a boy.
 Only a governour must not think much
 though he be put often to repeat the
 same things: yet for the boies memo-
 ry,

ry, it were not amisse to make him write downe the more considerable periods and revolutions of kingdomes; but these notes would be short and comprehensive, that the boy may not be put to the doleful toil of much writing.

The corrections of a boy are now to be thought upon. A publike punishment, or affront, should never be hazarded upon after a boy is ten yeares of age; for this doth too much sink him, if he be of an ingenuous spirit, and too much exasperate him if he be not so. Kyndnes and love will alwaies prove the best charmes: even great faults, if the boy confesse them, and promise amendment, should be pardoned; unless they be customary. Faults should be reprov'd kyndly, without passion, if the boy be not froward; neither

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should

should a master correct while he is angry ; for as his passion may make him exceed, so it will drive him to a carriage, whereby the boy shall judge him passionate, and that he is hated by him, whereby all his kyndnes for him shall be lost. And therefore Plato commanded his nephew never to whip his boy when he found himselfe any way warmed against him : and if a child have any kyndnes or good nature, the sharpest punishment will be to carry coldly to him, without any shew of kyndnes ; and this, if continued in for a while, will sooner gall him than any thing ; for scourges, if he be of a good cheerfull temper, are quickly forgotten, and if he be otherwise, are too much resented. But this cold carriage must not last too long, least the boy be driven to despaire of recovering his former room in his governour's affection,

tion, and so alienate his heart from him.

For recreations, way should be given to the boy his own choice and inclinations ; only his governour must be by degrees, and in all wisdom, weaning him from childish and trifling ones : and the best course for that, is by substituting better and pleasanter ones in their place. Two good rules for this are, first, as was above marked, to converse so pleasantly and kindly with him, as that he may account his company his sweetest divertisement ; the other is, to consider what are the pleasures he is most taken with, and to procure him a refined and polished use of these. If he delight in a garden, and gathering flowers, then let a corner of the garden be made up for him, where he shall have all flowers and

plants, or a little nursery ; and thus may he begin to understand the nature and the waies of educating and cultivating plants. If he love musick, then let him be bred with both singing; playing upon instruments, and dancing. If he love limning, painting, or ingraving, or any other kynde of mechanisme, let masters and tools be provided for perfecting him in it. If he love tales, provide him with these collections of them that are to be had. And thus by finding out what recreation pleaseth him, things may be so adjousted that even his idlest houres shall not entirely goe to waste, but may be spent in learning and practising what may be matter of use and divertisement in a riper age.

These debauching house-games boies sou'd not learn ; for as they are profuse
wasters

wasters of tyme and money, so in boies especially they give too great and frequent irritations to passion and wrath, and they neither exercise body nor spirit. As for other recreations, a boy should gett large portions of his tyme to bestow on them ; often the whole afternoon, except ane hour before supper, may be well allowed them, and yet tyme enough remaine for study.

The Latine being thus well understood, and easily spoken, the next task should be Greek ; which were it not that the New Testament is in that language, I should not very earnestly presse, since for Noblemen it is no otherwise useful ; all Greek books being exactly well translated in this late critical age. But since the treasure of our faith is in Greek, it should be pressed upon all, not to be

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willing to owe our knowledge of that to second-hand.

Some account the best method to be the teaching both Greek and Latine together : but to this I cannot assent ; for unlesse the boy have a strong and regular memory, this counter-charged task will overburden and confuse him ; neither is the study of languages so pleasant a work, that one should goe out of one rack into another : and therefore all the hours you will spare from the Latine should be bestowed on a pleasanter study, such as geography, &c. When the boy is at Greek, the same rules are to be observed that were prescribed in the advice for the Latine ; only the ability to discourse in Greek is not to be expected, nor such an understanding of elegancy as is requisite for making translations ; it being enough for gentlemen

tlemen if they can well render Greek into Latine, though they cannot put Latine in Greek. Yet one must not be loosed from this study till he be able readily to expound any place of the New Testament, upon the opening of the book ; but meane while the boy must continue in the practise of Latine, reading through all the Roman historians, and the best written moderne ones, the chieffe of which is Buchanan ; and hereby he shall not only retain but improve his knowledge of Latine and history.

The Greek being dismissed, he must still practise in it, reading at least ten or twelve verses in the New Testament every day ; otherwise he shall forget it as speedily as he learned it. All this I suppose may be done to some degree of perfection, even though one proceed
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with a slow pace, again a boy arrive at twelve or thirteen years of age ; and if the boy his memory be good, and his aversion to language not very strong, upon the same account that I recommended the Greek, I should also advise him to be taught Hebrew, at least so much as to read and expound with the help of a dictionary, and know the common grammar ; and this by an able master may be taught, allowing to it but an hour a day, in a few months ; but for Caldaic, Syriac, and Samaritan, though they vary little from the Hebrew, and so are easily understood, yet they are of no necessity, except the Caldaic ; some portions of the Old Testament being in that language : and this having the same character and grammar, will be a very easy work. But for Arabic, it is not to be meddled with, except the boy have a great genius

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nius that way. These three mother-languages, the Latine, Greek, and Hebrew, being thus acquired, must be preserved by frequent and constant exercise : for to disuse a tongue, before one be a master in it, is to lose it.

These being thus acquired, the next study I should apply a boy to, would be the French, which will be of no difficulty to one who hath Latine, and is a language now most necessary to be known, since all learning is put in French : and even though parents intend their child shall travel, yet it will be fitt they at least perfectly understand it ere they goe from home, whereby a great many moneths, wherein they must idly stay in France, shall be cutt off : and the best way to learne is quickly to begin a boy with a French servant.

This

This language being understood, Italian and Spanish will be very easy; though to one that intends not to travel these kingdoms, they are of no great use, since there be few books in these languages brought among us. Some there are indeed in Italian, but scarce any in Spanish. As for the Germane, it being no dialect of Latine, and a original language, it will be a hard task, and no way necessary; for almost all their books are written in Latine; and Latine and French will easily carry one through all the lower Germany, if not the upper too, and therefore there is no need to teach it.

And hitherto I have brought our boy through the hardest parts of education, and the most unpleasent both to master and scholar; and at fourteen or fifteen
years

yeares of age, I suppose him to be well seen in the necessary tongues, in history, and geography: and so as by our law he wears out of tutory, he also shall need a preceptor no more; the rest of the work being more rational, and so to be performed by the governour, who is never so necessary as at this age.

And first I must condemne the applying youths to the study of philosophy; whereas to judge of a hypothesis of nature is one of the deepest thoughts can enter into the heart of a man, and so requires the greatest maturity of spirit. But though some hints might be given of hypotheses, yet to drive youths to positive assertions, and to make them tenaciously adhere to and defend these, is to overturn philosophy; but to keep them many years at this, as if it were

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the only learning, is the losse of youth, and the ruine of literature.

But to begin with the chieffe care ; now is the time wherein the governour should with all diligence infuse in the youth's mind, the true and solide principles of the Christian religion ; not so much as acquainting him, except by way of historical relation, with the janglings of divines and contravertists ; but he should chiefly root in him the persuasion of these great fundamental verities, to preserve him from the poison of Atheisme ; and for other matters, two principles should be deeply infix'd in him ; the one not to be curious or subtile in divine matters ; nor to examine them by the querks of sophistry ; and the other not to be fondly nor superstitiously addicted to one's own persuasion, nor to censure or judge others who differ.

differ. How necessary it is to rivet these principles in youth, our present distractions doe sufficiently prove. These foundations being well laid, other superstructures may be slowly reared.

For theology books, I should advise none to be put in a youth's hand, but such as give accounts of the plain and literal meaning of Scriptures, and therefore the governour should every day read with the youth considerable portions of Scripture, acquainting him with the several difficulties as they occur, and with the solutions of them; and if the youth have any knowledge of criticisms it should make up one part of their discourses, especially on the Lord's Day, to unriddle to him knotty places of Scripture: and this is all for the science of theology fitt to be taught, and indeed
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he who well understands Scripture, cannot choose but be a good theologue.

But at this age, piety is chiefly to be looked to; the youth must often hear from his governour serious discourses of God, and the life to come, and be taught to love him and his son Jesus Christ; he should therefore presse him to be serious in praier, and should often in secret pray with him; as also he should urge him to meditate often, and to review his life: he must also now study to persuade him of the vanity of the world, and to undervalue all things without him; to possesse his mind with calm and tranquill thoughts; and thus should he be diligent to forme him in his moralls, to beat down all desire or love of pleasure, and to kindle in him a celsitude of mind, and a generous desire of doing good to others. Solomon's Ecclesiastes

fiastes must be often read to him; and the Stoicall philosophy should be explained to him, and Epictetus should be carefully read to him. These things should be frequently repeated, and illustrated, and made good, by historical instances, which doe alwaies affect youths more than bare reasonings.

The vices now to be repressed are, love of money, ambition, much talk, a valuing one's selfe for their rank, title, friends, or parts; but chiefly rash and undiscreet censuring: and all these must be beaten downe by strong reason often repeated. Nothing must now be carried by authority or violence; the youth must be treated, before others, with respect and kindnes, and not openly twitted or reproved for his faults: yea, it will make private admonitions to be the better received, if he discerne

in his governour a care to cover and excuse his faults to others. He should be careffed with great affection, especially when he is reproved for his faults, that he may not only bear them well, but may be thereby engaged to love his governour, and to observe his precepts.

His governour had also need to look well to himselfe; for in this age youths are most prying and censorious, and will discern one's weaknes; and finding any are apt because of it to contemne them, and disregard what they say.

As for their learning, they should be made still to continue in the practice of the tongues they have acquired, and for further improvement should get a general touch of most things.

I should begin with anatomy, as an easy and usefull piece of knowledge, not troubling the youth to get by heart the names of veins, arteries, nerves, and muscules, but to make him understand the use, function, situation, figure, and dependance of the chieff parts of the body ; and this will be neither a tedious nor an unpleasant work ; especially if wee be where wee may see dissections. Yet good copper prints will compensate in a good degree this want, if the youth have a nimble fancy.

Next I would teach him the nature of herbs and trees, with the waies of cultivating and nursing them ; and as this seems to have been intended by God for Adam his first task, so it is an exercise so full of pleasure, that I know not whether to call it a study or a recreation.

The governour fould alfo acquaint him with the natural history, and the chieffe experiments that are of late made; and this is the best apparatus for philosophy.

Next he fould acquaint the youth with mathematicks; and to invite him to it, he fould begin quickly to show him some of the more pleasant mechanical performances in mathematicks. That which is neceffarily to be known to one that would ftudy thefe sciences is Euclid's Elements, at leaft his firft fix books, arithmetick and trigonometry; and without one's understanding thefe, one may be a mechanift, but a mathematician fhall he never be. For ftereometry, algebra, and conic fections, they require more subtlety and patience, than is to be expected from youth, neither are they of fuch ufe.

For

For the subalternate sciences of the mathematicks, it is necessary to give a youth a taste of them. All the parts of geometry and astronomy he should know exactly, and be prompt in using and managing instruments. The theories of musick, fortification, dioptricks, and the art of dialling, if the governour understand them well himselfe, will be easily learned ; but architecture and statues are these which he must know as his fingers ; they being so necessary to humane life ; since all mechanisme depends upon the force of motion ; and in these there will be no difficulty. If the youth have a delight in problemes and theoremes, and be of an active fancy, it will be good to hook him as much as can be to them ; for this is by wise men judged a good advice for preserving a state quiet, to engage the

young nobility who have active spirits, to mathematical sciences, which carrying their thoughts after them, will preserve them from ambition, and meddling with the state. But in this moderation is to be observed, least their brains be too much stretched with these curiosities.

After the mathematicks are thus explained to the youth, he should next be acquainted with the hypotheses of philosophy. But to this I would not allow so many moneths as we give yeeres; and the youth is only to be acquainted with the several sects, and their chieffe grounds; but must not be byassed to any; but left at liberty to chuse, in a riper age, what shall seem most suitable to nature's operations, and not to poor pedantick sophistry.

For logick, I see no use for it, except with a great deal of pains and industry to teach youths sophistry, or pedantry at best ; and since that trifling way is now no more used by the learned world, I know not why it should be taught ; and at most a week would be the greatest tyme I should allow for explaining the termes of it.

