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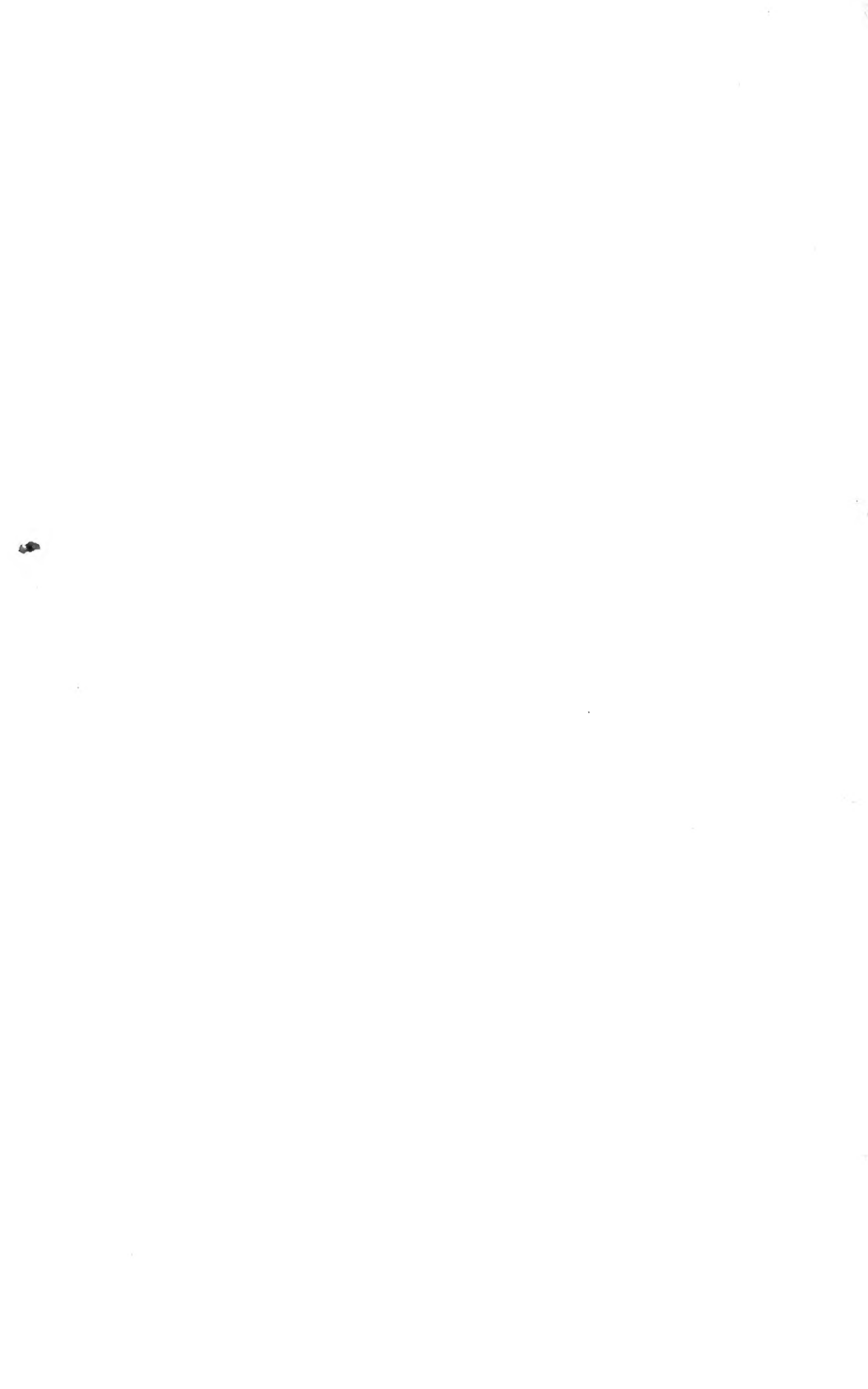














THE  
ANNUAL REGISTER,  
OR A VIEW OF THE 117  
HISTORY,  
POLITICS,  
AND  
LITERATURE,  
For the YEAR 1790.



L O N D O N :

Printed for J. DODSLEY, in Pall-Mall, 1793.



# P R E F A C E.

**T**HE great importance to all nations and people of the most extraordinary Revolution which ever yet marked the various history of mankind, a Revolution which has already produced effects that are sensibly and unfortunately felt in every quarter of the globe, and which is still capable, in its possible consequences, of mocking all calculations framed by wisdom, or founded on experience, with respect to their extent and duration, has, in our present Work, called forth our utmost powers of diligence, enquiry, and attention, to trace and delineate the circumstances attending so great and so singular an event. Nor was this by any means an easy task. For, though the sources of information were beyond all example and measure redundant and voluminous, yet they possessed properties little favourable to the formation of history; being generally framed and calculated merely for the purposes of misrepresentation and deception; their variety, contradictions, and number, all tended to increase the difficulty of discovering the truth. From such heaps of inert or doubtful matter, where  
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the clearing away of whole bushels of chaff, was frequently not rewarded by a single seed of wholesome grain, we have endeavoured to compress within the narrow compass of our prescribed limits, such an abstract of the History of the French Revolution, as we trust will not prove unacceptable or unsatisfactory to the Public: requesting our Readers to bear in mind, that it would require an ample folio volume to do full justice to all the parts of which we have here traced the outline.

The time and room taken up by this momentous subject, has of necessity precluded our entering into the detail of other foreign transactions, which, in the usual state of things, would have been deemed objects of principal importance. The conclusion of that ferocious and bloody war between the great powers of the North and East (of the opening, and progress of which, through the two first campaigns, we gave so particular an account in our preceding volumes) shall, with the death of the Emperor Joseph, and some other matters, form a retrospective article in our ensuing volume.

THE  
ANNUAL REGISTER,  
For the YEAR 1790.



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C H A P. I.

*Retrospective view of the affairs of France towards the close of the year 1789. State of Paris. Sudden and frequent revolutions in the government and constitution of that metropolis. Body of electors appointed for the present, to supply the place of the former regal and municipal authorities. Laudable conduct of the electors, and great benefits derived from it, in preserving some degree of order and peace in that city. Incidents which led to their being exposed to imminent danger, through the caprice and the suspicious disposition of the people. Seemingly apprehensive of this change of temper, they had the fortune previously to secure a retreat, by inducing the people to elect 120 deputies, who were to be their temporary successors. The division of Paris into sixty districts, for the better conducting of the late elections for deputies to the states, productive of many consequences favourable to the revolution, as well as to the establishment of form and order. In each of these districts general assemblies were held, whose resolutions carried the effect of laws, and the most sovereign acts of authority for the government of the district, were dispensed by its own administration. Thus, Paris was rather to be considered as a confederacy, composed of sixty independent democratical republics, than as one commonwealth. A few demagogues assume the lead in all these districts, and being supported by the lower orders, soon oblige people of character to absent themselves from these assemblies. Instances of the noise, disorder, and tumult, which prevailed at these meetings. New republican clubs, who have their appendant societies in every town of France, soon become rulers of the mobs and demagogues of Paris, and at the same time dictators to the national assembly.*

writer of credit, that falsehoods and forgeries were the great and constant resources of the cabals in Paris. Parisians noted for credulity, and at the same time for the extreme suspiciousness of their nature. Similar instances of credulity in the provinces. The excessive liberty and unbounded licentiousness of the press, a powerful instrument of the revolution. The literati of Paris estimated at 20,000, and these dictated to the rest of the nation. Unaccountable and indefensible supineness of the ministers, with respect to the press. Strange and fatal blindness of the two first orders of the state. Famine, as a cause of general discontent, another powerful instrument of the revolution. Real or imputed conduct of the duke of Orleans. National assembly seriously alarmed at the conflagrations and massacres which were spreading desolation and ruin through many parts of the kingdom, the nobility being hunted down like wild beasts in several of the provinces. This impression of terror, produces the extraordinary events of the 4th of August. The viscount Noailles, and the duke d'Aiguillon, make speeches in the assembly, in which they propose substantial redress and relief to the peasantry, by relinquishing and abolishing those parts of the feudal rights and duties, which lay the heaviest on, or were the most complained of by, that order of men. A sudden fit of enthusiasm spreads at once through the two first orders, and the only contest after seemed to be, who should sacrifice the most, and who should be the first to offer; while the commons seemed lost in astonishment and applause. It was in an instant decreed, that all imposts should be equally and equitably laid on; that all the feudal services should be redeemable at an equitable price; and that personal servitude should be abolished for ever, without any purchase. These are followed by a sacrifice of the exclusive rights of the chace, of fishing, of warren, and of dove-cotes. The parish priests make an offering of all their parochial perquisites, and the beneficiaries bind themselves never to hold a plurality. Various other resolutions passed on the same night, each of which was from that moment considered as an irrevocable decree, and afterwards made the foundation of a formal law. Assembly decree a medal to be struck, to commemorate the acts of this glorious night. They likewise confer on the king the title of Restorer of the Liberties of France. Solemn Te Deum celebrated, at which the king and the national assembly assist. Astonishment and dismay of the clergy, after the great sacrifices which they had voluntarily made, upon a motion for the sequestration of their tithes. Debates renewed with great violence on the following day. Cause of the clergy eloquently and ably defended by the Abbe Sieyes. In general they stand firmly in support of their rights. Debate, after much tumult, adjourned late at night. Means used during the remainder of the night, and the morning, to bring over the heads of the clergy to a consent. Archbishop of Paris, in the name of his brethren, surrenders all the tithes of the church into the hands of the nation. His short speech on that occasion. The old provincial names, distinctions, peculiar rights, and privileges, determined to be abolished, and the whole nation consolidated into one compact body, and under one equal form of government. Deputies of privileged towns and districts make a surrender of their charters and municipal documents. Provinces which possessed a right of taxing themselves, renounced that right and their

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*states together; and the parliaments were annihilated as well as the provincial states. All fees and taxes to the court of Rome for ever abolished. Some observations on the precipitancy, with which sixteen laws of the utmost moment were hurried through in one night; as well as on the bad effect of passing laws by acclamation. Nobility and clergy in the provinces highly discontented with the conduct of their delegates on the 4th of August, in making such vast sacrifices without their consent. Several members of the assembly likewise repent their own concessions, and become equally dissatisfied. Landed proprietaries at length take up arms in their own defence, and repress the barbarous ravages of the peasantry. King appoints a new ministry, with the approbation of the assembly. Distressed state of the public, through the failure of the taxes. Loans attempted and fail. Scheme of patriotic contributions adopted.*

AS the city of Paris already possessed, or was fast advancing to the possession of the real power and authority of the nation, without a direct nominal assumption of its government, and the exercise of that power was rendered less distasteful and invidious to the provinces and to the people at large, by its passing through the medium of the national assembly, which was apparently responsible for measures in which it acted little more than a secondary part; it may not perhaps be unnecessary to make some inquiry, how that authority, which was thus paramount to all others in so great and extensive an empire, and so immense a population, was itself constructed, regulated, and directed. We shall likewise take notice of some corresponding circumstances and causes, which were either overlooked in our last volume, or did not at the time come within our knowledge, but which tended in a less or greater degree to facilitate the accomplishment of a revolution, which, taken in all its parts, is without example in the history of cultivated nations, and of long-established governments.