All disputing about philosophy I condemne ; the perfection whereof when acquired, is to make a youth vainly subtile, and contentiously jangling, and may prove a meanne to ruine him as to all other things. Natural history therefore is all the philosophy I would have insisted upon to youth ; which that he may be the more delighted with, he must be furnished with such tooles and instruments as may be needful to trying experiments. And thus may a youth

be bred till he be eighteen yeares of age : for all I have advifed, if he have a wife and knowing governour, may be taught in a fhort tyme.

As for his recreations, he fould be accuftomed to all manly ones, fuch as hunting, hawking, fhooting, archery, fifhing, riding horfes, and the like ; but it will be fitt his governour goe with him to thefe, and converfe much with him, no more as a boy but as a man. He fould be alfo ftudying to weanne him from all fondnes of thefe exercifes, and teach him to ufe them only as recreations, not making them his work or delight.

For handling his armes, it is true the Romans begun their youth with this early : for at fourteen they laid afide their pretexta or youthly garb, and gott

a shield given them ; and so were trained up in feats of armes and mock fights. But I like better the custome of the Carthaginians, who suffered not their youths to handle armes, till they were past twenty ; and it feeds arrogance, and exposeth them too much to contention, to begin them so soon with this.

As for making visits, he should doe it but seldome ; for frequency in this is the greatest inlett to idlenes imaginable.

He should also be further improven in any of these pleasant things he is inclined to ; such as musick, mechanicks, or the like.

For correcting him, that must be no more thought upon ; for now must he be governed by reason. But the best way

way to make reproofs goe deep into his heart, is in private to expresse great sorrow to him for his faults : for this natively done must pierce him through, if he be not of a savage temper ; and if he be of ane ingenuous nature, some tymes to give up with him, telling him that he is no more to be spoken to, will prick him very sensibly.

And so much of the way for managing a youth, till he be eighteen or nineteen yeeres of age ; and after this age his governour shall lay downe that name, and converse with him as his friend, and not as his pupill ; whereby may be his directions shall be more regarded.

He must still goe on with the chieffe care ; improving him further in the understanding of divine matters and Scripture ;

ture ; and must be giving him clear and rationally accounts of his faith ; that so he may not receive his beleefe as a mere traditionall matter, but taught to build his persuasions upon rationally foundations.

He must also teach him to be observing what discoveries of God appear in all his works and waies, thereby using him to serious reflexions of what events occurre ; that by all things that emerge he learne to admire God : and this is the chieffe and highest part of our fellowship with the Father and his Son Jesus Christ. He should also presse him much to devotion ; about which at this age youths doe often become cool and slack. A humble reverence and love to God, should be carefully recommended ; and he should be often remembered of his defects herein.

Next

Next a noble generosity of mind should be much preached to him; that he look not at mean or base things, such as riches, honours, or secular greatness; but make vertue and noble goodnes his chieffe designe.

He must also infuse in him a love to his countrey, and duty to his prince; and that he abhorre broils and incendiaries; that he listenes not to any tattles against these in authority, especially of the king. To infix this temper deeply, in young nobility, may prove a notable mean to keep the countrey peaceable, loyall, and quiet; and to drive away factions, and base self seeking from grandees.

He must also recommend modesty much to him, and a hatred of lust and all impurity; and that the rather if he be robust and hot blooded.

But

But after and above all, he must give him many a lecture of humility and self distrust : for at this age begin youths to swell with a high opinion of themselves, and a value of their own parts, joyned with a contempt of others ; and this, if not overcome, will deface all the beauty of this fair superstructure. For I account ane opiniastrous and selfe willed youth almost quite lost. He should therefore often be told what a poor thing man is ; how little he knows or can doe ; and how at best he is but one of God almightie his tools : as also how small a matter learning is in itselfe, how valuable soever it be, compared to other things ; how few things wee know ; how all our knowledge pierceth no deeper than the surface of things ; how impossible it is for a youth to know how to governe himself. These things must he hear upon both his ears.

And

And so much for his manners at this age.

The things he is to learne are, first, discretion, to know how to live in the world ; how to converse, to be silent, to choose friends, to find out peoples humours ; and how to gain love, and the like. These he must be well directed in ; for now must he learne to be a man, and live among them. The Proverbs will doe well for this: and for humane writers, the best I know is the son of Sirach.

He must also be taught to speak properly, and promptly : and for this cause, he should begin to write essaies upon every thing, to use himselfe, while he is alone, to discourse upon any subject ; for this is the best way to smooth his stile, and to replenish his mind with
good

good thoughts and fancies. Now how necessary this is for all is easy to gueffe, but chiefly for noblemen, who by ane elegant expreffion fhall become the more confiderable both in parliament and counfell. Wee fee the chieffe in all ftates have been the greateft orators, as all histories affure us.

For ftudy, if he retain and improve in what he hath acquired, I fould burden him with no more: yet if he be of a compofed mind, and moderate fpirit, to look difcreetly into chymiftry, will be a huge addition to his other parts, and may oblige him to love home, and feek a retired life; which is alwaies the beft choice; none being ever fo fit for publicke affairs, as they who fhun them, and feek privacy. But if he be of a hot brain, and forward in his acting, this will more prejudice than

than profite him, and may intangle him so as to ruine his estate, and fill his head with doting fopperies. At this age therefore study should be used as a recreation.

But one's work should be to know the world; and therefore how retired soever I could wish a youth were kept, before this age, now should he be much abroad, and in all company; but chiefly among vertuous and generous persons. His governour should goe often with him, to observe and admonish him, of what escapes he commits: but this must be told him privately, and with all kyndnes.

He should be allowed, according to the advice of Solomon, all innocent mirth and cheerfulness: but it is the better the lesse he converse with women;
 though

though to be sometyes with the wise and excellent of that sexe, be one of the greatest helps for breeding.

He sould be made to abhorre all affectation, either in his discourse or behaviour; for alwaies that which is most natural goes best of. He sould be taught to observe a right mediocrity, betwixt simple modesty or rather timidity, and blustering and forward confidence. So much of a youth's breeding.

And now having brought him to the twenty first year of his age, wherein by our law he is declared a man, exempt from all inspection of others, it is fit I also let him goe, and deliver him from the yoke of a governour. But as by our law till he be twenty five years, he hath it in his choice to revoke

what he did before he was twenty one years old, I shall therefore follow him with my advyce to that age: all therefore that hath been formerly taught him must he now begin to consider; that he may both retain and improve those documents which have been hitherto instilled in him, and make choice of those matters on which he intends to bestow his own study and labour. But chiefly I wish his advance in vertue and serioufnes; that he begin deeply to consider for what end he came in to the world, and how he ought to demean himself in it: and for this effect he shall chuse some noble and virtuous friends, by whose advice and direction he may frame his actions; avoiding the pestiferous company of dissolute persons, and base flatterers. For a virtuous friend is, next to a wise governour, the greatest blessing of humane

mane life. But how to choice and use such is not my task at present.

The study next fitt for him, is the lawes and customes of his countrey: and without the knowledge of this, he is but a poor nobleman or countrey man. He must therefore acquaint himselfe with the colledge of justice, and study to get some able lawyer to stay a vacation with him, for instructing him in the forms of law: for this is necessary both to the management of his private fortune, and to fit him for publicke employment, when he is called to it.

Next he must learne to understand his own affairs; not trusting them to chamberlaines or servants, but managing them himselfe: and therefore parents, at this age, sould acquaint their children with the state of their affairs, and

commit to their care such portions of their fortune as they may best spare; that thereby they may see what government they have, and may know how to antidote their inclinations, if they be either too profuse or too saving.

After this I would desire him to study agriculture, and the waies of improving ground, and begin to keep nurseries, and to inclose ground: for this is both an honest and profitable exercise, and full of pleasure; which may also draw a man to love home; a necessary matter to young men.

He must also study the interest of his country; that he may consider wherein it may be advantaged. And for this end he is to acquaint himselfe with manufactories; that he may know what are wanting, which may be set up in
the

the countrey ; as also what better tools and waies are for managing these that be among us.

He should also learne to manage his armes ; but to train him a souldier, is to subvert from the foundations all the pains hath been bestowed upon him. For a camp, unless he be under a vertuous commander, is a Sodom for a young man. To be able and resolute for the defence of his countrey, is necessary for a person of quality : but to be a souldier of fortune, is both an unvertuous and ungentlemanly course of life.

Only politics he must not study ; nor learne intrigues, except it be for mere information ; for a young man is not capable of that discretion which is requisite for the management of affairs. Though he may be perhaps sufficiently

able to contrive and suggest good coun-
cells, yet there is a certain suteness,
closenes, and leger de main requisite in
a states man, which a young man can-
not know how to practyse. Yet I would
have him much in the company of
grave and wise men.

And hitherto I have adventured to
sett downe my thoughts of the manner
of guiding children. Further I need
not, nor ought not, to goe. I need
not: for he who cannot manage him-
selfe at twenty five is past help and
hope, unlesse God work mightily upon
him. I ought not; because wanting
yet some moneths of twenty five, I
ould be grossly impertinent to give di-
rection how to behave in ane age, the ex-
perience whereof I have never had. And
so farre have I adventured to trespasse
upon your leisure and patience: but
having

having seen so much of your goodnes, I know there is no need of manny words to bespeak my pardon. Besides I know even the bablings of friends are pleasing. Excuse the boldnes of this title to which I lay claime: and indeed the manny dear prooffs you have given of the true, though ill merited, friendship you bear me, makes me without scruple assure myselfe I am so happy as to have some share in your heart; which I have more reason to be pleased with than the Romans when statues were erected for them in the capitle. Pardon, therefore, pardon, my generous and noble friend, the trouble this hath given you, and believe that it flows from one whose heart is yours, and who counts his thoughts and pen well employed, when they are exercised in any thing that relates to you: and believe me I shall sollicite Heaven for no greater blessing,

bleffing, in things of that nature, than to fee all your dear (dear, becaufe they are yours) children, the worthy imitators, and true refemblances of yourfelfe.

It will appear at firft view, that I have fent you rather a modell of what is to be wifhed, than of what is practicable in educating youth; and that thefe are but chimereque ideas. But if you once hitt upon a wife governour, who is I confeffe one of a thoufand, you fhall fee the difficulty and not the following of thefe precepts, is only chimerique, and that even the dulleft, and moft indocile boy may, by a cunning artifan, be made a polished man. I recommend you therefore in this, as in all your other concerns to the bleffing and direction of the only wife God: which I pray may be the everlafting portion of both yourfelfe and children. Adieu.

Ere

Ere I absolutely dismiss these thoughts, I shall give you also my opinion of the ordinary way of breeding young gentlemen by sending them to travel.

If the youth be bred for a court, and of a rank that he may probably be sent an ambassador, or appointed to negotiate forreign affairs, then it is necessary he travel: but otherwise I cannot see why one shall travell France and Italy, to learne to live in Scotland. All the good most can have in travell, is to look from them, and see many fundry faces and places; which as it is a poor satisfaction, carrying little or no profit with it, so it engages on still to a further curiosity, of which there shall be no end. Further, he sees many men; but these are for most part only the canaille; such as use ordinarys: or if he comes to know persons of worth; these will treat
him

him but as a stranger, and converse with him in such general purposes, as shall informe him but little. And since a traveller must not stay long in one place, he shall but begin to know them when he must leave them.

For learned men, except it be the airy vanity to say wee saw them, by reading their books wee can hear more from them, than wee may hope for, from their discourse.

It is true great change and daily variety of company, doth rub off all rusticity, and give a garb, and teach a good behaviour; and this is all most doe or can pretend to. But if a short satisfaction, which is soon forgotten, or a garb which, not suiting with the humour of the countrey, must be laid aside ere the the French clothes be worn out, de-

serves

serves to be once set in competition against the almost certain hazards a traveller is exposed to, let all wise men judge. And first, that pest of atheisme, which now rageth beyond sea, is a hazard few escape; all the wits there counting it their glory, to turn the mysteries of faith, scriptures, and piety in ridicule. Some yeeres agoe there was a hazard of gentlemen their returning papists: but now wee may rather expect to get them home atheists; since there is, in this depraved compound of a man, a farre stronger byasse to atheisme than to popery.

And as for a corruption of their manners, why should not that be looked upon as assured, among a people who have made their greatest study, an unmanly idolising of women, and where uncleanness is thought but a sport; neither is

a man

a man judged in fashion if he keep not a courtisan, and where the dialect of speech is to sweare with open mouth; and by all, even those who are not atheists in principle, a sense of God and piety is hissed at and forgotten.

I mention not the hafards from duellers and robbers, since by the king's severity these are not now so frequent; neither shall I much consider the impoverishing the kingdome, by carrying so much money beyond sea; nor the ruine of estates occasioned by travell: for these are considerations without my road. But there is one thing further considerable, that by travelling, and seeing fine and high things, they are made to loath and weary of home.

Upon all these accounts I exceedingly disapprove young men their travelling.

Yet

Yet a person of a mature spirit, and ripe judgment, who is well confirmed in his religion, and hath a true sense of piety and vertue, and is not of a light or gadding mind, but doth know what to observe and search after, if he be well recommended, may after he is twenty one yeeres of age, with much advantage, spend a year or two abroad. For he may be made capable of larger and freer thoughts; and may learne to know more of the world and of mankind; as also he may see a great many useful things, which our countrey doth not afford; and by seeing even the finest things in the world, he may arrive at a more just understanding of what is best on earth, and so be taught to contemne it. And with the help of effectual recommendations (for complimenting ones are not worth carying) he may get the acquaintance of worthy and wise persons,

persons, who may prove kind and good directors to him. But what I say of travelling, I mean only of running beyond sea; for since wee have not now a king or court in Scotland, it is very proper that the gentlemen be well acquainted with the court of England; though there be many things there, that make me wish even a short stay among them.

F I N I S.

FRAGMENTS

O F

ANCIENT POETRY,

Collected in the Highlands of Scotland,

A N D

Translated from the Galic or Erse Language.

*Vos quoque qui fortes animas, belloque peremptas
Laudibus in longum vates dimittitis ævum,
Plurima securi fudistis carmina Bardi.*

LUCAN.

EDINBURGH:

Printed for G. HAMILTON and J. BALFOUR.

MDCCLX.

[The text in this image is extremely faint and illegible. It appears to be a dense block of text, possibly a list or a series of entries, but the characters are too light to transcribe accurately.]

P R E F A C E.

THE public may depend on the following fragments as genuine remains of ancient Scottish poetry. The date of their composition cannot be exactly ascertained. Tradition, in the country where they were written, refers them to an æra of the most remote antiquity: and this tradition is supported by the spirit and strain of the poems themselves; which abound with those ideas, and paint those manners, that belong to the most early state of society. The diction too, in the original, is very obsolete; and differs widely from the style of such poems as have been written in the same language two or three centuries ago. They were certainly composed before the establish-

ment of clanship in the northern part of Scotland, which is itself very ancient; for had clans been then formed and known, they must have made a considerable figure in the work of a Highland Bard; whereas there is not the least mention of them in these poems. It is remarkable that there are found in them no allusions to the Christian religion or worship; indeed, few traces of religion of any kind. One circumstance seems to prove them to be coeval with the very infancy of Christianity in Scotland. In a fragment of the same poems, which the translator has seen, a Culdee or Monk is represented as desirous to take down in writing from the mouth of Ofcian, who is the principal personage in several of the following fragments, his warlike achievements and those of his family. But Ofcian treats the monk and his religion with disdain, telling him, that the deeds of such great men were subjects too high.

high to be recorded by him, or by any of his religion: A full proof that Christianity was not as yet established in the country.

Though the poems now published appear as detached pieces in this collection, there is ground to believe that most of them were originally episodes of a greater work which related to the wars of Fingal. Concerning this hero innumerable traditions remain, to this day, in the Highlands of Scotland. The story of Ofcian, his son, is so generally known, that to describe one in whom the race of a great family ends; it has passed into a proverb; “Ofcian the last
“ of the heroes.”

There can be no doubt that these poems are to be ascribed to the Bards; a race of men well known to have continued throughout many ages in Ireland
and

and the north of Scotland. Every chief or great man had in his family a Bard or poet, whose office it was to record in verse, the illustrious actions of that family. By the succession of these Bards, such poems were handed down from race to race; some in manuscript, but more by oral tradition. And tradition, in a country so free of intermixture with foreigners, and among a people so strongly attached to the memory of their ancestors, has preserved many of them in a great measure incorrupted to this day.

They are not set to music, nor sung. The versification in the original is simple; and to such as understand the language, very smooth and beautiful. Rhyme is seldom used: but the cadence, and the length of the line varied, so as to suit the sense. The translation is extremely literal. Even the arrangement of the words in the original has been imitated;

imitated; to which must be imputed some inversions in the style, that otherwise would not have been chosen.

Of the poetical merit of these fragments nothing shall here be said. Let the public judge, and pronounce. It is believed, that, by a careful inquiry, many more remains of ancient genius, no less valuable than those now given to the world, might be found in the same country where these have been collected. In particular there is reason to hope that one work of considerable length, and which deserves to be styled an heroic poem, might be recovered and translated, if encouragement were given to such an undertaking. The subject is, an invasion of Ireland by Swarthan King of Lochlyn; which is the name of Denmark in the Erse language. Cuchulaid, the General or Chief of the Irish tribes, upon intelligence of the invasion,

invasion,

invasion, assembles his forces. Councils are held; and battles fought. But after several unsuccessful engagements, the Irish are forced to submit. At length, Fingal King of Scotland, called in this poem, “The Desert of the hills,” arrives with his ships to assist Cuchulaid. He expels the Danes from the country; and returns home victorious. This poem is held to be of greater antiquity than any of the rest that are preserved: And the author speaks of himself as present in the expedition of Fingal. The three last poems in the collection are fragments which the translator obtained of this epic poem; and though very imperfect, they were judged not unworthy of being inserted. If the whole were recovered, it might serve to throw considerable light upon the Scottish and Irish antiquities.

FRAGMENT

I.

SHILRIC, VINVELA.

VINVELA.

MY love is a son of the hill.
He pursues the flying deer.
His grey dogs are panting
around him; his bow-string sounds in
the wind. Whether by the fount of
the rock, or by the stream of the
mountain thou liest; when the rushes are
nodding with the wind, and the mist
is flying over thee, let me approach
my love unperceived, and see him
from the rock. Lovely I saw thee
first by the aged oak; thou wert re-
turning tall from the chace; the fairest
among thy friends.

B

SHILRIC.

SHILRIC.

WHAT voice is that I hear? that voice like the summer-wind. — I sit not by the nodding rushes; I hear not the fount of the rock. Afar, Vinvela, afar I go to the wars of Fingal. My dogs attend me no more. No more I tread the hill. No more from on high I see thee, fair-moving by the stream of the plain; bright as the bow of heaven; as the moon on the western wave.

VINVELA.

THEN thou art gone, O Shilric! and I am alone on the hill. The deer are seen on the brow; void of fear they graze along. No more they dread the wind; no more the rustling tree. The hunter is far removed;
 he

he is in the field of graves. Strangers! sons of the waves! spare my lovely Shilric.

SHILRIC.

IF fall I must in the field, raise high my grave, Vinvela. Grey stones, and heaped-up earth, shall mark me to future times. When the hunter shall sit by the mound, and produce his food at noon, "some warrior rests here," he will say; and my fame shall live in his praise. Remember me, Vinvela, when low on earth I lie!

VINVELA.

YES!—I will remember thee—indeed: my Shilric will fall. What shall I do, my love! when thou art gone for ever? Through these hills I will go at noon: I will go through the silent heath. There

I will see where often thou fatest return-
 ing from the chace. Indeed, my Shil-
 ric will fall; but I will remember
 him.

H.

I SIT by the mossy fountain; on the top of the hill of winds. One tree is rustling above me. Dark waves roll over the heath. The lake is troubled below. The deer descend from the hill. No hunter at a distance is seen; no whistling cow-herd is nigh. It is mid-day: but all is silent. Sad are my thoughts as I sit alone. Didst thou but appear, O my love, a wanderer on the heath! thy hair floating on the wind behind thee; thy bosom heaving on the sight; thine eyes full of tears for thy friends, whom the mist of the hill had concealed! Thee I would comfort, my love, and bring thee to thy father's house.

BUT is it she that there appears, like a beam of light on the heath? bright
as

as the moon in autumn, as the sun in a summer-storm? — She speaks: but how weak her voice! like the breeze in the reeds of the pool. Hark!

RETURNEST thou safe from the war? Where are thy friends, my love? I heard of thy death on the hill; I heard and mourned thee, Shilric!

YES, my fair, I return; but I alone of my race. Thou shalt see them no more: their graves I raised on the plain. But why art thou on the desert hill? why on the heath, alone?

ALONE I am, O Shilric! alone in the winter-house. With grief for thee I expired. Shilric, I am pale in the tomb.

SHE fleets, she fails away; as grey mist before the wind! — and, wilt thou
not

not stay, my love? Stay and behold
 my tears? fair thou appearest, my love!
 fair thou wast, when alive!

By the mossy fountain I will sit ; on
 the top of the hill of winds. When
 mid-day is silent around, converse, O
 my love, with me! come on the wings
 of the gale! on the blast of the moun-
 tain, come! Let me hear thy voice, as
 thou passest, when mid-day is silent a-
 round.

III.

EVENING is grey on the hills. The north wind resounds through the woods. White clouds rise on the sky: the trembling snow descends. The river howls afar, along its winding course. Sad, by a hollow rock, the grey-hair'd Carryl sat. Dry fern waves over his head; his seat is in an aged birch. Clear to the roaring winds he lifts his voice of woe.

TOSSED on the wavy ocean is He, the hope of the isles; Malcolm, the support of the poor; foe to the proud in arms! Why hast thou left us behind? why live we to mourn thy fate? We might have heard, with thee, the voice of the deep; have seen the oozy rock.

SAD on the sea-beat shore thy spouse looketh for thy return. The time of thy

thy

thy promise is come ; the night is gathering around. But no white sail is on the sea ; no voice is heard except the blustering winds. Low is the soul of the war ! Wet are the locks of youth ! By the foot of some rock thou liest ; washed by the waves as they come. Why, ye winds, did ye bear him on the desert-rock ? Why, ye waves, did ye roll over him ?

BUT, Oh ! what voice is that ? Who rides on that meteor of fire ! Green are his airy limbs. It is he ! it is the ghost of Malcolm !—Rest, lovely soul, rest on the rock ; and let me hear thy voice !—He is gone, like a dream of the night. I see him through the trees. Daughter of Reynold ! he is gone. Thy spouse shall return no more. No more shall his hounds come from the hill, forerunners of their master. No more from the distant rock shall his

voice greet thine ear. Silent is he in
the deep, unhappy daughter of Rey-
nold!

I will sit by the stream of the plain.
Ye rocks! hang over my head. Hear
my voice, ye trees! as ye bend on the
shaggy hill. My voice shall preserve
the praise of him, the hope of the
isles.

IV.

CONNAL, CRIMORA,

CRIMORA.

WH O cometh from the hill, like
 a cloud tinged with the beam
 of the west? Whose voice is that, loud
 as the wind, but pleasant as the harp of
 Carryl? It is my love in the light of
 steel; but sad is his darkened brow.
 Live the mighty race of Fingal? or
 what disturbs my Connal?

CONNAL.

THEY live. I saw them return from
 the chace, like a stream of light. The
 sun was on their shields: In a line they
 descended the hill. Loud is the voice of

the youth; the war, my love, is near.
 To-morrow the enormous Dargo comes
 to try the force of our race. The race of
 Fingal he defies; the race of battle and
 wounds.

CRIMORA.

CONNAL, I saw his sails like grey mist
 on the fable wave. They came to land.
 Connal, many are the warriors of
 Dargo!

CONNAL.

BRING me thy father's shield; the iron
 shield of Rinval; that shield like the
 full moon when it is darkened in the
 sky.

CRIMORA.

CRIMORA.

THAT shield I bring, O Connal; but it did not defend my father. By the spear of Gauror he fell. Thou mayst fall, O Connal!

CONNAL.

FALL indeed I may: But raise my tomb, Crimora. Some stones, a mound of earth, shall keep my memory. Though fair thou art, my love, as the light; more pleasant than the gale of the hill; yet I will not stay. Raise my tomb, Crimora.

CRIMORA.

THEN give me those arms of light; that sword, and that spear of steel. I shall meet Dargo with thee, and aid my lovely

lovely Connal. Farewell, ye rocks of
Ardden! ye deer! and ye streams of
the hill!—We shall return no more.
Our tombs are distant far:

A

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[Faint, illegible text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.]

V.

AUTUMN is dark on the mountains ;
 grey mist rests on the hills. The
 whirlwind is heard on the heath. Dark
 rolls the river through the narrow plain.
 A tree stands alone on the hill, and
 marks the grave of Connal. The leaves
 whirl round with the wind, and strew
 the grave of the dead. At times are
 seen here the ghosts of the deceased,
 when the musing hunter alone stalks
 slowly over the heath.