In the course of about three weeks, that vast and turbulent metropolis,

which was destined to give the law to a whole empire, had undergone no less than three revolutions in its own constitution of government. Having in the first instance thrown off all established authority, whether derived from the sovereign or from their own municipal institutions, the capital seemed exposed a prey to every species of disorder, violence, and of the most unbounded anarchy. In this alarming and dangerous state, it happened most fortunately for that city, and probably saved it from continual scenes of plunder and massacre, that the better order of citizens perceived within their reach the means of establishing, at least, a temporary authority, which might tend to preserve order and to afford security. The body of constituent electors, who returned the deputies from Paris to the state, were of course composed of the principal citizens in their respective districts; they amounted to about three hundred, and luckily for the capital, possessed in a high degree the good opinion and confidence of the people. On these the opulent and better part of the citizens immediately cast their eyes, as capable of forming a central, effective, and what, with any other people to manage, might

might well have proved a permanent body of magistracy. There were sufficient causes on which to found this expectation of permanence; for the electors were in fact, in their several districts, the direct representatives of the people, being elected by them, which the deputies at Versailles were not, they being created by the three hundred, and holding a very remote connection with the people at large, to whom they were but little known, and to whom they were not bound by any obligation. It was however happy, that these considerations operated powerfully upon the bulk of the people in the first instance, thro' which the government of the capital was for some days carried on smoothly enough, and the authority of the new magistracy would have seemed complete, if it had not been for those occasions of murder or massacre which called forth the ferocity of the rabble, when all laws, government, and authority, and all respect to persons, were trampled under foot.

The electors were too sensible of the critical situation of affairs, and too well acquainted with the disposition of the people for whom they were to act, to be at all solicitous for the pre-eminence to which they were called; on the contrary, it was at the earnest solicitation and repeated entreaties of the most valuable part of their fellow-citizens, that they ventured upon the arduous task of governing the capital. Their conduct was such, during the short continuance of their power, as to gain the approbation of all the sober part of the citizens; and for a few days, the applause which they received even from the rabble was boundless, and the merit and im-

portance of their services were universally acknowledged; nor did their subsequent conduct afford any fair ground of censure.

But the natural levity and inconsistency of the Parisians, their gross ignorance, their mortal abhorrence of subordination, and above all, that horrid suspiciousness of temper, which induces them to imagine treachery or villainy in the most indifferent, the most innocent, or the most praise-worthy actions, rendered it impossible for any man or set of men long to preserve their favour, or to conduct their business in any manner which could afford satisfaction, and which would not even in the conclusion be attended with imminent danger. We have shewn in our last volume the narrow escape which the electors had from the suspicious rage of the multitude, when, on account of the impression made on their humanity by Neckar's eloquence in favour of Bezenval, and of a similar disposition operating on themselves to endeavour to heal the bleeding wounds of the nation by a general amnesty, the rabble conceived these acts of wisdom and virtue to be so flagrant an invasion of their new sovereignty, and like other despots not enduring any partners in power, that they were on the point of carrying their resentment to the extremity of punishment. Indeed, it seemed clear, that nothing less than the fortunate and instantaneous perception of their danger, which struck the electors, and the consequent immediate dereliction of their seats and authority, was likely to preserve their persons from the summary execution of the lanthorn, or their houses and property from destruction.

It seemed, however, as if the

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body of electors had either some previous notice that the tide was beginning to turn, or that they had so perfect a knowledge of the temper and disposition of their new masters, that they foresaw to a degree of certainty the event which was to take place; for, some days before this final issue, while they were yet loaded with praise, and that all seemed to acknowledge the importance of their services, they called a meeting of the several districts, and proposed to, and succeeded in persuading them, to elect 120 deputies, who should constitute a temporary administration, and who might in the mean time form a scheme for a future permanent municipal government. Nothing could have been more judicious or more fortunate than this measure. When the day of evil and of danger arrived, the new administration filled up the chasm which their sudden dereliction of office would have made, and by obviating the confusion which must otherwise have taken place, afforded the electors an opportunity to retire with the less notice or observation, and to seek for shelter and oblivion in the mass of the people. But neither their prudence, caution, nor the timely and signal proof which they had given of their disinterestedness, were sufficient to preserve them from the most virulent invective and abuse, nor from the dangerous charge of ambitious designs, which they directed to the prolongation and increase of their power.

Among the novelties for which the late elections of deputies to the states had given occasion, one of the most essential, and which was indeed productive of consequences that were at the time little thought

of, was the new division of Paris into sixty districts, which then took place. This measure, which was intended merely to facilitate the elections, held out an outline of form and order which could not be overlooked, and which was turned to great account in the succeeding convulsions. The easy means which it afforded of summoning the people of each district to conference or action upon the shortest notice was instantly perceived; and the committee of electors which, in the beginning, presided in each, besides introducing habits of regularity and order, were the means of passing resolutions, or decrees, for the preservation of internal quiet, and the security of person and property. By this means much of the violence and confusion which must otherwise have taken place was prevented; and to this cause, and not to any superior virtue in the people, (to which it has been causelessly assigned) we are to look for that appearance of order and government which was observable at the commencement of the revolution, and for some time after.

In each of these districts general assemblies were held, at which every inhabitant was permitted to speak and vote; and each formed permanent committees of police and administration. These assemblies framed resolutions, which carried the force and effect of laws in their individual districts, and in as many others as they could induce to coincide with them; they likewise issued proclamations, granted passports, stopped and examined carriages and passengers, opened packages, and were beyond measure anxious and vigilant in the exercise

of a most teasing and vexatious inquisition, which reached to every thing, and which nothing could evade or resist.

But the absence or loss of influence of the electors was soon followed by the departure of every degree of decency and decorum from these meetings. It has been asserted by credible observers, that it would be impossible for a native of any other country to form even a remote conception of the noise and tumult which prevailed in these assemblies; and that the foreigner who could for any length of time withstand the pressure of the former upon his senses, need never give any other demonstration of the soundness of his head, or the firmness of his nerves. All the boldest and most impetuous of the speakers, to the amount sometimes of a hundred, were to be seen at the same instant, straining their lungs together, each endeavouring to drown the voices of his competitors, and hoping that he alone would be heard. Yet this contention of noise, this confusion of voices, so totally unintelligible to all strangers, was so far understood by the surrounding crowd, whose organs of hearing and perception seemed endued with powers calculated for the purpose, that the general clamour was frequently increased, or the jarring discord of the haranguers entirely interrupted, by the loud shouts of approbation, or the deep roar of execration and threat, which they occasionally drew forth. The ingenious device of one of the presidents of these assemblies, will perhaps afford a clearer idea of the disorder which prevailed in them than any description. This man had a drummer constantly station-

ed at the back of his chair, and when the noise and tumult rose to such a pitch as to be insupportable, and that all his efforts to produce order and silence were totally disregarded, he gave the signal for beating the drum, which was done with such vigour and effect, as soon to overpower all other noises; and this was continued, until the people shewed some signs of recovering their temper and reason.

In this state of things, Paris was rather to be considered as a confederacy between sixty distinct democratical republics, than as one commonwealth, or as acting under one simple form of government. Each individual district was independent in its own administration, and allowed no superiority of distinction or authority to any other. Upon sending deputies from one of these departments to confer with or make any proposal to another, it was laughable, if not ridiculous, to behold the mimic forms of state ceremonial which were observed on both sides, the deputies being treated with all the observance and honours which could have been shewn by one sovereign power to the ambassadors from another. In process of time, a few of the most turbulent, noisy, and generally profligate demagogues, became the leaders in every assembly, and leading the multitude as they pleased, all power in every department came by degrees to be virtually lodged in their hands; while the serious and better part of the citizens abstained from going to these tumultuous meetings, where, besides being stunned by the noise and clamour, they were exposed to the grossest insults from the lowest of the rabble.

Thus, by degrees, the government

ment of a million of people, who, having thrown off all established authority and subordination, fancied themselves free, and who, it might without much hyperbole be said, had gone mad in their pursuit of liberty, became placed in the hands of a few hundreds of the most worthless among themselves; men equally destitute of character, property, principle, and the most common portion of moral, political, or general knowledge. These, however, naturally became the instruments of men of much greater knowledge and capacity, but as little troubled with scruples or principle as themselves. The new republican clubs, of which the Jacobins became the most noted, and who had their dependent societies, ready to execute their orders upon the shortest notice, in every town of France, were composed of the most turbulent, daring, and hot-headed men in the kingdom, or perhaps that existed in any country. Many of these were adepts in the new philosophy, and all of them sufficiently learned in the new visionary theories of government, as to be capable of spreading confusion and anarchy through all mankind, so far as their influence or communication could possibly be extended. All the republican party, the most visionary theorists, and the boldest innovators in the national assembly, became members of this club; and it soon became the fashion that all laws, all measures, and all business brought forward in that body, were first discussed, prepared, and digested by the Jacobins, whose sanction was the sure passport to success. Being thus doubly fortified, ruling the tumultuous rabble

in the sixty departments of Paris through the instrumentality of the demagogues, who excited them to whatever pitch of outrage and violence they were directed, on the one hand; and governing the national assembly itself by a decided majority, as well as by the terror with which they struck the moderate party, on the other, their power seemed to be unbounded; the more especially, as it was extended through every part of the nation by their deputies and emissaries. Those of the club, whether members of the assembly or not, who were the most violent in their republican principles, and the most distinguished for their invincible animosity to monarchy in all its forms and relations, which they detested so much as not to endure even the name of king, but substituted the terms despot and tyrant in its stead, held the first place among the Jacobins, and gave the tone to all the rest.

It may be easily judged how small and precarious a share of authority the new temporary municipality could hold in such a state of things, and with such a people. Nor have any of the changes which have since taken place in that capital, in any degree bettered its condition, either with respect to general government, to private happiness, or to personal security. On the contrary, the ancient order of things has not been more completely subverted with respect to public affairs, than to domestic concerns, to the government and order of families, and to the several duties and relations by which their members were connected. Men and women seemed to have changed their nature; and both sexes, with

all ages and conditions, to be thrown into one undistinguished mass of general confusion.

It appears from the letters published under the name of Groenvelt, who says he was present when many of the transactions which he relates took place, (and who, though professedly a German, was a great admirer of the revolution, as well as a strong democrat in principle) that falsehoods and forgeries were the constant resources and favourite weapons of the cabals in Paris. Some of the instances which he mentions in support of this assertion are so curious, and at the same time throw so much light upon the history of the time, that we shall insert them. In writing to his supposed friend he says, "You cannot form an idea of the impudence, with which the most palpable lies are published and propagated among the people. The most positive assertions, the most minute detail of facts, the strongest appearances of probability, are made to accompany the grossest falsehoods. Flesselles was the victim of a pretended letter, which every body could repeat by heart, but which no body has ever seen. Of the letter which is the only evidence against Bezenval, there are in Paris a thousand copies, but no original. No sooner is it whispered in some obscure corner, that a certain monastery is a magazine of arms, or of corn, than the report spreads with rapidity, gathers strength, becomes a matter of certainty, and yet the moment the house is examined the whole is found to be groundless. The con-

vent of Montmartre has been twice beset by twenty or thirty thousand men, who threatened it with destruction, for having engrossed the provender of Paris; but no sooner was it searched, by commissioners authorized for the purpose, than it appeared that it had barely provision enough to supply the house."——

"At one moment it is affirmed, that the aristocratical conspirators have thrown a vast quantity of bread into the Seine; at another, that they mowed the green corn; a party of the national guard is immediately sent to the field, where the crime is said to have been committed, and finds the corn standing, and affording the prospect of an abundant harvest. In short, the public is overwhelmed with lies and calumnies, and a prudent man can scarcely give credit to any thing that he has not seen himself."

And again, "Many of these falsehoods have certainly been deliberately fabricated to serve party purposes; and some men, who probably mistake a disregard of all moral obligations for profound policy, have been audacious and infamous enough to publish falsehoods with the solemnities of laws. Letters have been forged in the name of the national assembly, and edicts in that of the king, exhorting the peasants to destroy the patents and pedigrees of the nobility, and to burn their castles. The effect of these forgeries is already seen in the ruins and ashes to which some of the finest buildings in Dauphiny, Franche Compté, Britanny and Burgundy, have been reduced\*."