WHO can reach the source of thy
 race, O Connal? and who recount thy
 Fathers? Thy family grew like an oak
 on the mountain, which meeteth the
 wind with its lofty head. But now it
 is torn from the earth. Who shall sup-
 ply the place of Connal?

HERE

HERE was the din of arms; and here the groans of the dying. Mournful are the wars of Fingal! O Connal! it was here thou didst fall. Thine arm was like a storm; thy sword, a beam of the sky; thy height, a rock on the plain; thine eyes, a furnace of fire. Louder than a storm was thy voice, when thou confoundedst the field. Warriors fell by thy sword, as the thistle by the staff of a boy.

DARGO the mighty came on, like a cloud of thunder. His brows were contracted and dark. His eyes like two caves in a rock. Bright rose their swords on each side; dire was the clang of their steel.

THE daughter of Rinval was near; Crimora, bright in the armour of man; her hair loose behind, her bow in her hand. She followed the youth to the
war,

war, Connal her much beloved. She drew the string on Dargo; but erring pierced her Connal. He falls like an oak on the plain; like a rock from the snaggy hill. What shall she do, hapless maid!—He bleeds; her Connal dies. All the night long she cries, and all the day, O Connal, my love, and my friend! With grief the sad mourner died!

EARTH here incloseth the loveliest pair on the hill. The grass grows between the stones of their tomb; I sit in the mournful shade. The wind sighs through the grass; and their memory rushes on my mind. Undisturbed you now sleep together; in the tomb of the mountain you rest alone.

VI.

SON of the noble Fingal, Ofcian,
 Prince of men! what tears run down
 the cheeks of age? what shades thy
 mighty soul?

MEMORY, fon of Alpin, memory
 wounds the aged. Of former times are
 my thoughts; my thoughts are of the
 noble Fingal. The race of the king re-
 turn into my mind, and wound me with
 remembrance.

ONE day, returned from the sport of
 the mountains, from pursuing the fons
 of the hill, we covered this heath with
 our youth. Fingal the mighty was here,
 and Ofcian, my fon, great in war. Fair
 on our fight from the sea, at once, a
 virgin came. Her breast was like the
 snow of one night. Her cheek like the
 bud

bud of the rose. Mild was her blue rolling eye: but sorrow was big in her heart.

FINGAL renowned in war! she cries, sons of the king, preserve me! Speak secure, replies the king, daughter of beauty, speak: our ear is open to all: our swords redress the injured. I fly from Ullin, she cries, from Ullin famous in war. I fly from the embrace of him who would debase my blood. Cremor, the friend of men, was my father; Cremor the Prince of Inverne.

FINGAL's younger sons arose; Carryl expert in the bow; Fillan beloved of the fair; and Fergus first in the race. — Who from the farthest Lochlyn? who to the seas of Molochasquir? who dares hurt the maid whom the sons of Fingal guard? Daughter of beauty, rest

secure ; rest in peace, thou fairest of women.

FAR in the blue distance of the deep, some spot appeared like the back of the ridge-wave. But soon the ship increased on our sight. The hand of Ullin drew her to land. The mountains trembled as he moved. The hills shook at his steps. Dire rattled his armour around him. Death and destruction were in his eyes. His stature like the roe of Morven. He moved in the lightning of steel.

OUR warriors fell before him, like the field before the reapers. Fingal's three sons he bound. He plunged his sword into the fair-one's breast. She fell as a wreath of snow before the sun in spring. Her bosom heaved in death ; her soul came forth in blood.

OSCUR my son came down; the
 mighty in battle descended. His armour
 rattled as thunder; and the lightning of
 his eyes was terrible. There, was the
 clashing of swords; there, was the voice
 of steel. They struck and they thrust;
 they digged for death with their swords.
 But death was distant far, and delayed
 to come. The sun began to decline;
 and the cow-herd thought of home.
 Then Oscur's keen steel found the heart
 of Ullin. He fell like a mountain-oak
 covered over with glistering frost: He
 shone like a rock on the plain.—
 Here the daughter of beauty lieth; and
 here the bravest of men. Here one
 day ended the fair and the valiant.
 Here rest the pursuer and the pur-
 sued.

SON of Alpin! the woes of the aged
 are many: their tears are for the past.
 This raised my sorrow, warrior; me-
 mory

mory awaked my grief. Oſcur my
 ſon was brave; but Oſcur is now no
 more. Thou haſt heard my grief, O
 ſon of Alpin; forgive the tears of the
 aged.

VII.

WHY openest thou afresh the spring of my grief, O son of Alpin, inquiring how Oſcur fell? My eyes are blind with tears; but memory beams on my heart. How can I relate the mournful death of the head of the people! Prince of the warriors, Oſcur my ſon, ſhall I ſee thee no more!

HE fell as the moon in a ſtorm; as the ſun from the miſt of his courſe, when clouds riſe from the waſte of the waves, when the blackneſs of the ſtorm inwraps the rocks of Ardannider. I, like an ancient oak on Morven, I moulder alone in my place. The blaſt hath lopped my branches away; and I tremble at the wings of the north. Prince of the warriors, Oſcur my ſon! ſhall I ſee thee no more!

DERMID

DERMID and Oscur were one: They reaped the battle together. Their friendship was strong as their steel; and death walked between them to the field. They came on the foe like two rocks falling from the brows of Ardven. Their swords were stained with the blood of the valiant: warriors fainted at their names. Who was a match for Oscur, but Dermid? and who for Dermid, but Oscur?

THEY killed mighty Dargo in the field; Dargo before invincible. His daughter was fair as the morn; mild as the beam of night. Her eyes, like two stars in a shower: her breath, the gale of spring: her breasts, as the new-fallen snow floating on the moving heath. The warriors saw her, and loved; their souls were fixed on the maid. Each loved her, as his fame; each must possess her or die. But her soul was fixed
on

on Oſcur ; my ſon was the youth of her love. She forgot the blood of her father ; and loved the hand that flew him.

SON of Oſcian, ſaid Dermid, I love ;
O Oſcur, I love this maid. But her ſoul cleaveth unto thee ; and nothing can heal Dermid. Here, pierce this boſom, Oſcur ; relieve me, my friend, with thy ſword.

MY ſword, ſon of Mornny, ſhall never be ſtained with the blood of Dermid.

WHO then is worthy to ſlay me, O Oſcur ſon of Oſcian ? Let not my life paſs away unknown. Let none but Oſcur ſlay me. Send me with honour to the grave, and let my death be renowned.

E

DERMID,

DERMID, make use of thy sword;
 son of Mornny, wield thy steel. Would
 that I fell with thee! that my death
 came from the hand of Dermid!

THEY fought by the brook of the
 mountain; by the streams of Branno.
 Blood tinged the silvery stream, and
 crudled round the mossy stones. Der-
 mid the graceful fell; fell, and smiled in
 death.

AND fallest thou, son of Mornny;
 fallest thou by Ofscur's hand! Dermid
 invincible in war, thus do I see thee fall!
 —He went, and returned to the maid
 whom he loved; returned, but she per-
 ceived his grief.

WHY that gloom, son of Ofsian?
 what shades thy mighty soul?

THOUGH once renowned for the bow,

O maid, I have lost my fame. Fixed on a tree by the brook of the hill, is the shield of Gormur the brave, whom in battle I slew. I have wasted the day in vain, nor could my arrow pierce it.

LET me try, son of Ofcian, the skill of Dargo's daughter. My hands were taught the bow: my father delighted in my skill.

SHE went. He stood behind the shield. Her arrow flew and pierced his breast*.

* Nothing was held by the ancient Highlanders more essential to their glory, than to die by the hand of some person worthy or renowned. This was the occasion of Ofcur's contriving to be slain by his mistress, now that he was weary of life. In those early times suicide was utterly unknown among that people, and no traces of it are found in the old poetry. Whence the translator suspects the account that follows of the daughter of Dargo killing herself, to be the interpolation of some later Bard.

BLESSED be that hand of snow ; and blessed thy bow of yew ! I fall resolved on death : and who but the daughter of Dargo was worthy to slay me ? Lay me in the earth, my fair-one ; lay me by the side of Dermid.

OSCUR ! I have the blood, the soul of the mighty Dargo. Well pleased I can meet death. My sorrow I can end thus.—She pierced her white bosom with steel. She fell ; she trembled ; and died.

By the brook of the hill their graves are laid ; a birch's unequal shade covers their tomb. Often on their green earthen tombs the branchy fons of the mountain feed, when mid-day is all in flames, and silence is over all the hills.

VIII.

By the side of a rock on the hill, beneath the aged trees, old Oscan sat on the moss; the last of the race of Fingal. Sightless are his aged eyes; his beard is waving in the wind. Dull through the leafless trees he heard the voice of the north. Sorrow revived in his soul: he began and lamented the dead.

How hast thou fallen like an oak, with all thy branches round thee! Where is Fingal the King? where is Oscur my son? where are all my race? Alas! in the earth they lie. I feel their tombs with my hands. I hear the river below murmuring hoarsely over the stones. What dost thou, O river, to me? Thou bringest back the memory of the past.

THE race of Fingal stood on thy banks, like a wood in a fertile soil. Keen were their spears of steel. Hardy was he, who dared to encounter their rage. Fillan the great was there. Thou Oscur wert there, my son! Fingal himself was there, strong in the grey locks of years. Full rose his finewy limbs; and wide his shoulders spread. The unhappy met with his arm, when the pride of his wrath arose.

THE son of Morny came; Gaul, the tallest of men. He stood on the hill like an oak; his voice was like the streams of the hill. Why reigneth alone, he cries, the son of the mighty Corval? Fingal is not strong to save: he is no support for the people. I am strong as a storm in the ocean; as a whirlwind on the hill. Yield, son of Corval; Fingal, yield to me.

OSCUR stood forth to meet him ;
 my son would meet the foe. But Fin-
 gal came in his strength, and smiled at
 the vaunter's boast. They threw their
 arms round each other ; they struggled
 on the plain. The earth is ploughed with
 their heels. Their bones crack as the boat
 on the ocean, when it leaps from wave to
 wave. Long did they toil ; with night,
 they fell on the sounding plain ; as two
 oaks, with their branches mingled, fall
 crashing from the hill. The tall son
 of Morný is bound ; the aged over-
 came.

FAIR with her locks of gold, her
 smooth neck, and her breasts of snow ;
 fair, as the spirits of the hill when at
 silent noon they glide along the heath ;
 fair, as the rain-bow of heaven ; came
 Minvane the maid. Fingal ! she soft-
 ly saith, loose me my brother Gaul.
 Loose me the hope of my race, the ter-

ror

ror of all but Fingal. Can I, replies the King, can I deny the lovely daughter of the hill? take thy brother, O Minvane, thou fairer than the snow of the north!

SUCH, Fingal! were thy words; but thy words I hear no more. Sightless I sit by thy tomb. I hear the wind in the wood; but no more I hear my friends. The cry of the hunter is over. The voice of war is ceased.

IX.

THOU askest, fair daughter of the isles! whose memory is preserved in these tombs? The memory of Ronnan the bold, and Connan the chief of men; and of her, the fairest of maids, Rivine the lovely and the good. The wing of time is laden with care. Every moment hath woes of its own. Why seek we our grief from afar? or give our tears to those of other times? But thou commandest, and I obey, O fair daughter of the isles!

CONAR was mighty in war. Caul was the friend of strangers. His gates were open to all; midnight darkened not on his barred door. Both lived upon the fons of the mountains. Their bow was the support of the poor.

F

CONNAN

CONNAN was the image of Conar's soul. Caul was renewed in Ronnan his son. Rivine the daughter of Conar was the love of Ronnan; her brother Connan was his friend. She was fair as the harvest-moon setting in the seas of Molo-chasquir. Her soul was settled on Ronnan; the youth was the dream of her nights.

RIVINE, my love! says Ronnan, I go to my king in Norway*. A year and a day shall bring me back. Wilt thou be true to Ronnan?

RONNAN! a year and a day I will spend in sorrow. Ronnan, behave like a man, and my soul shall exult in thy valour. Connan my friend, says Ronnan, wilt thou preserve Rivine thy sister? Durstan is in love with the maid;

* Supposed to be Fergus II. This fragment is reckoned not altogether so ancient as most of the rest.

and

and soon shall the sea bring the stranger to our coast.

RONNAN, I will defend: Do thou securely go.—He went. He returned on his day. But Durstan returned before him.

GIVE me thy daughter, Conar, says Durstan ; or fear and feel my power.

HE who dares attempt my sister, says Connar, must meet this edge of steel. Unerring in battle is my arm: my sword, as the lightning of heaven.

RONNAN the warrior came; and much he threatened Durstan.

BUT, saith Euran the servant of gold, Ronnan ! by the gate of the north shall Durstan this night carry thy fair-one away. Accursed, answers Ron-

nan, be this arm if death meet him not there.

CONNAN! saith Euran, this night shall the stranger carry thy sister away. My sword shall meet him, replies Connan, and he shall lie low on earth.

THE friends met by night, and they fought. Blood and sweat ran down their limbs as water on the mossy rock. Connan falls; and cries, O Durstan, be favourable to Rivine! — And is it my friend, cries Ronnan, I have slain? O Connan! I knew thee not.

HE went, and he fought with Durstan. Day began to rise on the combat, when fainting they fell, and expired. Rivine came out with the morn; and — O what detains my Ronnan! — She saw him lying pale in his blood; and her brother lying pale by his side.

What

What could she say? what could she do? her complaints were many and vain. She opened this grave for the warriors; and fell into it herself, before it was closed; like the fun snatched away in a storm.

THOU hast heard this tale of grief,
O fair daughter of the isles! Rivine was
fair as thyself: shed on her grave a
tear.

X.

IT is night; and I am alone, forlorn
 on the hill of storms. The wind is
 heard in the mountain. The torrent
 shrieks down the rock. No hut receives
 me from the rain; forlorn on the hill of
 winds.

RISE, moon! from behind thy
 clouds; stars of the night, appear!
 Lead me, some light, to the place where
 my love rests from the toil of the chase!
 his bow near him, unstrung; his dogs
 panting around him. But here I must
 sit alone, by the rock of the mossy
 stream. The stream and the wind
 roar; nor can I hear the voice of my
 love.

WHY delayeth my Shalgar, why the
 son of the hill, his promise? Here is
 the

the rock ; and the tree ; and here the roaring stream. Thou promisedst with night to be here. Ah ! whither is my Shalgar gone ? With thee I would fly my father ; with thee, my brother of pride. Our race have long been foes ; but we are not foes, O Shalgar !

CEASE a little while, O wind ! stream, be thou silent a while ! let my voice be heard over the heath ; let my wanderer hear me. Shalgar ! it is I who call. Here is the tree, and the rock. Shalgar, my love ! I am here. Why delayest thou thy coming ? Alas ! no answer.

Lo ! the moon appeareth. The flood is bright in the vale. The rocks are grey on the face of the hill. But I see him not on the brow ; his dogs before him tell not that he is coming. Here I must sit alone.

BUT

BUT who are these that lie beyond me on the heath? Are they my love and my brother? — Speak to me, O my friends! they answer not. My soul is tormented with fears.—Ah! they are dead. Their swords are red from the fight. O my brother! my brother! why hast thou slain my Shalgar? why, O Shalgar! hast thou slain my brother? Dear were ye both to me! speak to me; hear my voice, sons of my love! But alas! they are silent; silent for ever! Cold are their breasts of clay!

OH! from the rock of the hill; from the top of the mountain of winds, speak ye ghosts of the dead! speak, and I will not be afraid.—Whither are ye gone to rest? In what cave of the hill shall I find you?

I sit in my grief. I wait for morning in my tears. Rear the tomb, ye friends

friends of the dead ; but close it not
 till I come. My life flieth away like a
 dream : why should I stay behind ?
 Here shall I rest with my friends by the
 stream of the sounding rock. When
 night comes on the hill ; when the wind
 is up on the heath ; my ghost shall stand
 in the wind, and mourn the death of
 my friends. The hunter shall hear
 from his booth. He shall fear, but
 love my voice. For sweet shall my voice
 be for my friends ; for pleasant were
 they both to me.

XI.

SAD! I am sad indeed: nor small my
cause of woe! — Kirmor, thou hast
lost no son; thou hast lost no daugh-
ter of beauty. Connar the valiant lives;
and Annir the fairest of maids. The
boughs of thy family flourish, O Kir-
mor! but Armyrn is the last of his
race.

RISE, winds of autumn, rise; blow
upon the dark heath! streams of the
mountains, roar! howl, ye tempests,
in the trees! walk through broken
clouds, O moon! show by intervals thy
pale face! bring to my mind that sad
night, when all my children fell; when
Arindel the mighty fell; when Daura
the lovely died.

DAURA, my daughter! thou wert
fair;

fair; fair as the moon on the hills of Jura; white as the driven snow; sweet as the breathing gale. Armor renowned in war came, and sought Daura's love; he was not long denied; fair was the hope of their friends.

EARCH son of Odgal repined; for his brother was slain by Armor. He came disguised like a son of the sea: fair was his skiff on the wave; white his locks of age; calm his serious brow. Fairest of women, he said, lovely daughter of Armyn! a rock not distant in the sea, bears a tree on its side; red shines the fruit afar. There Armor waiteth for Daura. I came to fetch his love. Come, fair daughter of Armyn!

SHE went; and she called on Armor. Nought answered, but the son of the rock. Armor, my love! my love!

why tormentest thou me with fear?
 come, graceful son of Ardnart, come;
 it is Daura who calleth thee! — Earch
 the traitor fled laughing to the land.
 She lifted up her voice, and cried for
 her brother and her father. Arindel!
 Armyr! none to relieve your Daura?

HER voice came over the sea. Arin-
 del my son descended from the hill;
 rough in the spoils of the chace. His
 arrows rattled by his side; his bow was
 in his hand; five grey dogs attended
 his steps. He saw fierce Earch on the
 shore; he seized and bound him to an
 oak. Thick fly the thongs of the hide
 around his limbs; he loads the wind
 with his groans.

ARINDEL ascends the furgy deep in
 his boat, to bring Daura to the land.
 Armor came in his wrath, and let fly
 the grey-feathered shaft. It sung; it
 sunk

sunk in thy heart, O Arindel my son!
 for Earch the traitor thou diedst. What
 is thy grief, O Daura, when round
 thy feet is poured thy brother's blood!

THE boat is broken in twain by the
 waves. Armor plunges into the sea, to
 rescue his Daura or die. Sudden a blast
 from the hill comes over the waves.
 He sunk, and he rose no more.

ALONE, on the sea-beat rock, my
 daughter was heard to complain. Fre-
 quent and loud were her cries; nor
 could her father relieve her. All
 night I stood on the shore. All night I
 heard her cries. Loud was the wind;
 and the rain beat hard on the side of the
 mountain. Before morning appeared,
 her voice was weak. It died away, like
 the evening-breeze among the grass of
 the rocks. Spent with grief she expired.
 O lay me soon by her side.

WHEN

WHEN the storms of the mountain
 come; when the north lifts the waves
 on high; I sit by the founding shore,
 and look on the fatal rock. Often by
 the setting moon I see the ghosts of
 my children. Indistinct, they walk in
 mournful conference together. Will
 none of you speak to me? — But they
 do not regard their father.

THE

XII.

R Y N O, A L P I N.

R Y N O.

THE wind and the rain are over-
 calm is the noon of day. The
 clouds are divided in heaven. Over
 the green hills flies the inconstant sun.
 Red through the stony vale comes
 down the stream of the hill. Sweet are
 thy murmurs, O stream! but more
 sweet is the voice I hear. It is the voice
 of Alpin the son of the song, mourning
 for the dead. Bent is his head of age,
 and red his tearful eye. Alpin, thou
 son of the song, why alone on the si-
 lent hill? why complainest thou, as a
 blast in the wood; as a wave on the
 lonely shore?

ALPIN.

A L P I N.

My tears, O Ryno! are for the dead; my voice, for the inhabitants of the grave. Tall thou art on the hill; fair among the fons of the plain. But thou shalt fall like Morar; and the mourner shalt sit on thy tomb. The hills shall know thee no more; thy bow shall lie in the hall, unstrung.

THOU wert swift, O Morar! as a roe on the hill; terrible as a meteor of fire. Thy wrath was as the storm of December. Thy sword in battle, as lightning in the field. Thy voice was like a stream after rain; like thunder on distant hills. Many fell by thy arm; they were consumed in the flames of thy wrath.

BUT when thou returnedst from war,
how.

how peaceful was thy brow ! Thy face was like the sun after rain ; like the moon in the silence of night ; calm as the breast of the lake when the loud wind is laid.

NARROW is thy dwelling now ; dark the place of thine abode. With three steps I compass thy grave, O thou who wast so great before ! Four stones with their heads of moss are the only memorial of thee. A tree with scarce a leaf, long grass which whistles in the wind, mark to the hunter's eye the grave of the mighty Morar. Morar ! thou art low indeed. Thou hast no mother to mourn thee ; no maid with her tears of love. Dead is she that brought thee forth. Fallen is the daughter of Morglan.

Who on his staff is this ? who is this, whose head is white with age, whose

H

eyes

eyes are red with tears, who quakes
 at every step? — It is thy father, O
 Morar! the father of none but thee.
 He heard of thy fame in battle; he heard
 of foes dispersed. He heard of Morar's
 fame; why did he not hear of his
 wound? Weep, thou father of Morar!
 weep; but thy son heareth thee not.
 Deep is the sleep of the dead; low their
 pillow of dust. No more shall he hear
 thy voice; no more shall he awake at
 thy call. When shall it be morn in the
 grave, to bid the slumberer awake?

FAREWELL, thou bravest of men!
 thou conqueror in the field! but the field
 shall see thee no more; nor the dark
 wood be lightened with the splendor of
 thy steel. Thou hast left no son.
 But the song shall preserve thy name.
 Future times shall hear of thee; they
 shall hear of the fallen Morar.

XIII *.

CUCHULAIÐ sat by the wall ; by the tree of the rustling leaf †. His spear leaned against the mossy rock. His shield lay by him on the grass. Whilst he thought on the mighty Carbre whom he slew in battle, the scout of the ocean came, Moran the son of Fithil.

RISE, Cuchulaid, rise ! I see the ships of Garve. Many are the foe, Cuchulaid ; many the sons of Lochlyn.

MORAN ! thou ever tremblest ; thy fears increase the foe. They are the ships of the Desert of hills arrived to assist Cuchulaid.

* This is the opening of the epic poem mentioned in the preface. The two following fragments are parts of some episodes of the same work.

† The aspen or poplar tree.

I saw their chief, says Moran, tall as a rock of ice. His spear is like that fir; his shield like the rising moon. He sat upon a rock on the shore, as a grey cloud upon the hill. Many, mighty man ! I said, many are our heroes; Garve, well art thou named *, many are the sons of our king.

HE answered like a wave on the rock; who is like me here? The valiant live not with me; they go to the earth from my hand. The king of the Desert of hills alone can fight with Garve. Once we wrestled on the hill. Our heels overturned the wood. Rocks fell from their place, and rivulets changed their course. Three days we strove together; heroes stood at a distance, and feared. On the fourth, the King saith that I fell; but Garve saith, he

* Garve signifies a man of great size.

stood. Let Cuchulaid yield to him that is strong as a storm.

No. I will never yield to man. Cuchulaid will conquer or die. Go, Moran, take my spear; strike the shield of Caithbait which hangs before the gate. It never rings in peace. My heroes shall hear on the hill. —

XIV.

D U C H O M M A R, M O R N A.

D U C H O M M A R.

* **M**ORNA, thou fairest of women,
 daughter of Cormac-Cairbre!
 why in the circle of stones, in the cave
 of the rock, alone? The stream mur-
 mureth hoarsely. The blast groaneth
 in the aged tree. The lake is troubled
 before thee. Dark are the clouds of
 the sky. But thou art like snow on
 the heath. Thy hair like a thin cloud
 of gold on the top of Cromleach. Thy

* The signification of the names in this fragment are; Dubhchomar, a black well-shaped man. Muirne or Morna, a woman beloved by all. Cormac-cairbre, an unequalled and rough warrior. Cromleach, a crooked hill. Mugruch, a surly gloomy man. Tarman, thunder. Moinie, soft in temper and person.

breasts like two smooth rocks on the hill which is seen from the stream of Branuin. Thy arms, as two white pillars in the hall of Fingal.

MORNA.

WHENCE the son of Mugruch, Duchommar the most gloomy of men? Dark are thy brows of terror. Red thy rolling eyes. Does Garve appear on the sea? What of the foe, Duchommar?

DUCHOMMAR.