Thus far Groenvelt; and this

\* See Groenvelt, English translation, p.p. 209, 210, and 211; letter dated August 15th, 1789.

charge of the continued fabrication and propagation of public falsehoods has been more or less confirmed or acknowledged, by perhaps every writer who has given a narrative, with any appearance of impartiality, of the progress of the revolution. Certain authors, or publishers, however, of our own country, have adopted some of the grossest and most absurd falsehoods, some of the most ridiculous tales, which had been fabricated for the rabble in Paris during the first paroxysms of confusion, tumult, and madness, and to which they have endeavoured, so far as they were capable, to give the character, rank, and weight of historical facts. Of this class is particularly to be considered the injurious and cruel falsehood, that the unfortunate and murdered Launay, had treacherously enticed a number of Parisians into one of the courts of the Bastille; where he then had them massacred in cold blood. This horrible and wicked invention produced (as we have formerly shewn) its odious purposes at the time; in the first instance, by exciting the animosity of the populace, and spurring them on to that pitch of outrage and cruelty which was intended; and in the second, by holding out some palliation for the inhuman murder of the governor, and representing it to the world as an act of just retribution for his treachery. The pleasant tale of the heroic barber, who found himself so deeply involved in the weighty concerns of empire, that he attempted to blow the Bastille and himself up together, though it seems intended only as a companion to the former, certainly possesses many advantages over it; for besides its being to-

tally innocent, and undoubtedly affording much satisfaction to the members of that fraternity, some of whom it may possibly stimulate to similar deeds of chivalry, it has the positive merit of being an unique in that species of composition. It affords, however, an important and happy security to the veracity and purity of future history, that as such productions can seldom last long enough to reach posterity, there is no great danger of their hereafter contaminating the clear stream in which it should flow.

Paris had ever been noted for the blind credulity, and at the same time the suspicious nature of its inhabitants. These qualities, so directly opposite, seemed undoubtedly to be oddly joined in the same persons; but yet the fact is said to be so; and those who knew them well have asserted, that while, from time immemorial, they had swallowed, and seemed nearly to live upon, an eternal succession of the most absurd and improbable tales and stories, plain undisguised truth was always received with caution and doubt, and supposed to conceal some guile, deception, or danger. The extreme general ignorance of these people; with respect to every thing beyond their own walls, (which was perhaps without example in any country of equal civilization, and so productive of men eminent in arts, sciences, and learning, as France) had long afforded matter of observation to travellers, and of ridicule to poets and satyrists. A consideration of these circumstances will tend much to account for and throw light upon many parts of the present and future conduct of that extraordinary people, which would otherwise have appeared

appeared inconsistent or unintelligible.

It must, however, be acknowledged, that the same blind credulity, and the same vitious natural suspiciousness of temper, prevailed throughout every part of the kingdom, and must be ascribed to the same cause, the extreme ignorance of the people. Some instances in proof are at all times necessary to support general observation; and a few out of a great number will suffice for the present purpose. The first was the impossible charge laid against the queen, that she had procured the construction of a well-charged mine under the hall of the national assembly, in order to blow the states, without distinction, at once into the air; this ridiculous story was not only verbally propagated throughout the kingdom, but a letter asserting the fact, and said to have been written by one of the deputies to the states, was, at about 300 miles distance from Paris, publicly averred by several persons to have been seen and read by them. The fact was believed by all who heard it; which drew the following observation, in his own peculiar way, from our countryman Arthur Young, who was present at the recital, and the authority given: "Thus it is in revolutions, one rascal writes, and 100,000 fools believe." Another instance was, the risque which the same writer, and an old woman, his guide, encountered, on a suspicion that they were combined with the queen in a conspiracy against the volcanic rocks and mountains of Auvergne, and that he was the acting agent for blowing up the town of Clermont. The danger at this time, however ridiculous, was

only trifling when compared with that which he sustained shortly after; he being then seized in bed at midnight by a party of armed militia, on the very serious and alarming charge, of his being a party in the conspiracy formed by the queen, the count d'Artois, and (their own lord) the count d'Entraques, against the territory of the Vivarois. The fortune he had of being extricated from this difficulty and danger, does not at all weaken the evidence which it affords of the extraordinary ignorance, credulity, and the unaccountably suspicious nature of the people. Such instances would have excited some surprize if they had occurred in the interior and less frequented parts of Arabia; but that they should be displayed in the center of Europe, in its oldest monarchy, and in a country long and deservedly eminent for information and knowledge, can scarcely be considered as less than wonderful. They however afford full demonstration, that no great portion of art or address was necessary to the endowment of those who were destined to play upon such instruments.

The unbounded licentiousness of the press, which was carried to an extreme before unknown under any government, was a most potent instrument of the revolution. Nor was its licentiousness more extraordinary, than the unceasing industry with which it was eternally supplied with an inexhaustible source of the most dangerous and inflammatory matter, subversive of all order and government, was astonishing. For amidst the general darkness and ignorance which involved the people at large, there was a numerous portion of men who dedicated, or seemed

to dedicate their lives to the pursuit of literature. Of these the capital alone was computed to contain twenty thousand; including no doubt a considerable number of those persons who assumed the name of literati, because they had nothing to do, and could not class under any other description. This 20,000, however, from the advantage of their being concentrated in the capital, gave the law in matter of opinion, or at least in what ever related to government and the new philosophy to the whole nation.

The theories now published were derived from the tenets of Rousseau, Voltaire, and the other fathers of that philosophy. They were in general abstract, visionary, unintelligible, or impracticable; and the authors seemed to have run wildly in the pursuit of an imaginary phantom of perfection, which neither did nor could exist. They went not only to the subversion of government under all its known forms, but to the loosening all the bands of civil society, and destroying its harmony, beauty and order. All the wisdom of past ages, philosophers, and legislators, all that could be derived from the practical experience of unnumbered ages and nations, in their exertions to promote or secure the felicity of mankind, were now set at nought, to make way for the reveries of the new illuminators, who despised all experience, and disdained all wisdom but their own. It seemed as if the pages of past history had been for ever closed, and that their knowledge was totally forgotten, or that a new generation of men was just created, who were to be-

gin every thing in this world anew.

Of all the heavy charges which have been laid against those ministers to whom the king had the irretrievable misfortune of entrusting the administration of public affairs, in none were they more faulty, nor in no instances, excepting only the affair of the double representation, and the absorption of the three orders into one, were their errors or conduct more fatally ruinous, than in the shameful and unaccountable supineness with which they beheld the flame which was spreading from the licentiousness of the press through every part of the kingdom, without their using a single exertion to correct the cause, or to counteract the effect.

The enormity was accordingly carried to an extent beyond all example in any country. The numerous presses in Paris hourly groaned under the number of seditious and levelling pamphlets which they were continually bringing forth. Indeed their number was scarcely credible; 13, and even 16 different pamphlets in one day, were no matter of surprize; and 92 came out in one week; while the avidity for reading and procuring them was so great, that it was a matter of some difficulty to enter the booksellers shops they were so constantly crowded. The price of printing had accordingly risen in the capital to something near three times its customary rate per sheet; and yet the presses in every part of France were said to be at the same time equally occupied. But the most extraordinary circumstances were the amazing dispatch with which these innumerable productions were spread from

from the capital through every part of the kingdom, and the unknown fund by which the vast expences of the distribution were supported; the great body of the people being supplied with them gratis.

While these poured forth an unceasing torrent of abuse upon government, and were continually disseminating principles which went equally to the overthrow of the monarchy, and to the utter annihilation of the two first orders of the state, the three parties whose existence were at stake, the court, the nobles, and the clergy, seemed as if they had been involved in a general stupor, without action, feeling, or life. Not a single writer of ability or eminence was engaged to refute the doctrines which were thus assiduously spread, or to counteract the poison which they so widely diffused. The few solitary volunteer pamphlets which appeared on that side, being written by men without parts or information, possessed no interest or spirit to allure readers, and could have produced no effect if they had. That written by the bishop of Meaux, and perhaps some one or two more of character, being too few to be considered as an exception.

The famine, which was sorely felt, though in a less or greater degree, in every part of the kingdom, may be considered as a main spring in accelerating all the movements of this singular revolution. Men in want of bread, necessarily execrate and abhor that state of things which produces their misery. They are little disposed to enquire into natural, or to trace remote causes, as the source of their distress; they find less trouble in charging it di-

rectly upon their rulers, and fancy some alleviation to their misery in venting their indignation and malevolence against them, even in words. The present state of things in the other countries in Europe having prevented those supplies from without, which would, in other cases, have been procurable, and the internal stock of provision being deemed insufficient for the subsistence of the inhabitants, the most alert and wisest government, supposing it to be otherwise at ease, and entirely unembarrassed by faction or danger, would have found it a matter of great difficulty to apply any effectual remedy to the evil. But as things stood, the hasty ill-judged regulations, founded upon error, and ignorance of a subject generally ill understood, which were adopted, instead of good, produced the most unfortunate effects. These, however, might have been palliated, if the ungovernable violence of the people, in obstructing the free sale of the markets, and compelling the proprietors to sell their grain at whatever prices they pleased to give, had not completed the evil, and produced an artificial famine while plenty still subsisted. It has been even asserted, that the stock of corn produced this year in the kingdom would have been sufficient, under due regulation, management, and distribution, if not to afford absolute plenty, at least to have prevented any great and pinching want.

In the general ill-temper of the people, continually goaded and irritated by the most urgent and insupportable of all wants, it will be easily seen what advantages the emissaries of the factions possessed in working



working upon their passions; and spread as they were, like the preachers of a new religion, in every part of the kingdom, it will not be wondered at, the ignorance of the multitude being likewise always remembered, that they should have succeeded in prompting them to the greatest acts of outrage and violence.

But the great promoter, cause, and, it might perhaps be said, author of the revolution; the man who, destitute of spirit in himself, possessed and applied the means of communicating energy to millions, and of infusing disaffection and disloyalty in every order of men through that vast and populous kingdom, still remains to be taken notice of. This was no less a person than the first prince of the blood; the man next in succession to the crown, in the case of failure of issue male in the immediate reigning family. The name, character, and conduct of Philip Duke of Orleans are now too notorious, to render any delicacy in treating of them at all necessary. That immense fortune which, under the guidance of wisdom, beneficence, or even the desire of attaining fame, might have been directed to the accomplishment of the noblest and most useful purposes, was now directed to the ruin of his country, to the subversion of its government, and to the extermination of that royal family to which he was so nearly related.

Here then we are to find a solution for many things which would otherwise appear unaccountable, or remain hid in absolute darkness. From hence it was that the gardens of the Palais Royale and all the open places of Paris were stocked with hungry, ignorant, and abandoned orators, and covered with riotous

mobs, who sucked in from these preachers every thing that could corrupt and poison the mind, and not only eradicate every moral principle, but destroy all the native feelings of humanity. Thus likewise was the ferocity of the Dames du Halle, and of all the other female furies of the capital, called into action; until the sex, seeming to have totally changed its nature and character, was degraded and stained by atrocities, without example in any civilized country. And thus a numerous army of ragged *Sans Culottes*, of ruffians from the galleys, and from every part of the kingdom, being incorporated with the no less numerous or wicked native brood, were maintained and kept in readiness for the purposes of rebellion, anarchy and murder, as time and occasion should call forth their services.

From the same abundant source of the means of evil, crowds of couriers were dispatched at the same instant of time from Paris to every part of the kingdom, conveying every where the false intelligence, as if proceeding from the first authority, that the aristocrates were raising troops or armies of brigands in order to destroy and massacre the peasants; and calling upon the latter to prevent the danger by immediately taking up arms and destroying their enemies, the nobility in the first instance; an injunction which they most willingly and effectually complied with. In the same manner was the prodigious expence supported, of so long disseminating throughout the kingdom those innumerable seditious publications, which were every day presented to the people. By the same means majorities were secured, and  
several

several of the principal orators and most popular demagogues in the new clubs were retained; and these clubs, as we have seen, by their dependant and corresponding societies, which were established in every town of the kingdom, soon gave the law to the whole nation. Nor was the national assembly by any means free from the operation of the same cause, nor was the effect it produced on many of its members less known.