FROM the hill I return, O Morna, from the hill of the flying deer. Three have I slain with my bow; three with my panting dogs. Daughter of Cormac-Carbre, I love thee as my soul. I have slain a deer for thee. High was his branchy head; and fleet his feet of wind.

MORNA.

MORNA.

GLOOMY son of Mugruch, Duchommar! I love thee not : hard is thy heart of rock ; dark thy terrible brow. But Cadmor the son of Tarman, thou art the love of Morna ! thou art like a sun-beam on the hill, in the day of the gloomy storm. Sawest thou the son of Tarman, lovely on the hill of the chace ? Here the daughter of Cormac-Carbre waiteth the coming of Cadmor.

D U C H O M M A R .

AND long shall Morna wait. His blood is on my sword. I met him by the mossy stone, by the oak of the noisy stream. He fought ; but I slew him ; his blood is on my sword. High on the hill I will raise his tomb, daughter of Cormac-Carbre. But love thou the
son

son of Mugruch ; his arm is strong as a storm.

MORNA.

AND is the son of Tarman fallen ; the youth with the breast of snow ! the first in the chace of the hill ; the foe of the sons of the ocean ! — Duchommar, thou art gloomy indeed ; cruel is thy arm to me. — But give me that sword, son of Mugruch ; I love the blood of Cadmor.

[HE gives her the sword, with which she instantly stabs him.]

DUCHOMMAR.

DAUGHTER of Cormac-Carbre, thou hast pierced Duchommar ! the sword is cold in my breast ; thou hast killed the son of Mugruch. Give me to Moinie.
I the

the maid ; for much she loved Duchommar. My tomb she will raise on the hill ; the hunter shall see it, and praise me. — But draw the sword from my side, Morna ; I feel it cold. —

[UPON her coming near him, he stabs her. As she fell, she plucked a stone from the side of the cave, and placed it betwixt them, that his blood might not be mingled with hers.]

XV.

* **W**HERE is Gealchoffa my love, the daughter of Tuathal-Teachvar? I left her in the hall of the plain, when I fought with the hairy Ulfadha. Return soon, she said, O Lamderg! for here I wait in sorrow. Her white breast rose with sighs; her cheek was wet with tears. But she cometh not to meet Lamderg; or sooth his soul after battle. Silent is the hall of joy; I hear not the voice of the fíngir. Brann does not shake his chains at the gate, glad at the coming of his master. Where is Gealchoffa my love, the daughter of Tuathal-Teachvar?

* The signification of the names in this fragment are; Gealchoffack, white-legged. Tuathal-Teachtmhar, the surly, but fortunate man. Lambhdearg, bloody-hand. Ulfadha, long beard. Fírchios, the conqueror of men.

LAMDERG! says Firchios son of Aydon, Gealchoffa may be on the hill; she and her chosen maids pursuing the flying deer.

FIRCHIOS! no noise I hear. No sound in the wood of the hill. No deer fly in my sight; no panting dog pursueth. I see not Gealchoffa my love; fair as the full moon setting on the hills of Cromleach. Go, Firchios! go to Allad*, the grey-haired son of the rock. He liveth in the circle of stones; he may tell of Gealchoffa.

ALLAD! saith Firchios, thou who dwellest in the rock; thou who tremblest alone; what saw thine eyes of age?

I saw, answered Allad the old, Ul-

* Allad is plainly a Druid consulted on this occasion.

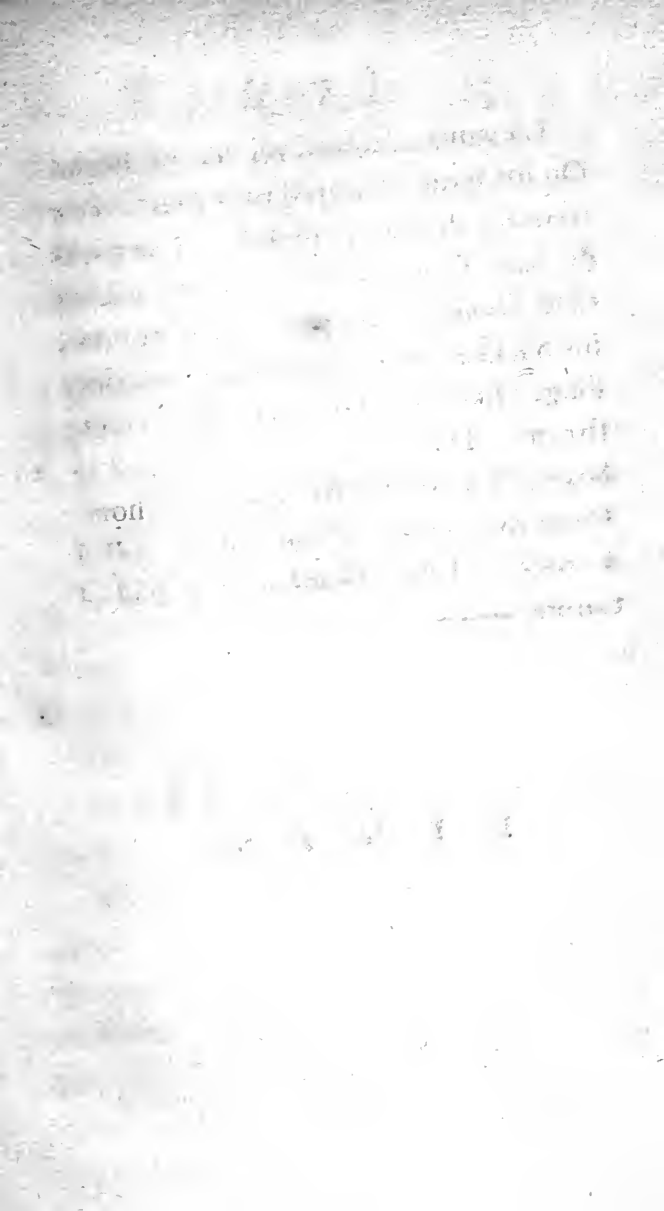
lin the son of Carbre : He came like a cloud from the hill ; he hummed a furly song as he came, like a storm in leafless wood. He entered the hall of the plain. Lamderg, he cried, most dreadful of men ! fight, or yield to Ullin. Lamderg, replied Gealchoffa, Lamderg is not here : he fights the hairy Ulfadha ; mighty man, he is not here. But Lamderg never yields ; he will fight the son of Carbre. Lovely art thou, O daughter of Tuathal-Teachvar ! said Ullin. I carry thee to the house of Carbre ; the valiant shall have Gealchoffa. Three days from the top of Cromleach will I call Lamderg to fight. The fourth, you belong to Ullin, if Lamderg die, or fly my sword.

ALLAD ! peace to thy dreams ! — found the horn, Firchios ! — Ullin may hear, and meet me on the top of Cromleach.

LAMDERG

LAMBERG rushed on like a storm. On his spear he leaped over rivers. Few were his strides up the hill. The rocks fly back from his heels; loud crashing they bound to the plain. His armour, his buckler rung. He hummed a surly song, like the noise of the falling stream. Dark as a cloud he stood above; his arms, like meteors, shone. From the summit of the hill, he rolled a rock. Ullin heard in the hall of Carbre. —

F I N I S.





T H O U G H T S

O N

MONEY, CIRCULATION,

A N D

PAPER CURRENCY.

E D I N B U R G H :

Printed by HAMILTON, BALFOUR and NEILL.

M,DCCLVIII.

THOUGHTS

ON THE

MONEY, CIRCULATION,

AND

PAPER CURRENCY.

EDWARD B. BARNES.

Printed by Hamilton, Ballou and Nason.

MDCCLXXIII.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T :

THE Writer of the *Inquiry into the Origin and Consequences of the Public Debt*, having been assured that he has been quoted in a large book lately published, as Author of two *Essays on Banking and Frugality*, on no better authority than that of a needy Bookseller's reprinting the *Inquiry* along with them; he thinks himself obliged to assure the Public, That he knows nothing of the two *Essays on Banking and Frugality* annexed to his; that he had no hand in them, and is equally ignorant where, and by whom they were written or printed.

He acknowledges, he had self-conceit enough to think it utterly impossible, that any man could be found so thoroughly void of discernment, as to imagine these three Productions could come from the same hand: but, since the event has proved that there may be such men, he has thought it necessary to offer to the Public his sentiments *on Money and Circulation*; which, however little instructing or entertaining, will at least prove, that his opinions on these subjects are extremely diffe-

rent from those imputed to him, by such as would ascribe to him the two *Essays on Banking and Frugality*.

He likewise begs leave to assure the Public, That it is not to avoid the imputation of a bad Writer that he appeals to them ; that imputation would give him little concern : his real motive is to justify his moral character ; since there are opinions asserted in the *Essay on Frugality*, which he holds in detestation.

T H O U G H T S

O N

MONEY AND CIRCULATION.

THE Value of things was originally expressed, by setting them against Corn and Cattle: These have undoubtedly the greatest intrinsic value, as they are the most essential to the support of Life, and, next to them, Cloaths and Firing.

IN comparifon of these, all other things are superfluties, and their value must be partly arbitrary. The intrinsic value of Manufactured Goods, and such as arise from the labour of Men, is determinable by the time employed in working them. If a certain piece of work shall employ a Man two days, it must bear some proportion in its value to the quantity of provisions required to maintain a Man for that time. When the practice of an art is confined to a few hands, it depends on them to put what price they please on their skill; and then, as happens in all monopolies, the Purchaser being at the mercy of the Seller,

the

the only rule for the price, must be the avidity of the one, and the means, passion or necessity of the other.

As Commerce came to extend itself, the inconvenience of Barter made it as necessary to settle some standard to ascertain the relative value of Commodities, as to establish weights and measures, to determine their quantity. Metals could not fail to be found the most proper for that purpose; they are universally useful, and so have an intrinsic value in themselves: As they are the most durable of all substances, they are not liable to fluctuate like perishable commodities, of which there may be plenty this year, and scarcity the next: They take up little compass, and can be divided into the smallest parts, and united again, without diminishing their contents. With these advantages, they were necessarily received as Money, that is, as the measure and standard for determining the value of commodities.

I know no stronger proof of the Infancy of the World, than that Metals were not in use as money in the days of HOMER, at least of the *Trojan* war: We read indeed, that ABRAHAM purchased his

his father's sepulcher with shekles of Silver, and they were the money of *Egypt* in the days of JOSEPH.

THE rule for settling the reciprocal value of metals and provisions, would be to pay a Man for his labour, the quantity of metal that was purchasable by the Corn he was in use to earn*. The metal was only considered as an equivalent for his former wages, or as a ticket to represent them; and tho' the person who received it, might have no occasion for it as a metal; yet he considered it as a pledge and security for the things it was given in lieu of, with this advantage, that he might, at any time, exchange any part of it, against a proportionable quantity of the things he received it for, or dispose of it otherwise at his option. The conveniencies attending this method of payment soon made it universal; and Barter, and payments in kind, fell into disuse.

THUS metals were received as money, by mutual consent, because of their intrinsic value as commodities: without that intrinsic value, they never could have been admitted as an equivalent for

* It is the custom in many countries at this day, to hire Servants by agreeing for a certain quantity of Corn *per annum*.

for other commodities, or as the measure for ascertaining their value.

THE proportion different metals bear to each other being liable to alter, it became expedient to single out one in particular for the universal standard: Silver has obtained that privilege, and is to be considered in a twofold light; *First*, as a Commodity, and metal, applicable to many uses: *Secondly*, as Money, or the measure of commerce.

As a Commodity, its value is in proportion to its use and scarcity.

As Money, it has no intrinsic value in itself; the value is in the things purchasable by it; and is only a general letter of credit, payable to the bearer for goods to a certain amount, or an universal ticket that gives the owner an option to possess whatever he chuses to a certain extent. In this sense, it is no more than the figure or character that represents the things it can procure.

MOST Nations have some time or other fallen into the mistake, of fancying it possible to confine it to its particular use as money, and, after putting a stamp upon it, have forbid the melting it down or sending it abroad, under the severest penalties,

nalties, forgetting that it owes its being received as money, to its value as a commodity; and if they were to succeed in taking that quality from it, or, which is the same thing, in making it impossible to employ it that way, it would no longer be received as an equivalent for other commodities.

THE same mistake has given occasion to many false schemes for supplying and multiplying its use by artificial means; but all such ever have, and ever will prove abortive, unless so far as they leave an option to receive the full sum in real cash.

Bank Bills, and all Credit, are to Money, what Money is to other Commodities.

THE value of the Bills consist in the power they give of receiving the Money they express, and presuppose the Money to be deposited. The value of Money consists in the power of purchasing Commodities.

IT is amazing that every Nation, whose history we are acquainted with, has at different times, and without seeming to have borrowed or taken warning from one another, fallen into the mistake of attempting to increase Money, by augmenting the denomination of it.

As Money could only be measured by weight and fineness, it was found necessary to put a public stamp on it ; the meaning of which was, to facilitate circulation, by ascertaining both.

IN time, people came to mistake the effect for the cause ; and, instead of perceiving that it was the substance gave credit to the stamp, they imagined it owed its currency to the stamp alone, and were weak enough to fancy they could multiply it, by clapping a similar stamp, and giving the same name to a less quantity of Silver. This was just as absurd, as it would be in a Man to imagine he could make himself three suits of cloaths out of the materials for two, by breaking off one third from the yard he made use of to measure them.

THIS experiment must have destroyed all credit, must have given strangers a vast advantage, by buying up goods for less than their value ; as it would increase the exchange in their favour in proportion to the augmentation made in the denomination. It must have diminished every Man's income, and robbed every creditor of the part taken away from the former money.

ORIGINALLY,

ORIGINALLY, a Pound Sterling really weighed 12 ounces, and only 20 Shillings, or, which is the same, 60 Groats were coined out of the pound of Silver. It was imagined, that, by coining 30 pieces out of the same quantity of Silver, and still calling them Shillings, and obliging people to receive them as such, the *Specie* might be increased from 20 to 30.—The necessary consequence of this was, that he who had lent 30 Shillings before the augmentation, and had really delivered a quantity of Silver weighing one pound and an half, was now obliged to accept of one pound weight only, in full for his debt; since, by the new regulation, one pound of Silver was supposed to have obtained the privilege of having the effect, one and an half had before.

EVERY man to whom any thing was due, whether Landlord or Creditor, would suffer this injustice, and even the Sovereign himself would feel it in his Revenue.

OBVIOUS as these inconveniencies seem to be, every Nation in *Europe* has in its turn fallen into the error, and one country can only reproach another with the degrees of it. The denomination

of money through all *Europe*, by Pounds, Shillings, and Pence, demonstrates that it passed originally by weight; tho' in *France*, it now takes above 70 Livres or Pounds, to purchase the quantity of Silver that formerly made but one Livre or Pound.—PLINY tells us, that the *Romans* had recourse to this method of endeavouring to augment their *Specie* in the distress of the first Punic war, and repeated it afterwards. It might answer as a momentary expedient among an ignorant people, utterly unacquainted with Trade, for such the *Romans* were at that time; but never was put in practice since, but to the great detriment of the people among whom it was introduced.

THIS traffic with Money, has been more practised in *France* than in any other country, particularly in the latter part of the reign of *Lewis XIV.* and during the minority of the present King.—It was commonly said of the first of these Monarchs that when he had money to pay, he called it up, and when he had money to receive, he called it down; but as both methods are destructive to the Subject, they could never be for the interest of
the

the King. The misfortunes of the latter part of that Prince's reign, may be easily accounted for from that very practice; and it will be found, on due inquiry, that the falling off of Allies and the loss of battles, was the effect, and not the cause of the miserable condition *France* was reduced to, by the ruin which the alterations in the coin, brought on its Finances*.

AN augmentation of the denomination of Money, is just such a mean fraud in Government, as deceit in weights and measures is in trade, and must alike end in the ruin and disgrace of those who attempt it.

WHEN an augmentation has once taken place, 'tis in vain to think of remedying it by calling the money down again; 'tis what cannot be done without a new injustice; for the Debtor in that case suffers as much as the Creditor did before. The only remedy is, time and patience, joined to an assurance that the denomination shall never

be

* PETER the Great, Czar of *Muscovy*, fell into the same mistake, and, notwithstanding the mighty things he did for his country in other respects, he left it drained of money, and his revenue reduced to less than half of what he found it.—I think from 4,000,000 Rubles at 6 Shillings per Ruble, to 10,000,000 at 2 s. per Ruble.

be altered for the future. Every wise Govern-
ment will leave the denomination of money as
they found it, and will be persuaded that it is with
Money as with Religion, where there is no tam-
pering without confounding every thing.

IN *England* no alterations have been made in
the coin since Queen ELIZABETH'S time; and as
that subject seems to have been thoroughly under-
stood here ever since that period, it is hard to
conceive, how our Plantations, and even the
kingdom of *Ireland*, have been suffered to deceive
themselves, by augmenting the denomination of
their money, unless it has been with a political
intent, to keep them poor, and by that means
to excite industry, and secure dependency.

THE inconveniency of Barter gave occasion to
the invention of Money, and the difficulty of
transporting money from one country to another
made way for Bills of Exchange. — In the course
of Trade, it would often happen, that the same
Merchant would have money to pay to one Man
and to receive from another in the same foreign
country: This would naturally lead him to pro-
pose to pay the one by the other; and when he
had

had nothing due to himself; he would look out for an acquaintance that had; by this expedient both parties would save the expence and risk of sending their money from the one country to the other. But as Trade can never be so entirely on a *par*, but there must be a balance; whatever country the balance is due to, will have the Exchange in its favour, *i. e.* some allowance will be made on account of the risk and trouble of sending the balance abroad in *Specie*:—That allowance can never exceed the expence and risk of the transportation of it.—If all Nations had agreed to stick to the original method of denominating their money by the quantity of pure Silver it contained, nothing could be so simple as Exchange; but the different alterations every Nation has made in fineness, and denomination, have made it a Science to determine the proportion the coin of one country bears to that of another; but the whole of that Science must consist in the knowledge of the quantity of Silver each coin contains; for, in Exchange between Nation and Nation, Money will ever be considered as bullion; nothing will be thought of but the quantity

quantity of Silver it consists of, nor will the smallest regard be had, by the foreign Merchant, to the denomination may be put on coin in a particular country.

THIS method of settling accompts by Bills of Exchange, makes money go a far greater length, than if payments were actually to be made in *Specie*, and so far is a real increase of it. If *Portugal* takes goods to the value of 1,000,000 from *England*; and if *England* takes to the amount of 500,000 from *Portugal*, it would take 1,500,000 to make the payments; but by means of Bills of Exchange, only the balance 500,000 is necessary in money: The bills have the effect of twice that sum, and make the money go thrice as far as it could have done without them.—The real benefit received by Bills of Exchange, pointed out Banks, and Paper-Currency: By means of these, money is increased in proportion to their credit; but credit is founded on the certainty of receiving payment, and presupposes the money, or money's-worth deposited some where, and of course must always bear a proportion to the funds to answer it.—Even the apprehension of alterations

alterations in denomination, utterly extinguish credit, since they make it uncertain what quantity of Silver is to be received for a Bill. Such methods then, instead of increasing, must restrain and confine the use and circulation of money to its weight as bullion, and must deprive it of all the benefit it might receive from credit.

WHETHER we had the hint of Banks from the *Chinese* or not, it is impossible to doubt that the industry and avarice of later ages, would have found out so obvious a method of securing money against Thieves, and other accidents, of extending its use, and of facilitating payments, tho' MARCO PAOLO, who is said to have brought the secret into *Europe*, had never gone to *Cathay*.

THE benefit of National Banks to great trading countries is apparent; but whether they are of use in particular countries, which have the balance against them, has been justly disputed. If a private Man have an industrious turn, and opportunities of laying out money to advantage, the greater his credit, the sooner will he grow rich; if, on the other hand, his disposition or situation exposes him to exceed his income, by
giving

giving him credit, you only hasten his ruin. If the cash in a particular province does not exceed *L.* 200,000 and the balance against it is *L.* 10,000 a year; if, by establishing a Bank, you triple the circulation of that *L.* 200,000, probably the balance against such a country, will be tripled at the same time, and must be sent away in cash.

MANKIND have a constant tendency to mistake words for things; the word *Money*, in its original and proper sense, is only a relative term to express the value of Commodities, as much as a Tun, a Pound, or a Yard, are made use of, to denote their quantity; but, like a statue in a Popish Church, it is constantly mistaken by the Vulgar, and has that worship bestowed on it, which is only due to the Saint it was meant to represent. It is in the numbers of people, the gains of that people, of which the profits of the lands are to be considered as a branch, that the wealth of a nation consists; and therefore a country may be rich, without much *Specie*, and poor tho' abounding with Gold and Silver.

IN the inventory of the wealth of a Nation, the ready money is only to be considered as bullion,

lion, and a commodity: Money in the sense of *Spécie*, or Cash, is often a symptom, and consequence of wealth; but it is not necessarily so, and is as uncertain a proof of the riches of a Nation, as the ready money in the pocket of a private Man is of his.—A certain quantity of ready money is necessary to carry on circulation; more than that, is of little use.—Sir WILLIAM PETTY justly compares Money to the Fat of the Body; a certain degree of which is necessary to lubricate the fibres, but too much of it becomes a burden and magazine for diseases.

ADMITTING then, that Paper Credit multiplies money, and more than a certain quantity of money is unnecessary, neither of which propositions can well be denied; how can Paper Credit be of advantage?

Both propositions are in a great measure true, and yet the invention of Paper Credit is immensely beneficial.

1st, Because it makes a more convenient instrument of Barter than Cash, is more transportable and expeditious, and is more secure, which is all in all in Commerce and great transactions. To

illustrate this, let us suppose a particular Nation to explode the use of it altogether, to admit of no payments but in ready money, and every man bound to keep his own Cash; the inconveniency attending dealing with such a Nation would exclude them from many branches of profitable Commerce, and their money would insensibly melt away; for money is a bulky commodity, neither transportable in great quantities, nor easily measurable, and liable to adulterations, and fraud. By means of payments in Paper, there is little occasion to pay more than the balance due to foreigners in *Specie*, and of course they facilitate commerce, as much as the rules of Arithmetic abridge accounts, or Algebra, calculations in Geometry.

2dly, MONEY, it is true, is only a relative term, and Riches are not really money, but money's-worth; yet money, in its turn, may be supposed to contain the things purchasable by it; and as the effect of the plenty of it, is to diminish its interest, the country that has the most of it, has an immense advantage, and can undersel every country where interest is high*.

* *Vide* CHILD on Trade.

3dly, THE trite maxim, That money makes money, is true in a Nation as well as in a private Man; it enables a people to add to their real, permanent and natural wealth: There must be more employment where there is more circulation, and of consequence more people.—Harbours open, public ways extend, rivers are made navigable, lands cultivated, drained, and manured, and a country made capable of maintaining many times its original number of people. This nobody will dispute to be real wealth, tho' it may be said, that the money which was the occasion of bringing it about, was only imaginary.

IT is a condition annexed to every thing here below, That the *abuse* of it does mischief in a greater degree, than the *good use* of it can be of benefit. This is the case of money; and as it tends to effeminacy and corruption of manners, it still makes way for MACHIAVEL'S wheel. But this is beyond my subject.

IT is a common opinion, that things grow dear in proportion to the increase of money*.

This

* What contributes to mislead people into an opinion of the cheapness of commodities in former times, is the difference

This opinion is contradicted by experience, and is founded on false principles. Real and artificial money have increased at least twenty fold since the days of Queen ELIZABETH, and yet it will be found, on inquiry, that most untaxed things have remained at the price they bore at that time.