As the duke's annual revenues, great and royal as they were, and his fund of ready money, which was probably considerable, were still unequal to the supply of these numberless drains, he deemed it necessary to apply to other sources. Indeed, with such vast objects in view, and after the sacrifice of so much wealth as was already expended, it seemed upon the principles of gaming that it was better to encounter any risque of future evil, than to stop short in such a state of things; and when so much was already staked. Holland always affords money, as well as numberless speculators who wish to turn it to account, and the duke's vast estates seemed to hold out ample security for a loan. The amount of the sums he borrowed is uncertain, and has been rated from £. 300,000 to half a million sterling. The nicest and most difficult calculation would be to estimate the exact quantum of moral and political evil which such a sum, in such hands, was then capable of producing in France.

It is evident that the duke not only totally mistook his own abilities, but that he was as little sensible of the ill effects which his unfortunate character could not but produce, when he adopted the wild idea of

being able to subvert or circumvent all other factions, and of being able to rise upon the shoulders of men, possessing talents infinitely superior to his own, and of rendering them the instruments to the accomplishment of his ambitious views. The natural deficiency of resolution and courage, with which every body knew he was cursed, was, independant of all others, an insuperable bar to his ever becoming, under any change of circumstances, or in any course of events, the ruler of so ungovernable and so outrageous a people. Yet in this blind pursuit he lavished treasures, which, in many past periods, might, by proper application, have amounted in effect to the purchase or gaining of a kingdom.

The justness of an opinion which had been held by many, even early in the revolution, seems to have been much confirmed by the course of subsequent events; viz. that the French, as a nation, were not yet in a state capable of receiving liberty; and that many intermediate preparatory steps would have been necessary to qualify them for so new and so great a blessing. Even Rabaid de St. Etienne, the eloquent apologist for, and advocate of the revolution, amidst all his sins of suppression and misrepresentation, and all the artful colouring which he gives to facts and circumstances, acknowledges, "That the people, "astonished at seeing their chains "broken with such facility, and at "feeling their own strength, abused "that strength in taking vengeance "of their oppressors; and their new "liberty was, as yet, but licentiousness. General hatred, in its blind "rage, sought every where to punish enemies, pointed out to it by "chance

“ chance or by prejudice. A never-ceasing inquietude tormented those freemen born of yesterday; in their necessity for a new order of things, and for a sovereign jurisdiction, they seized and engrossed all jurisdiction to themselves; and several tumultuous assassinations were the fruit of this delirium.”—And a little after, in treating of the two parties which divided the national assembly, he observes, “ that one sentiment, however, predominated there, and that was, the dread of the effects which anarchy, *too long continued*, might occasion.”

We have marked the words *too long continued* as applied to anarchy, from the relation which this passage seems to bear to a serious charge brought against several of the leaders of the national assembly, that they had been the instigators, and in fact the authors, of many of the distractions and enormities which took place in the provinces. Of a number of circumstances and facts from different quarters, and given by different narrators, in corroboration of this point, we shall select one which occurred in Paris, in the beginning of the year 1790, and which is supported by testimony that cannot be called in question. At that time the Count de Marguerite asserted publicly at the Duke of Liancourt's table, and in a numerous company, where near thirty members of the assembly were present, that the late revolt at Toulon had been instigated or supported by members of that body, who acted therein upon the principle “ *that more insurrections were necessary* ;” and this extraordinary charge was listened to by all the deputies pre-

sent, without a single word in denial, refutation, or excuse being offered by any of them\*.

The outrages, conflagrations, and massacres which were spreading desolation through several parts of the kingdom, had, in a shorter space of time than could have been well conceived, risen to such a pitch of enormity, as to communicate alarm and dismay to the national assembly, fortified as it was by the suffrages of the nation, and supported by the numerous army formed in the capital. For in consequence of the forged orders and false intelligence which had been so villainously conveyed to the peasantry, the whole nation was instantly in arms, and these operating upon the ill disposition of the people, and the abhorrence in which they held their ancient masters, it seemed as if no bounds could limit their violence, and no excess of cruelty satiate their revenge. Thus the nobility were in many places hunted down like wild beasts, their family seats or castles demolished, and their patents, pedigrees, title deeds, family settlements, court rolls, and all records of past transactions, destroyed by fire. Happy were those, who even in this state, could escape half naked from the flames, without personal injury. But in too many instances such atrocious acts were committed, that nature shudders and recoils at the recital. The wives of the nobility, it is asserted, were in several instances violated, and their daughters deflowered, in the presence of the unhappy fathers and husbands; and the horrid tragedy frequently concluded by the most inhuman murders, aggravated by circumstances

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\* See Young's Tour, p. 276.

of deliberate and unheard-of cruelty, without regard to age or sex.

We are sorry, for the honour of humanity, that these cruelties are represented as not being in any degree confined to such persons as had previously rendered themselves odious by their pride or oppression; but that on the contrary, the most kind and benevolent landlords and masters, the most humane and charitable to their neighbours and the poor, were exposed to the same fate with those of the most opposite dispositions. A blind rage for indiscriminate plunder, mixed with a passion for mischief, and native cruelty, seemed to have been the most operative motives in many of these violences; it is not, however, to be doubted, but that a spirit of revenge, founded on a strong sense of past injury and oppression, might have operated in a still greater number. There may be some degree of justice in observing, that as ruffians of every order and denomination throughout the kingdom, robbers, galley-slaves, and murderers, lured by the unexpected prospect of safe and general pillage, now held out, had seized this occasion of mixing with the peasants, it is not to be doubted but that they prompted them to the commission of many of their most atrocious and bloody deeds.

Although the spirit of revolt appeared in various and remote parts of the kingdom at nearly the same instant, yet the degrees of violence and cruelty with which it was attended, were widely different in different parts. The northern provinces, and particularly Normandy, were much more temperate than the central and southern. The excesses at Lyons, and in the country which bears its name, rivalled those of Pa-

ris in violence and fury. The province of Dauphiny was in the most violent ferment, and the whole people up in arms. Franche Compté, and part of Burgundy, seemed particularly marked as scenes of desolation. The Bretons, long trained in hostility with their lords, were in a state of absolute rebellion and anarchy. At Strasburg, the Hotel de Ville, or Town House, was totally demolished by the mob, being first plundered of all that appeared to them valuable, the court papers, records, and public archives being carefully destroyed, to the future distress and ruin of numberless families, in the surrounding country, as well as in that city.

In a few places, the gentlemen and other land proprietors had the spirit and sense to unite and stand successfully on their defence. This was the case, though too late, in the Maconnois and Beaujolois, where the banditti, amounting to six or seven thousand, and headed by a village attorney, had already spread destruction along the fertile banks of the Saone, having in a few days burnt seventy-two gentlemen's houses, and plundered all the churches and small towns in their way. A battle took place, in which the enraged proprietaries, with their friends and servants, defeated the plunderers with great slaughter. They then instituted a kind of temporary tribunal at Macon, for trying the ringleaders of the banditti, by whom twenty or thirty of them were sentenced to execution. The democratic publications in Paris cried out loudly against this proceeding, as being highly illegal and arbitrary, although not a word of condemnation had been uttered against the ruffians who had plundered.

dered and burnt so many of the gentlemen's chateaux, nor of pity for the inhabitants of that beautiful country which they had desolated. The national assembly seemed likewise to receive the impression intended by these publications, for in a little time they interfered, by putting a stop to the proceedings at Macon, while a number of atrocious criminals still remained to be tried.

Such was the state of things in the beginning of August, 1789, the assembly being then deeply engaged in framing that memorable declaration of rights, which was to be the foundation of their new constitution, and which they considered as the first and greatest of all their labours; when they were suddenly interrupted by the arrival in one day of expresses or letters from almost every part of the kingdom, with details of the dreadful devastations which were laying waste the face of the country, and which, from their present appearance and violence, seemed to threaten nothing less than speedy and general destruction.

All the landed proprietors in the assembly were in a less or greater degree involved in the calamity; with the material difference, that while many had to lament the destruction of their houses, and the plunder of all their moveable property, others had as yet no farther cause of complaint than the general refusal of the tenantry to pay their rents, or to fulfil any of their other customary duties. The terror was, however, general; and having had leisure during the season allotted for dinner to ruminate upon the doleful details which they received, conflagrations, murders, and massacres

were the only subjects which could be talked or thought of. Nothing could accordingly be more trifling than their appearance in going to the evening sitting; and before the commencement of business, an unusual and extraordinary degree of agitation was visible throughout the assembly. Upon the same principle on which mariners, under the immediate danger of a tempest, will throw much valuable property overboard, in the hope of saving the remainder, so it would seem upon this occasion, that the great land-owners were seized with a sudden impulse of voluntarily sacrificing a large portion of their rights, and possessions, in the hope of retaining thereby quiet and permanent security for what was left. They seemed now likewise generally to adopt the idea, that coalescing heartily and without reserve with the third estate, was become actually essential to their preservation.

Under these or similar impressions, the viscount de Noailles, seconded by the duke d'Aiguillon, opened a scene, which, with respect to its effect and consequences, was perhaps the most extraordinary ever exhibited in any assembly. These noblemen represented with much energy, that the real cause of the present disorders was the misery of the country people, who were overborne by the double oppression of public contributions and feudal duties; that although the lords in general might be lenient and humane, yet their stewards, their judges, their gamekeepers, and their agents, were rigid and tyrannical; that the instant when that force, which was the only foundation of an oppressive government, was destroyed, the whole fabric must naturally be dissolved, and every

every principle of order and subordination overwhelmed in its ruins; that it was therefore necessary to satisfy speedily the claims of the peasantry, lest they should proceed still farther lengths, and despairing of justice in any other manner, assume to themselves the entire means of attaining it; and that to give them the immediate enjoyment of those advantages which they so much desired, was the surest means of attaching them to the revolution. They said they would not, nor ought not to dissemble, that France was at that moment in the last convulsions of departing life; that her existence was prolonged, and her hopes cherished, by nothing else but the attachment of the provinces to, and their confidence in the national assembly; and that nothing could prevent her impending dissolution, but the prompt establishment of a just and free constitution. They both concluded, by proposing that all imposts should be equitably and equally laid on; that the feudal services should be redeemable at an equitable price; and that personal servitude should be abolished, without purchase; with some other articles, all tending to the ease and relief of the peasantry.

Of all the known nations in the universe, perhaps there is no one so susceptible of sudden impressions, and so liable to the most impassioned emotions, as the French are and ever have been. Whatever the objects of pursuit may be, whether the most insignificant trifles, or matters of the greatest importance, the ardour and enthusiasm of the moment seem in all cases to be the same. All description would therefore be defective, in attempting to convey any idea of the transports which these speeches

excited both in the assembly and in the galleries. The very large possessions and extensive royalties of the duke d'Aiguillon, added surprisingly to the effect, and fired every body with a wish to be able in some degree to emulate the magnanimity of his conduct. The contagion spread instantaneously through the two orders of the nobles and clergy, and the contention was only which should be the first to offer, and which should make the greatest sacrifices to the public welfare. The commons seemed lost in admiration at this sudden and unexampled fit of patriotism, and frequently burst into loud and involuntary acclamations of praise and gratitude for the benefits which were thus so unexpectedly and generously conferred on the people. This was particularly the case when the bishop of Chartres, who was himself possessed of very extensive forests, proposed the abolition of the exclusive rights of the chase; which, from the extreme cruelty of the laws by which they were protected, as well as the mischiefs done by the stags, boars, and other game to the farmers, had ever been deemed a grievance of the first magnitude.

The commons lost no part of their temper or judgment in the paroxysms of admiration or applause. They coolly perceived all the advantages that were to be drawn from the present fervour, and determined not to miss any of them, but to obtain every possible concession while it lasted, well aware of the extraordinary change which a few hours cool consideration might produce in many of those who now seemed the most ardent in their enthusiasm. The design was so well conducted that it succeeded perfectly;

perfectly; and, blinded by applause and emulation, nothing could be withheld that was demanded. The feudal services were given up on all sides; and the contest between the nobles and clergy seemed to be, who should be foremost in sacrificing the rights of chase, of fishing, of warren, and of dove-houses. The parish priests, feeling the general impression, and eager to emulate, so far as they were able, the example of their superiors in rank and fortune, rushed forward impatiently to make a free offering of their customary perquisites; while the beneficiaries, disdaining to be left behind in this race for glory and popularity, disclaimed all pluralities, and bound themselves never to hold more than a single benefice.

As if it had been to crown the events of this memorable night, and to afford a proof of the universality of the enthusiasm which then prevailed, the deputies of the *Pais d'état*, with those of several privileged towns, advanced in succession, and with a patriotic eagerness offered up the sacrifice of their antique rights and charters, covering the steps of the bureau with their parchments and pendant seals; while they at the same time proclaimed their desire, that there should be no more provinces; that there should be but one sole nation, one sole family, one sole empire.

In the highest excess of the joy and enthusiasm which were spread through the assembly; both were suddenly checked through the ill-timed, and it might be said insatiate avidity of a member of the commons; who by stretching it too far, seemed upon the point of snapping the bow-string. This member proposed the total abolition of all ma-

nerial jurisdictions. As this did not come at all within the line of intended concession, it could not but occasion a short pause; the nobility, however, agreed to the proposal with a tolerable grace; but one of them instantly returned the favour by moving, that justice should for the future be, in all cases, administered gratuitously, and that judicial offices should no longer be venal. Nothing could have pointed a more direct or vexatious blow at the commons than this motion, which went to cut them off from the only means they possessed of being ever ennobled. That body, however, disdained to be outdone even in the appearances of patriotism; and the other side could not but be surprised at the vehemence of the approbation with which the motion was received and confirmed by the commons.

This circumstance undoubtedly contributed to give rise to that opinion which has been adopted by some, that the business of this celebrated night was neither more nor less than a game of *cross-purposes*, played by the contending parties; that the sacrifices made were mostly dictated by a spirit of revenge, when one party, incensed by the losses it had been made to suffer, proposed to the other acts of generosity by way of punishment; and that they mutually dared each other to concessions, of which those who suggested them expected to enjoy the honour, without feeling the inconvenience.

Whether this opinion may be considered as too refined or not, it is however certain, that under the mixed operation of fear, hope, policy, emulation, enthusiasm, vanity, and impetuosity of temper, several things were done on that night,

which were afterwards, upon cool recollection, sorely regretted; and it is positively asserted, that several of the nobility, who had from the beginning been eminent for their patriotism, and for the share they had taken in forwarding a reform of the old government, were, notwithstanding, so much disgusted by the proceedings of this night, that they immediately abandoned the popular side and party, and ranked from thence among the most violent aristocrates.

The assembly, however, considering this as a complete regeneration of France, decreed that a medal should be struck, in order to immortalize the acts of that great and glorious night; and, transported by the warmth of their passions, and the eagerness of their zeal, they conferred upon the king the flattering and glorious, but short-lived title of *Restorer of the Liberty of France*; and ordered a deputation to present him with the decrees, with the homage of his regenerated kingdom, and to address him by his new title. When La Chapelier, the president, and the deputation, had addressed the king, he concluded his answer to them with the following words; "Let us go and return thanks to God, for the generous sentiments which prevail in your assembly." A solemn Te Deum was accordingly celebrated, and attended by the whole assembly, La Chapelier, (the leader and founder of the famous Breton club, so determinedly inimical to monarchy) walking as president, though a commoner, by the side of the king, and thus, it is observed, properly supporting the majesty of the people. It is

likewise observed by the same writer \*, that this was the first benediction of religion over the birth of liberty.

It is remarkable that the concessions made by the clergy, considerable as they were, and freely offered, did not procure them the smallest mark of favour or acknowledgment, some noisy and transitory marks of immediate approbation excepted, from either the nobles or the commons. On the contrary, there were strong indications, both then and after, that they were destined outcasts from both parties; and all the joy, triumph, and good-humour of the 4th of August was wound up by a motion, succeeded by an earnest debate which lasted till morning, for the suppression of their tithes.

This debate was resumed on the next day, and continued on the succeeding, and the motion opposed with great vigour. The celebrated Abbe Sieyes, with all his abstract notions of government, was, however, a firm adherent to the rights of the church, at least in those things that related to her establishment and independence, and he opposed this violent invasion of both with great vigour and ability. He had not been present at the first debate, but hearing that it was intended to seize the tithes without an indemnification, he rapidly composed an elaborate written speech, which he carried to the assembly, full fraught with argument, but not more argumentative than acrimonious, strongly urging the violence, oppression, and injustice of the proposed measure, as well as the insecurity and danger to which the precedent would expose all other property; and insisting

\* Rabaut.



that the cause he was supporting was not merely that of the church, but of all property whatever. We are to observe that it was the general mode adopted in the assembly, for the members to write their speeches at home, and to read them in their places, there being as yet very few, not above three or four in the whole, who were capable of delivering their sentiments in an extempore public speech. The abbé, who was usually collected and composed, upon this occasion ascended the tribune in great and visible wrath; but this only served to increase the animation and vehemence with which he urged his arguments. He concluded a very forcible speech by boldly telling the assembly, that "if they wished to be *free*, they should begin by being *just*."

Though the abbé had been no small favourite with the assembly, and his speeches upon other occasions were particularly well attended to, yet his arguments now, instead of producing effect or conviction, were heard with the utmost impatience, and with marks of disapprobation which amounted even to interruption, both by the nobility and commons. Whether his reasonings were so strongly founded, or not, as to afford no room for controverting them, it is certain that the conduct on the other side gave no little countenance to the affirmative opinion, not the smallest attempt being made to refute or to answer any one of his positions. The abbé was so much disgusted, and felt himself so deeply insulted by what he deemed this unworthy treatment, that, if we are rightly informed, he never after took that eager and active part in public affairs which he had previously done.

We are to observe, that through the unaccountable and unexampled rapidity with which such a vast mass of business, had been carried through in the night of the 4th of August, sixteen resolutions of the greatest importance being passed in a few hours, most of which singly would require the cool deliberation of more than one day, assisted by much knowledge and judgment, for its due determination, from this circumstance, as well as from the continual disarrangement of thought, occasioned by the general clamour and acclamation, it became extremely difficult for the most comprehensive mind to catch the nature or object of the subjects which were unexpectedly brought on, and hurried through with little discussion or explanation. The clergy are represented as having been in this state of blindness or ignorance, when the question in which they were so much interested relative to tithes was on that night brought forward. They had generally conceived, from whatever cause it proceeded, that they were to receive a just, or at least a reasonable pecuniary compensation, an idea which afforded the highest gratification to them, as they would thereby be relieved from that odious necessity of taking tithes in kind, which above all things they wished to be exonerated from, and for that purpose would willingly have submitted to no small subtraction from their value on the supposition of a commutation.

But when they found that they were to be stripped of their only means of living, and destined to look for some undefined compensation, which was to depend entirely upon the future degree of benevo-

lence that might happen to operate upon the nation or assembly, nothing could exceed their sense of the wrong, or their indignation at the injury. Nor did the contemptuous treatment which the abbé Sieyès had just experienced, nor the clamour which was opposed to their own arguments and remonstrances, nor even the galling ridicule which occasionally intervened, and would pass a subject, to them much too serious for merriment, off as a jest, at all deter them from contending vigorously for their rights, and sturdily defending their daily bread. It was upon this occasion that one of the country vicars, in the bitterness of his heart, addressed himself to the commons; and calling out, with the highest and most marked indignation, asked, "Was it then to devour us, that you invited us to join you in the name of the God of peace?" It cannot be doubted that a sense of their own conduct in abandoning the nobility, with a recollection of the means used to draw them to that measure, and a galling comparison between the fraternal embraces, along with the flattering title of favours of their country, which they had so lately received, and the immediate ingratitude of those very men by whom they had been so highly caressed and bepraised, and to whom they had in reality done such essential service, must all together have served to embitter the present scene in the most extreme degree.

The debate, if a continued scene of tumult, noise and confusion might be allowed to usurp that name, was continued through the whole day. In vain did a number of the deputies, who wished to get quit of so tiresome a discussion, by that short

decision which consisted only in the counting of heads, and in which they were certain of a majority of two or three to one, call loudly and repeatedly for the question. The disorder was too great, and the passions on both sides too much inflamed, to admit of the coolness and regularity necessary even for a division; so that the business was by common consent adjourned to the following day.

The popular writers not only acknowledge, but seem to mention it as an instance of the activity and ability of the leaders on their side, that the night of the 5th of August, which was that immediately succeeding the debate on tithes, was by no means idly or ineffectively spent. Every engine was set to work, to overcome the obstinacy, or to mollify the minds of the clergy. Hope, terror, and flattery were alternately tried, and each in its turn found a soil fit for its reception, and produced its proper effect. The object in view was to obtain from themselves a formal, and at the same time an apparently voluntary surrender of tithes. In fact, the clergy could not but see, that the union of the nobles and commons against them must of necessity render all their efforts abortive; and it required no great trouble to determine, whether it was not better to submit with a good grace to an inevitable evil, than by a vain, and what would be deemed a pertinacious resistance, to exasperate that power on which they were still destined to rely for support and protection.

In these circumstances, and under these and similar impressions, the point was gained in the course of the night; and at the commencement of

of the sitting on the next morning, the archbishop of Paris, in the name of his brethren, surrendered all the tithes of the church into the hands of the nation; accompanying the surrender with the following short speech: "Let the gospel be preached; let divine worship be celebrated with decency and dignity; let the church be provided with virtuous and zealous pastors; let the poor amongst the people be succoured. This is the destination of our riches; these are the objects of our ministry, and of our wishes: we trust ourselves, without reserve, to a just and generous nation." This sacrifice was received with an affected acclamation of applause, as if any one could be persuaded that it was a free and voluntary gift. It was not an incurious circumstance to observe the sudden change which took place in the countenance and manner of the assembly. That body, so agitated, so noisy, so tumultuous and violent on the preceding day and night, was now so calm, so tranquil and placid, that it was difficult to suppose it composed of the same men.

It cost the assembly several days to digest and frame into laws the resolutions passed on the night of the 4th of August and the transactions and debates of that night are so intermixed, in the published relations, with those which succeeded, and that without any mark of distinction, that it is not easy to assign their proper time or place to some of them. It seems, however, to have been on that night that the deputies from Dauphiny reminded the assembly of the wish declared by that province, that France should no longer remain parcelled out amongst Bretons, Dauphinois, and

Provençaux, but should for the future be inhabited by French citizens only. It was stated, in support of this proposal, that the French had not hitherto been properly a nation, but rather an incoherent and fantastical assemblage of different people, who had fortuitously passed under the same monarchy; some, by virtue of a will, bequeathing them as property; others, in consequence of a marriage, which transferred them as a daughter's portion; and all by different titles, and upon different conditions; all preserving their distinct laws and customs, and having nothing in common, but the disadvantage of suffering all the miseries of servitude, without the solitary recompence of possessing uniform laws and similar interests.