THE prices of things can never increase, unless when the demand exceeds the quantity to supply

ference in the denomination of money.—A Goldsmith would now pay *L. 3. 3 s.* for the identical pieces of silver that constituted a pound in the days of EDWARD III. Sir HARRY SPELMAN has explained this, in his *Dialogue of Coin*; and tho' he wrote late in Queen ELIZABETH's time, he asserts, there had been no great alteration in the prices of things, from the earliest times, to these in which he wrote. It appears by FLEETWOOD's Table of the prices of Corn from the year 1646 to 1707, that the mean price of Wheat was *L. 2, 10 s. per Quarter*, and of Malt *L. 1, 7 s. 7 d.* during that period; which is 20 per cent above the mean prices since that time. Mr. HUME says, in his History of JAMES I's. Reign, that a cargo of manufactures would cost more then, than at present. There are Acts of Parliament in HENRY VII's. time, fixing the rates of Commodities. Scarlet-cloth was limited to 26 *s. per yard*, plain-cloth to 18 *s.*; the wages of Tradesmen, such as a Bricklayer, Mason, Taylor, were regulated at 10 *d.* our present money.

supply it. Was there never so much money in the market, if there are more Sellers than Buyers, prices must fall. Supposing plenty of money was to have a tendency to make things dear in the country that enjoyed that plenty, while commerce prevails, the price of transportable goods must depend on the foreign market.—And even if we suppose a country quite shut up from foreign commerce, like *Japan*, the prices must still depend on the consumption and the means of supplying it*. Plenty of money may make some delicacies and superfluities dearer, because as it enables more individuals to aspire to them, it may increase the demand for them; but that can only be the case with such productions as cannot be increased by art. Game, Fish, and such like, may rise to an immoderate pitch; 'tis possible that even Poultry and Butchers meat may alter their proportion to Corn; but where the industry of men is concerned, that will soon exert itself in proportion

* In the case of famine in a Town besieged or cut off from all communication from without, necessaries would grow dear in proportion to the plenty of money in the place. I can think of no other situation where this would be the rule.

tion to the demand.—The plenty of provisions, and of course the price of such commodities as have connection with that plenty, depends on Agriculture, not on Money; for as the poor do not aim at wealth, and only want daily bread, the price of their labour will not depend on plenty of money, but of provisions, and the price of provisions will be partly regulated by the foreign market. Scarcity of money, on the contrary, tends to make most things dear; for where there is little money, Agriculture will be neglected, and Stock will not be raised: Most improvements being attended with expence, they will not be attempted; there will be no provision made against a scarcity from want of granaries, and from not being able to lie out of one's money; and the means of procuring a supply from abroad will be wanting.

IF things were to increase in their price in proportion to the increase of money, such increase would be attended with many inconveniencies, and no advantage.

THE price of commodities, proves their plenty or scarcity in proportion to the demand for them,

not that of money : The price of money is the interest it bears , and the interest of money, like the price of other things, ought to rise and fall in proportion to the demand and plenty: not that *that* is always and necessarily the case ; for as the rich are few in number, and have great opportunities of joining in confederacy, and monopolizing, they require a Sir *Josiah Child*, or a *Barnard*, to restrain them, so as the Public may receive some benefit from the plenty of their commodity.

DEARNESS of Living, and dearness of Commodities, are extremely different. People of a certain Rank must live according to their Station, and must be determined in that, by the example of others, and the custom of the place.

MANY places are cheap to live in where commodities are dear and scarce ; in others, Living is dear, tho' every particular thing is cheap : 'Tis dearer living at *Paris* than at *Amsterdam*, tho' most things are dearer in the latter than the former ; because one must dress, and keep an equipage to be well received at *Paris*, but a man would not recommend himself by doing so at *Amsterdam* : So far plenty of money, by giving a
 taste

taste for superfluities, increases the expence of living, but does not the price of commodities.

'Tis from not viewing things in this light, that people are apt to consider barren and remote countries as cheap. If men were to wear the same apparel, and to aim at the same things and way of living, they would find the North of *Scotland* dearer than the City of *London*.

THE inundation of Money that poured itself into *Europe*, on the first discovery of the *West-Indies*, could not fail to raise the price of every thing. It was sudden and accidental: It found us in a state of indolence and sloth, and without even the basis of that industry and commerce that constitutes the balance, and keeps down the market. It was some time before the plenty of money could have its operation. It could not in a moment form Artificers, and Commodities to bestow it on. Things then were scarce in proportion to the demand, and could not fail to rise in their prices. The high price every thing bore, set numberless hands to work, and soon brought down the market; and tho' the Mines of *America* have continued to bleed, the industry,

industry, and increase of commodities they have excited here, has kept pace with them, and the prices have rather diminished than increased from the beginning of the last century.

WHERE there is little industry and commerce, the markets must be liable to fluctuate; a country in that state must depend intirely on the favourableness of Seasons for its subsistence. Thus we read in the accounts of former times, of Corn and Cattle being excessively cheap at particular periods, and extravagantly dear soon after; at present, that commerce is grown universal, the whole World avails itself of the plenty of a particular country, and of its scarcity too, by sending their superfluity to the country that has occasion for it. Thus such inequalities as we read of formerly, can never happen in the present state of things.

THE effect of increase of money on the price of commodities, is necessarily this; such things as are multiplied by art alone, become excessively cheap. This is the case with manufactured goods of all sorts; things that depend on nature alone for their production, grow unmeasurably dear, and increase in their price as a country grows

richer, and the number of individuals who can aspire to them, augment; this is the case with some species of Fish, of Game, &c. in *London*; Truffles in *France*, and Ginseng in *China*.

THERE are commodities that participate of both nature and art; of this sort are Pond Fish, Poultry, and even Butchers meat; these can be multiplied by art: but as they are not of a nature to be supplied from abroad like Corn, they are more liable to rise in their prices from an increase of money, and that in proportion as art or nature prevails in their production.

IT must be allowed, the wages of Day-labourers and Tradesmen has increased within these 60 years, that is, one pays more to a Bricklayer, Mason, and Carpenter, &c. than formerly; but that increase rather confirms than weakens my proposition. The increase is chiefly to be imputed to the taxes, imposed from the public necessities, on all sorts of people. A Day-labourer has not so much money to bestow on himself as in the time of HENRY VII.: He must live, and subsist his family; he cannot drink his beer so cheap as he did; his shoes, fire, light, soap, candles, salt, &c. must

must pay, and, after deducting all these, it will be found he works at least as cheap as in HENRY VII's time.

'TIS as unreasonable to ascribe the increase in the wages of Day-labourers, to the increase of money, as it would be to assert, that it is owing to that increase, that we pay dearer for a News paper, or an advertisement than before the taxes on them took place.

ANOTHER circumstance that must contribute to raise the wages of Labourers, is the immense and sudden resort to the city of *London*: The demand for labour there, must make those employed in it scarce, and from the principle, That nothing can raise the market, but the increase of the demand in proportion to the thing wanted, there is likely to be more Labour than Labourers, in a City that does not supply itself with people; and as the enticement of higher wages must tempt away people from the country, there must be a necessity to raise the prices there in some proportion.

AFTER all that has been said, the general principle, That lowness of wages gives an advantage

tage in point of Trade and Manufacture, may be disputed, and is not always true.

It will be found, that in the places where the greatest Manufactures are carried on, the wages of Labourers are very high, particularly in *Holland*, the cities of *London*, and *Paris*. The reason is, That the best hands will always go where they can earn the highest wages; and there is no difference in wages, not even betwixt the dearest and cheapest places, equal to the difference in skill and address: Thus none but the worst Artificers are left in the Country, while the best crowd to the town; and there is nothing more different than the wages of the Labourer, and the cheapness of Labour.—Many branches of labour can be performed by the Great, as cheap in and about *London*, where the wages are 2 s. a-day, as in the Country where they do not exceed one. But as this is a new subject, and would lead me into a long discussion, I only hint it.

ON the whole, if the wages of Labourers are increased, it is not to be accounted for as an immediate consequence of the increase of money, further than as money enables a greater number
of

of people to employ Labourers, it increases the demand for Labour; and if we take it in that light, it must increase the number of People; for Men will always multiply up to the means of supporting them.—Another proof that plenty of money does not necessarily increase the price of Labour, is from what happens in the *East-Indies*, and in *Cbina*: Money has been constantly flowing into those countries, from the earliest times; and yet Labour is no where so cheap. This I do not build upon, sensible of our ignorance of the Police, and Public œconomy of those countries.

It may be objected, that if vast numbers of mines should be discovered, Silver would grow common as Lead and Iron, and of course would become equally contemptible. It would require immense plenty to make it universally common, and while it remained scarce in any considerable part of the Trading World, it would be of value every where; and if we suppose Agriculture and Necessaries to increase in proportion, there is no reason why the plenty of Silver should make things dearer, since their plenty would have an equal tendency to make Silver dear with respect

spect to them ; but as it was partly owing to the scarcity of Silver, that it was received as the measure of commerce, there can be no doubt, that if it was to become too plentiful, it would have the fate of Brads amongst the *Romans*, would cease to be considered as the measure of commerce, and would give way to something more commodious, that conveniency would point out.

THEY are highly mistaken who would confound the Public Debts with Paper Currency ; one might with equal propriety consider Mortgages on private estates as such.

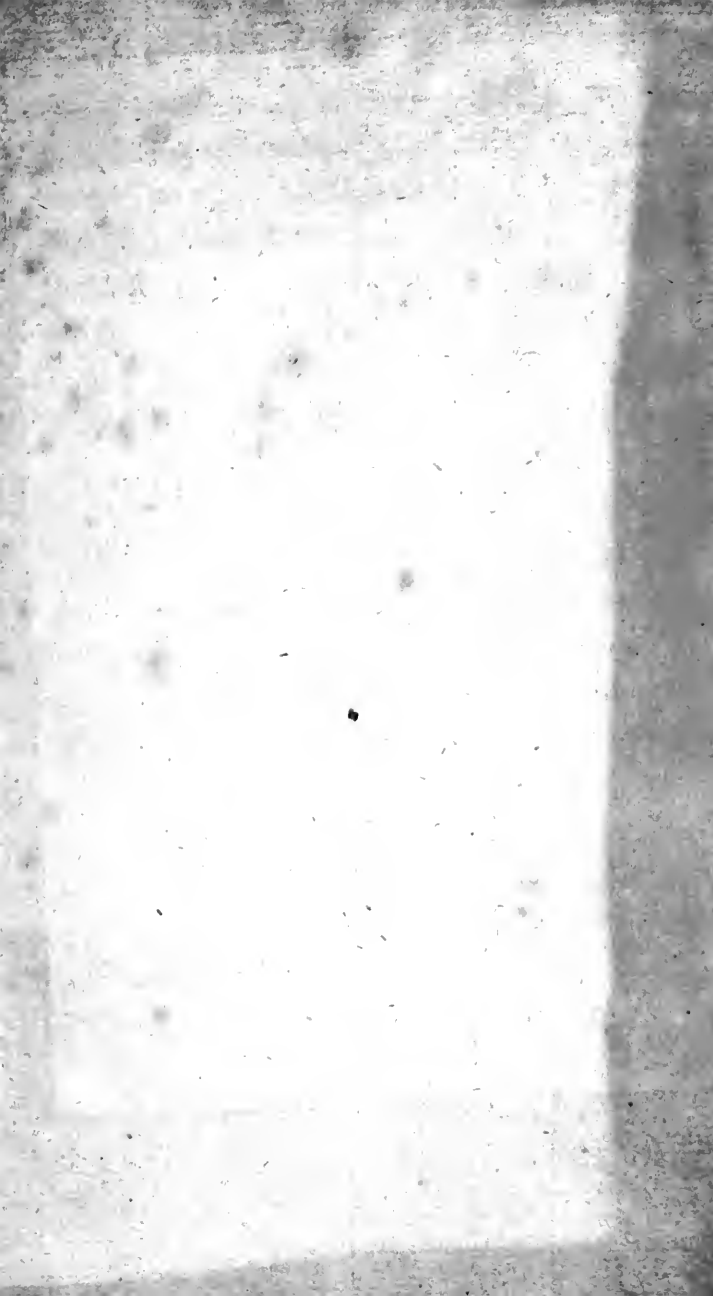
FRANCE owes an enormous debt, and yet admits of no Paper Currency, and 'tis even a question if their Government is capable of it.

By Paper Currency can only be meant, such Bank or Bankers Bills, as carry along with them a certainty that the money they express is actually deposited, and can be received on demand. Wherever there is the smallest doubt or difficulty of receiving payment, they will not be accepted of as money. This cannot be said of the Public Debts, which are liable to fluctuate, and where

no man can make a demand of his money ; but if he wants to convert them into Cash, he must look out for a purchaser. On the contrary nothing threatens our Paper Currency so much, as the increase of the Public Debt. The Dividends drawn by Foreigners diminish the quantity of *Specie*, and there must ever be a proportion between that and the Paper it gives currency to.— Any national distress that was to occasion a diminution of the funds engag'd for the payment of the interest of these debts, would occasion Runs on Banks, and hurt their Credit ; most money'd Men depend on the punctual payment of the dividend of Stocks, for the return of money to answer their engagements: If that should fail, an universal stoppage of payment would be the consequence.

IF we can suppose such an alarm as to create an apprehension of the loss of the Capital, Foreigners would take the first hint to sell out, and would drain the Banks of all their *Specie*.

THE most can be said of the Public Debts, is, that they are money's-worth ; they cannot with any propriety be called *Money*.



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