This application was received with great and universal applause; and it was probably upon this occasion that the deputies of several privileged towns and districts made a surrender, as we have already seen, of the charters and municipal documents of the places they represented. But many other of the deputies, being more scrupulous, did not choose to surrender the local privileges of their constituents without consulting them; and although the assembly had already declared or decreed, that no positive instructions from the constituents should be considered as binding; yet upon this occasion they allowed time for their communicating with them. But for the intermediate time a provisional surrender was however made of all exclusive privileges, and it was understood and announced, that there should be one common constitution throughout the kingdom, and that no privilege, or supposed right,

should be admitted to obstruct the attainment of that desired object. The final result was, that every exclusive right and privilege throughout the kingdom was at length resigned. The provinces which possessed a right of taxing themselves, renounced that right, and their states, together; and the parliaments, which had so long been the boast of France, and considered as the able and inflexible guardians of the public rights, were soon annihilated, as well as the provincial states. All the ancient systems of theology and of the schools, together with the canon, political, and ecclesiastical bodies of law, were swept away like cobwebs; as were, with still greater ease, all the claims or supposed rights of the court of Rome, and all fees or taxes heretofore paid to it for ever abolished. In a word, every thing changed its ancient form and aspect.

It was observed, by men of shrewd observation, that however brilliant the generous enthusiasm of the 4th of August appeared, and whatever honour the great sacrifices made by the nobility and clergy to the people conferred on the parties, yet that this new mode of hastily passing the most important laws by acclamation, was fraught with much inconvenience and evil; that it took away from that respect, from that opinion of wisdom, which ever should attend the proceedings of a great deliberative assembly; more particularly the present, engaged as it was in the most arduous task that ever had been committed to the hands of a similar body of men, that of correcting all the abuses accumulated in the course of a long series of past ages, and of framing a new and perfect constitution for the

government of a great and powerful empire, as if it had now been only commencing its existence. They held, that one essential law coolly passed in favour of the people, marked with its proper characteristics of due deliberation, discussion and enquiry, would have produced better effects upon their temper and disposition, and inspired them with higher sentiments of gratitude, than the whole bundle of laws thus precipitately hurried through by the voice of clamour and acclamation. That such a torrent of benefits coming upon them at once, was more calculated to turn their heads, to loosen all the bands of subordination, to eradicate every sense of their respective duties, and to indispose them to every form whatever of government, than to render them good citizens, and useful members of the society, in their proper sphere of life. That these laws should have been promulged, and these benefits communicated gradually, to give them proper effect, and thereby to render them useful; but that in the present ill-chosen season of passing the one, and no less ill mode of dispensing the other, the people must naturally attribute them either to a sudden paroxysm of fear or of madness; and that under this impression, their gratitude on the one hand, and all the good effects which were hoped to proceed from these prodigious concessions, on the other, would be equally superseded. They farther insisted, that independently of all extrinsic considerations, so important and so intricate a body of laws, which went to change the whole law and policy of the nation, to disarrange or dispose of near half its property, and to draw eternal

lines of demarcation between the rights and claims of the rich and the poor, the great and the small, required, whether with regard to their stability, or to the character of the legislators, that none of them separately, much less the whole, should have been passed, without deep thought, calm deliberation, long discussion, close enquiry into facts and consequences, and a vigorous exertion of all the human foresight in looking to possible or probable consequences.

The event was, that the nobility and clergy in the provinces, feeling no part of that enthusiasm which operated on their brethren upon the 4th of August, and being, on the contrary, in the highest degree irritated by the devastation and ruin which they were enduring, were much dissatisfied with, and very generally condemned the conduct of their delegates, in thus hastily sacrificing their rights and property, without their concurrence, and without obtaining the smallest security, either present or future, for their persons, or for whatever still remained of their possessions. On the other hand, the illiterate peasantry, having received only very imperfect accounts, and forming very confused ideas of what had passed in the assembly, yet the mixture of truth and falsehood which reached them, that the feudal system was entirely overthrown, all privileges and distinctions between men for ever abolished, that all open lands were the property of the nation (by which they understood themselves) with that addition, which was received more greedily than any other, that no rents were in future to be paid, these things they thought not only afforded a full justification

of their past violence, but sufficient authority for its continuance; nor is it much to be wondered at, that they should consider these sudden and extraordinary benefits as either the reward or the effect of their own outrages. Under this persuasion they accordingly renewed them with greater violence than ever, being now freed from the dread which had hitherto attended the perpetration of similar crimes. The national assembly passed very severe laws to prevent these disorders, and to punish the offenders; but they not being supported with vigour, and no proper force assigned for carrying them into execution, they produced little effect.

But the proprietaries at length, whose supineness hitherto had been a matter of general astonishment, took up arms in their own defence, and checked the barbarous ravages of the peasantry. To this late-discovered vigour on their side Rabaut attributes the salvation of France; for he observes, that that class of men who had nothing to lose, and every thing to gain in the confusion of revolutions, was thereby deterred from assembling.

As an appearance of some tranquillity and good-temper now prevailed in the court and assembly, the king ventured upon the appointment of a new ministry. The great seal was given to the archbishop of Bourdeaux; the nomination of benefices to the archbishop of Vienne; the war department was committed to M. de la Tour du Pin; while St. Priest and Montmorin, who had been recalled with Neckar, were reinstated in their former offices. The three former were members of the assembly, but they ceased from sitting or voting there after their appointment.

appointment. The assembly expressed great satisfaction at the choice of these ministers, which the king had immediately communicated to them by letter.

It happened unfortunately, that the same evil, which had already proved so fatal to the king and to his administrations, still continued to press upon the executive government with greater weight than it even had done before. The payment of the taxes was generally refused or evaded in most parts of the kingdom, and there was no money to support government or carry on the public business. In this state of things the new ministers demanded an audience of the assembly; and the archbishop of Bourdeaux, as keeper of the seal, having expatiated largely on the disordered and melancholy state of public affairs, M. Neckar, as minister of finance, demanded that the assembly should give its sanction to a loan of thirty millions of livres, as a measure indispensably necessary. The necessity was too evident to admit of a discussion; but some objections were made on account of the instructions which the delegates had received from their constituents, not to grant any subsidies until they had completed the constitution. These objections, however, gave way to the instant and extreme distress of the state for want of money; but this occasion afforded the first instance of the total change which had taken place in the countenance of the assembly with respect to Neckar. Instead of adopting the scheme formed by the financial minister, whose abilities and integrity they had so often extolled in a degree which approached to the hyperbole, they now declared their total want

of confidence in him, by altering his plan, and narrowing the terms which he proposed as an inducement to the lenders for subscribing to the loan. The consequence was natural; the monied men would not part with their cash; and no body subscribed; and by this very ill-judged management the weakness or failure of public credit, which might otherwise have been kept in the dark, was exposed to all Europe. This conduct, however, drew a degree of unpopularity, and even of odium, upon the national assembly, which it did not easily get quit of; for as Neckar did not scruple publicly to vindicate himself, the whole blame fell upon that body, to whom in reality it properly belonged.

Upon this failure, the necessity for money every hour increasing, Neckar was permitted to prescribe such terms as he thought would answer the purpose, for raising a loan of eighty millions of livres, at five per cent. on the credit of a vote passed by the assembly. But the fortunate moment was past, and could not be regained; although the proposals were sufficiently alluring, the subscription hung too heavily on hand to produce the desired effect, and, in fine, was not half filled. In the mean time a scheme of promoting and receiving patriotic contributions was adopted; and, like other novelties in that country, raged for its time as an epidemic. Silver buckles and gold rings were the most common contributions to the assembly; so that in a few days not a silver buckle was to be seen, nor probably many wedding rings to be found, any where in or near Paris. The national assembly themselves, in a sudden

sudden fit of enthusiasm, dismantled all their own shoes one day in a moment. Such was the rage of fashion while it lasted, that the poorest people, even those who were little better than living on charity, presented their offerings. The lowest as well as the higher orders of courtizans were

eminently distinguished for their patriotism on this occasion, freely offering a share of their earnings to the support of the public.—It was undoubtedly the most disgraceful measure, with respect both to the nation and to themselves, that ever was adopted by any body of men in similar circumstances.

C H A P. II.

*King and queen send their gold and silver plate to the mint. Patriotic donations incapable of relieving the necessities of the state. Extraordinary tax decreed, under the name of a patriotic contribution, by which each man was to contribute one fourth of his annual revenue to the exigencies of the state. Loud complaints and violent animosities excited by this partial tax. Embarrassments and difficulties which the national assembly experienced in framing the new declaration of rights. Great debates upon the propriety or inexpediency of adopting the measure. Declaration at length passed and promulgated. Saying of Mirabeau upon the subject. Assembly divided into a number of sections or committees, to each of which is assigned some specified part of the new constitution, on which it is to make a report. Grand question arises, What share of authority it was fitting the king should possess in the new legislature? This operates like a touchstone in trying every man's principles, and compelling him to an open avowal of them. Assembly arranged, face to face, in two great hostile divisions, apparently equal in strength and numbers. Violent contests ensue, and are so long continued, that the people without, and at length the whole nation, become parties in them. State of the parties within and without, who thus divided the assembly and the nation. King's veto, or negative, with respect to the passing of laws, one of the subjects most violently and generally agitated. Populace of Paris interfere openly in the question of the veto; while the crowds in the galleries of the assembly become so daringly audacious, as by hootings and revilings to endeavour to drown the voices, and by insults and menaces to deter from giving their votes all those members who supported the rights of the crown. Long lists of members who were marked for proscription, and destined to be victims to the vengeance of the people, published in Paris, and distributed through every part of the kingdom. Popular fermentation in Paris risen nearly to its highest pitch. The notorious St. Huruge, attempts to have the king, the dauphin, and the national assembly, brought to Paris; but by the spirited exertions of La Fayette, Bailly, and the Hotel de Ville, the leaders are committed to prison, and the seditious quelled. Heavy complaints made to the assembly by several of its members of those treasonable attempts against the freedom of the king, as well as of that body itself; and likewise of the lists of proscription which were published, and of the incendiary letters by which they were continually menaced with destruction; but Mirabeau with his faction turn the whole complaint into ridicule. Numberless charges of supposed plots and conspiracies now made against the royalists; which effectually answer one purpose, in exciting a general*

a general alarm and ferment through the nation. The Parisians, in particular, become again dangerously outrageous, and every thing bears the same aspect as in the preceding months of June and July. In this state of affairs, the king, ever wishing to preserve or restore tranquillity, sends Neckar with a proposal to the assembly, declaring that he would be contented with a suspensive veto, whose operation should not last longer than one or two legislatures. This proposal received with satisfaction; and it was decreed, that the royal suspension should continue during two legislatures. Great debates on the question, whether the national assembly should be composed of one or two chambers. Question at length carried for a single chamber by a prodigious majority. Members obliged to procure certificates how they had given their votes, to preserve their houses and families from destruction. Assembly decree, that the legislative body shall be renewed every two years by elections. Receive a letter from the king, containing his objections to certain parts of some of the new laws, which occasions much discontent in the assembly. King obliged to give his sanction simply, and without comment, to the laws in question. Things tending fast to an extraordinary crisis both in Paris and Versailles. Assembly, however, confirm the hereditary succession of the crown; and declare the king's person sacred and inviolable. Arrival of the regiment of Flanders at Versailles, the cause or pretence of the ensuing mischiefs. Entertainment given by the officers of the king's life guards to those of the new corps, productive of much licentiousness and folly. This banquet occasions a violent ferment both at Paris and Versailles. Numerous army of women, after plundering the town house, and supplying themselves with arms and artillery, march from Paris to Versailles. Are followed by unnumbered bands of ruffians. And not long after by La Fayette, at the head of a considerable army of the national guards. Events of the 5th and 6th of October. King and royal family led captive to Paris. Tumult in Paris, and the murder of a baker, soon after the arrival of the national assembly, occasion the greatest alarm and apprehension in that body. Severe decree passed, by which the magistrates are empowered to proclaim martial law, and to proceed to the last extremities in repressing the future outrages of the mob. La Fayette procures the Duke of Orleans' departure to England.

**I**N the pinching scarcity of money which now prevailed, the king and queen sent their gold and silver plate to the mint for coinage. We had originally understood this to have been, in the present spirit of the time, a patriotic donation, intended to give a sanction and countenance to the offerings of silver trinkets, small sums of money and pieces of plate which were continually made. But it appears from Neckar, who could not be mistaken, that this measure proceeded from mere absolute poverty

in the royal personages, who were obliged to destine the plate to be converted into current coin for the relief of their immediate necessities.

It soon appeared, and might have been easily foreseen, that the patriotic offerings were totally incapable of relieving the public necessities, which were of too vast a magnitude to be at all affected by such trifling resources: so that the danger of a public bankruptcy, and of a total cessation of all the operations of government, could not but strike



strike every mind with apprehension; the taxes being almost entirely unproductive, and no means appearing for supplying their place with an adequate substitute. It was in this state of hard and trying difficulty, when the greatness of the necessity seemed almost to afford a sanction to any measure that might be pursued for obtaining relief, that Neckar ventured to lay before the assembly the scheme for a supply, which the boldest minister that ever lived, and in the most despotic government, would perhaps have hesitated at adopting. This was the extraordinary contribution of the fourth part of each man's yearly revenue, to be paid at different assigned periods during the course of three years. The estimate of each man's income, and consequently the amount of the sum which he was to contribute to the state, being left to his own honour.

It was surely a singular case, that a tax almost without example in the most arbitrary governments, should have been passed by a body of men, not only highly republican, but who were the avowed assertors of liberty. The peculiar situation of the assembly will, however, explain this circumstance. They were already labouring under great and general odium on account of the failure of Neckar's first scheme for raising money by a loan, which was entirely and justly charged to their injudicious and wanton interference in the business. At the same time, instant bankruptcy, with all its fatal consequences, were staring them full in the face; and if they rejected the present plan, they would have made themselves thereby answerable for all the evils that might follow. Mirabeau's eloquence was,

however, necessary to make the decree pass glibly through the assembly; although he took care to insinuate, in a manner which could not be misunderstood, that Neckar possessed neither his confidence nor esteem.—It was too late now for the assembly to reflect, that much of the public distress proceeded from their own extraordinary, and as it proved unfortunate declaration, which taught the people to consider all the present taxes as illegal, from their not being laid on by their representatives.

Nothing was, however, left undone by the assembly, which could tend to render this scheme of supply palatable; and to prevent its assuming the odious denomination of a tax, it was represented entirely as a patriotic contribution, or donation. An address to the nation was likewise passed, stating the necessity of her making great sacrifices in cases of great emergency. But neither these measures, nor a knowledge that the scheme of this tax originated with Neckar, could prevent a great number of those who were exposed to its effect from considering this decree, as the result of a combination, formed by men without property, to strip those who still retained any, of the last farthing they possessed. For the example being once set, of thus partially taxing a part of the community, and condemning them to bear all the burthens of the state, who could pretend to define the extent to which the injury and oppression might not be carried under the sanction of such a precedent; especially as all power was lodged, and liable to continue, in the hands of those very men who had committed the original wrong?

If state necessity was pleaded as the colour or pretence, they observed, that it was at best the plea only of tyrants, and that the same pretence would answer the same purpose, while they had any thing left to lose. If the total failure of the customary taxes was brought as an argument, the question was readily put, why the people were armed to resist their payment, until better, or at least other taxes were provided, to supply the deficiency? They said that the landed proprietors had already sacrificed a great part of their rights and property to the public good; that another great portion had been totally destroyed, by the cruel devastations committed on their estates and houses, by those very people on whom they were showering benefits; and that now, in the season of their humiliation and distress, scarcely breathing from the horrors and ruin which they had experienced, to condemn them to the support of all the expences of the nation, was a measure of such injustice and cruelty, as to be without example in all the annals of tyranny. Nor did the sanguine and active part which Mirabeau had taken in passing this decree, serve in any degree to lessen these impressions, or to render the measure more pleasing.—Upon the whole, nothing had yet taken place in the course of the revolution, which served so much to embitter the minds of men, to increase the animosity and malignity of parties, and that through the violence of their collision produced such unfortunate and disgraceful consequences, as this measure of partial taxation.

During these endeavours to remedy the distresses occasioned by

the disordered state of the finances, (which took up no small space of time) the national assembly was busily occupied in forming different parts of the new constitution, and particularly in framing their celebrated declaration of the rights of men and of citizens. On this last subject the assembly seemed greatly to bewilder themselves in abstract questions and metaphysical disquisitions. La Fayette, whose principles were truly and entirely American, brought forward a declaration, which was little more or less than an epitome of all those that had been adopted by the different members of the united states. This might possibly have been so far received as to become in some degree a sort of ground-work to their own, if the abbé Sieyès had not composed an abstract and difficult work, in which he defined and traced the rights of man to their first principles. Though the abbé's friends and admirers were unsuccessful in their support of this production, they, however, procured the overthrow of La Fayette's system; but this double failure, instead of operating as a discouragement, was succeeded by such a multitude of plans of new declarations, that the assembly, embarrassed by the variety of choice, found it necessary to appoint a committee, in order to reduce the substance of those numerous plans into one digest, which they might refer to, as a text book in their deliberations.

This digest was as far from affording satisfaction as the separate plans of individuals. In the meantime essays were every day written upon the subject, and every man seemed to think it the easiest thing

in the world to do, that which none did. Opinions multiplied upon opinions in the assembly, every time the subject was canvassed; every line teemed with new difficulties; the mutual jealousies and distrusts of the parties led them to suspect some dangerous mystery or hidden fraud to be involved in the most simple and obvious axioms; and while they reciprocally accused each other without ceremony, either of intending to give the reins entirely to licentiousness, or of wishing to check the progress of liberty, cool debate and dispassionate discussion were in such circumstances things to be wished for but not expected.

A declaration which was proposed by one of the sections into which the assembly was divided, was at length so far received, as to become the subject of general debate, with a view to its affording the foundations for the grand superstructure. Every article became a subject of much discussion, and was not unfrequently productive of great heat and bitterness. The debates were exceedingly tedious and uninteresting; being in many cases a mere war of words, running much into metaphysical abstractions, grammatical niceties, and verbal disputes of no value. They were rendered still more irksome and difficult from its being scarcely possible to arrange any number of words in such a form, as would equally strike the ears, and be received with the same degree of comprehension, by so great an assemblage of men as twelve hundred, even supposing that they were all equally sincere in their pursuit of the truth, and that none were prompted by particular motives to deviate from

the right line of direction. It became indeed now evident, if it had been before doubted, that so numerous a body was by no means properly calculated for a deliberative assembly.

The debates were not, however, entirely confined to the subject or composition of the declaration, for one of the most considerable, and perhaps the most interesting with regard to matter, arose upon the question of adopting the measure, considered with respect to its expedience and propriety. It was said, by those who opposed the measure, that this American idea was, in fact, more brilliant than solid; that it originated from a new and peculiar state of things, which did not exist with respect to France; but that whether it suited or not the circumstances and condition of those by whom it was first adopted, was not the question to be considered, but whether it suited their own? This they endeavoured to disprove. They stated in the first place, that such a declaration, in the present state and temper of the nation, would not only be inexpedient, but might probably prove dangerous, from an improper use being made of it; that the people, just delivered from oppression, and indulging themselves in a momentary licentiousness, were unprepared for such new doctrines; that when they were intoxicated with the unaccustomed spirit of independence, they would no longer acknowledge the authority of the laws, but would be too apt to consider them only as remaining appendages of that system of ancient tyranny, from whose other shackles they had so lately set themselves free; and under this blind delusion they would eagerly exert

exert their new liberty in enforcing by violence every claim which caprice, folly, or the worst passions might suggest.

They added, that in order to avoid these mischiefs and dangers, which were too obvious to be overlooked by any body, the assembly, after involving itself in a task of great moment and expectation, would be afraid to execute, consistently and properly, that difficult business which it had so needlessly and wantonly undertaken; for that under these shackles it could only form a patched up, imperfect, inconsistent work, under the name of a declaration of rights, which would be a disgrace to the authors as well as to the subject, the parts militating against each other, and contradicting the title, from the number of restraints and limitations with which, in such untoward circumstances, it must of necessity abound; and thus the mighty whole, when it came forth, instead of a political creed, which should convert all mankind by the justness and simplicity of its principles, would prove an insignificant, incoherent, contradictory jargon. They said, the assembly, by this premature attempt, would find itself involved in other difficulties which it did not seem aware of, with respect to the great caution which was to be used in not confining its own powers of legislation, and the danger of a contradiction between general principles and particular laws; this must occasion their declaration of those principles to be timid and circumpect, if not equivocal; and the production will appear to be merely the offspring of their present necessities, and of the ruling prejudices of the moment.

Were it not better, therefore, said they, to defer your declaration of rights, until the constitution is completed and established? We shall then have it in our power to appropriate the one to the other, and to make them harmonize together.—A shrewd question was put by Malouet: “Why,” said he, “should we transport men to the ideal summit of a mountain, and shew them the extensive domain of their rights beneath, when we shall most assuredly be obliged to make them descend, and to bring them into the real world, where they will find every step fettered with restraints.”

The much more numerous party who supported the measure, hooted at and scoffed the idea of supposing danger in enlightening the public, and communicating to them a knowledge of their rights. It was not difficult, especially in the present state of things, to find a circle of common place arguments upon this head—That it had been the old trick of despotism in all ages and places to keep the people ignorant, in order to rivet their chains the more firmly, and to render their slavery eternal. They talked in lofty language, but not always easily understood, about the native rights of man, which, they said, are eternal, inalienable, and imprescriptible; that their source is in nature itself; that they are equal and unchangeable in every age and every country, and can never yield to any reason of convenience or necessity. That, as the sole object of society is the preservation of these rights, to declare what they are, is an indispensable preliminary to the establishment of a political constitution. That the representa-

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tives of the people are specially called upon to declare them, because it is their duty to lay the foundations before they raise the edifice; to establish principles before they draw conclusions; to fix upon a determinate and invariable end, before they make choice of the means by which it is to be obtained. That it is necessary to declare them, in order that the people may understand and decide upon the motives of their legislators; that our successors may tread in our footsteps, and, seeing clearly our object, and comprehending fully the scope of our design, may be enabled to bring our work to perfection; and that other nations may be made sensible by our precepts of the injuries they suffer, and may learn by our example how to redress them. It is a debt which France owes to mankind.

This celebrated declaration of rights has been so long before the world, and has every where, particularly in this country, been already so much discussed, that any observation now upon it would not only be needless, but could scarcely avoid being a repetition of what has been already said. It was allowed by all parties, even in France, to contain much good matter, and the nobles and clergy acknowledged that many of its articles were excellent. Considered as a composition, it bears evident marks of haste, and is by no means a regular and homogeneous work. Sometimes it announces rights; again it prescribes restraints: here it anticipates the objects of legislation; and there it directs and attack against despotism, which it could not consistently suppose to exist. It was not till the

end of August that the production was finished.

Perhaps there was scarcely less truth than wit in Mirabeau's observation on this declaration, "That it would answer no other purpose than that of a political almanack for the current year."

Through this whole course, the assembly was divided into a number of sections or committees, to each of which was assigned some specified part of the new constitution, on which it was to give its opinion and advice in a report, which then became a subject of general discussion. But in thus settling the constitution, a question (as all things were now unhinged) necessarily arose, which served more to divide the opinions and to agitate the minds of men than any other; this was the grand question, What share of authority it was fitting the king should possess in the new legislature? This operated like a touchstone. In other matters, the different orders and parties were constantly divided among themselves, but now, every man found himself under a necessity of avowing and supporting his principles, or of giving them up for ever. What had never happened before, the president now saw, on his right hand and on his left, the whole assembly arranged in two grand hostile divisions, and these so nearly poised in point of number, that the most experienced eye could not determine on which side the advantage might lie. The conflicts were so hard fought on both sides; so often renewed, and so long continued, and the subject of debate so industriously spread and universally known, that the whole nation became parties in the contest, and the

diffention and agitation was not less among the people at large, than it was within the walls of the assembly. All the passions which had hitherto been in some degree smothered, now burst forth with greater force from their restraint, and many sprung from recent causes, appeared in all the ardour of juvenility. Rabaut owns, that every debate in the assembly was now a quarrel; and the heat and violence without was still greater.

On the one side were arranged, in the first instance, those who had at all times considered the sovereign as the sole and rightful legislator; with these were joined those who, without entering into the abstract principle, were from habit or opinion attached to monarchy, and who were struck with dread and horror at the sudden torrent of republicanism which now so suddenly overspread the land; to these were to be added the smaller band, who felt themselves attached by affection to the king's person, and that much more numerous, which, from interested motives, found itself bound at all events to the support of kingly government. But the great force on that side was a new accession; being composed of the nobility and clergy, who, though reduced in power, were still respectable, if not formidable, from their number, as well as from what still remained of their influence. These, become at length sensible of the baleful effect of their past tergiversation, reflecting in bitterness of heart upon the manner in which both orders had been alternately duped by the commons, and led blindly to play their own game into their hands, and clearly perceiving now that nothing less

than their final ruin was intended, were equally convinced that nothing could avert that ruin, but the retaining of so much power in the hands of the king, as might prove some check to the prevailing system; and enable him to interpose with effect in their preservation.

On the other side was opposed, in much closer and firmer array, and much better officered and commanded, the whole body of republicans throughout the kingdom; who, notwithstanding the innumerable divisions into which they were formed, and the great distances by which the parts were separated, were so intimately connected, and their correspondence and union so perfectly established, that their general movements displayed the facility which might have been expected from those of a single individual. With these were joined no small number of men, who stood in the very odd predicament, that though they joined the republicans in every thing, they were notwithstanding attached to some undefined or unknown species of monarchy, but were unable to decide in themselves what that should be; these having no other principle of union or action than one common fear, that the crown might recover its former preponderance and power, could see no other evil or danger whatever; but that was so strongly fixed in their minds, that it seemed difficult to assign what degree of humiliation or weakness it could be reduced to, which would prove sufficient to remove their apprehensions. Under this impression, although they were directly adverse to republicanism in principle, their conduct produced the same effect as if they had been

the warmest and most determined zealots in the cause; nor were they awakened from this delusion till the business was over, when their opinion and action were become as useless as their repentance.

But that great power which overruled all others in the kingdom, that turbulent metropolis which contained within its old walls a very numerous and a most peculiar nation, was not only sufficient to turn but directed the management of the scale in all cases as it liked. Paris, therefore, little needed the aid of Rennes in Brittany, and several other of the more considerable cities and towns, which having received the same republican bias, were, however inferior in strength, scarcely less zealous in the cause.

One of the questions which arose upon this subject, and which was the longest and the most violently agitated, both within and without the assembly, was that relative to the king's *veto*, or negative, upon the passing of laws. The difference between the two parties upon this question was so wide, that it seemed scarcely possible they could ever meet or unite; for while one brought strong reasons to shew that this authority in the crown was indispensable necessary to the public interest, in order to preserve a check upon the tumultuary nature of public assemblies, and prevent their passing not only without due consideration, but under the influence perhaps of the most sudden and outrageous passions, laws, which from their absurdity, their iniquity, or impolicy, might draw on national disgrace, public injustice, or even foreign danger. On the other side, the retaining of this power in the king's hands, it was represented, would be

the means of overthrowing every thing that had yet been done for the liberty and good of the people; that by this negative, without assigning reason or motive for his conduct, he might obstruct those measures which were of the highest utility to the people, merely to favour the intrigues of his court, or the machinations of his ministers; that by thus impeding or arresting the operations of the assembly, the great work of regeneration, which the people now so confidently expected, would be rendered impracticable, and all their hopes frustrated; that if the ill effects of this dangerous power did not even immediately take place, they would not be the less certain when the proper season arrived for their operation; that when the present vigilance of the people and their representatives was relaxed, and means used to lull them into a fatal security, then the king might suddenly, at his pleasure, inflict a paralytic stroke upon the legislative body, which would disable and render it totally useless. And that, in fact, this *veto* was a never-failing instrument of tyranny, and the most odious and dangerous relic of ancient despotism which could possibly be retained.

The question was branched out into several parts. After they had been occupied in the first instance to make such provision as should prevent the operation of the *veto* with respect to the acts of the present assembly, the clear discernment of Mounier shewed that this was mere waste of time, the subject not admitting of a question; for the present assembly being appointed by the nation, for the special purpose of framing a constitution, it was

thereby placed in a situation different, with respect to the royal negative, from what its successors might be; the real fact being, that the royal power, during their performance of that duty, was, of necessity, virtually though not formally suspended: so that their constituent acts were not to depend upon the king's pleasure or sanction—they required his direct acceptance, which could not be refused.

The first part of the subject being thus disposed of, the possible or probable future consequence of the royal sanction's being retained or abolished, became the subject of discussion; and another question sprung from this, If the king is allowed to have a negative upon laws; shall that negative be final, or shall it only be suspensive for a limited time?

In the mean time, the secondary agents or leaders of the populace in Paris began to interfere openly on the question of the *veto*, and on all the other points relative to the constitution, which were then agitated by the assembly; while the crowds in their own galleries became every day more insolent and outrageous, drowning the voice of those members whom they did not like, by hootings and revilings, and endeavouring to over-awe them by insult and menace; while long lists of members who were marked to be proscribed, were dispersed not only in the capital, but through every part of the kingdom.

The popular fermentation in Paris was rising to the highest pitch. All the old manœuvres which had produced such extraordinary effect in the preceding months of June and July, were renewed in the gardens of the palais royal, and in

the adjoining political coffee-houses. The turbulent St. Huruge (formerly an officer in the king's service) but noted for the great share which he had held in all the disturbances of the capital, proposed to send a deputation to Versailles, to insist that the king, the dauphin, and the national assembly, should reside at Paris; and sent deputies to the Hotel de Ville, to demand the approbation of the representatives assembled there to this measure. The Hotel de Ville, under the influence of M. Bailly, the mayor, together with La Fayette, behaved with sense and spirit upon this occasion: the former strongly prohibited all tumultuous assemblies; and La Fayette, by the assistance of his national guards, gave effect to the decree, by committing St. Huruge, Tinlot, and some of the most violent motion-makers and agitators to prison.—Thus was sedition for a short space checked.

The counts of Clermont Tonnerre, Lally Tollendal, with Mounier, and other men of eminence, made heavy complaints in the national assembly of those rebellious attempts against the freedom of the king, and of that body itself; as well as those lists of proscription which were every where spread, including the names of all those members who wished well to the project of two chambers, or who supported the royal negative; and of the anonymous letters which they daily received, threatening them with destruction.

Mirabeau, and some of his friends, said they had received letters equally violent and threatening, for voting against tithes; and the first affected to treat with the greatest contempt and ridicule the panic terrors



to which certain cowardly members were liable. The assembly, according to its established custom in all cases relative to that people, passed over the insults of the Parisians, without shewing the smallest spirit, and thereby became liable to the necessary consequence, of being exposed to still greater insults in future.

For some time past, but particularly since the late animosities which had arisen among the parties, stories of plots and conspiracies had been most unaccountably spread through every part of the kingdom, and deeply affected the minds of the people. Some of these were charged directly upon the court, among which the intended escape of the king and the royal family from Versailles to Metz, formed the principal figure. Others were charged upon the aristocratic party, who were supposed to intend the restoration of the king to his former power, merely to render him an instrument for the attainment of their own ends, and for further securing what they attained. How far these plots were real or pretended, it is impossible at present to decide. There certainly never was a period or a country in which fabrications of this sort, however false, and however palpably inconsistent and absurd, would have been received with greater avidity, or credited with less enquiry, than France at this time. It is likewise to be remembered, that ideas of plots were at this time highly necessary to the prevailing party; and we have seen, that they possessed means, which have not often been equalled, of making such impressions on the public mind as they deemed necessary.

On the other hand, it would be idle to suppose, that the multitude

of men, whose situation and condition in life had been so suddenly and totally changed, must not be much discontented, and that they would not readily embrace any well-founded scheme for the recovery of what they had lost; so that we may take it for granted, that there would have been an abundance of plotters, if there had been any feasible plot formed. But the total defect of evidence to prove the existence of any, at a time when the discovery was so eagerly sought, and so much depended on the proof, strongly indicate that these reports and alarms were mere political fabrications, calculated to answer certain purposes, and to produce certain obvious effects. Indeed the state of public affairs, the temper that prevailed throughout the country, and the arms in the hands of the peasantry, all concurred in rendering it impossible for the aristocrates to form any rational and well-founded scheme, for the present recovery of their affairs. It is not to be doubted but that they were guilty of great indiscretions; and that in their cups, through their habitual looseness of speech, and natural turn for boasting, they said many things which they never thought of when sober. This was in character, and to be expected.

The reports, however, produced the same effect in one respect, as if the plots had been real, by exciting a great and general ferment through the nation. It was not to be expected that the Parisians, ever credulous, and ever suspicious, should be the last that were thus affected. Every thing began to bear a most dangerous appearance in that city, and all who had witnessed their late violences, had every thing now to apprehend;

apprehend; and a second explosion like that of the Bastille seemed already in view. The king's *veto* was, however, the present ostensible cause of tumult. If that was allowed, the clergy and nobles, they cried, will renew all their power; —“ We must act, and instantly too, “ else, in three days, France will “ be enslaved.” In the height of this ferment, two violent resolutions, which were transmitted from the towns of Rennes and Dinant, produced a similar effect to what a large quantity of oil poured upon a fire already raging might have done.

In this state of things the king, ever disposed to accommodate and conciliate, in the hope of restoring quiet, and if possible of establishing good temper, determined to soften matters with respect to the *veto*; a concession which came the better from him, as the assembly were involved in a sort of a dilemma from their own past declaration, that his sanction was necessary to the passing of laws, so that they could not with any propriety proceed to those extremities on the subject, which the most violent of the republican party wished. Neckar was accordingly dispatched to the assembly with a memoir, proposing a *veto* which should only have the power of suspending laws during one or two legislatures. This was received with evident satisfaction, excepting by some of the most violent of those who supported (not the king, but) the sovereignty, who would not admit any modification of the *veto*, and insisted that he had been ill advised by his ministers in proposing the concession. They being, however, over-ruled, it was at length agreed, that the king

should have the power to suspend a law during two legislatures; but, that if the third assembly persisted in it, he should then be obliged to give his sanction.

It was a curious circumstance in Mirabeau's conduct, that while he supported the royal *veto* with the utmost vehemence of his character, and that one of the best speeches he ever made was upon that ground, his emissaries in Paris were instructed to persuade the people that he opposed it with all his might; and to support the delusion, he took care to quit the assembly just before the division, that his vote might not appear as a record against it.

Another business of not less importance underwent at the same time a course of long and great discussion. This was, “ whether the national “ assembly should be composed of “ one or two chambers?” The committee of constitution had already given their opinion upon this subject, by recommending a senate and a house of representatives, each of which should possess a negative upon the proceedings of the other. This, or something like it, bearing some resemblance to the British constitution, was, as we have formerly seen, the favourite scheme with Lally, Clermont, and the other leaders of the moderate party, who, equally zealous with the republicans, for the establishment of a free government, considered a limited monarchy, with a constitution so formed as that the principal parts should operate as mutual and perpetual checks upon each other, as affording the fairest prospect for the attainment and permanence of that object.

It may be easily understood, that the party who now held all power exclusively

exclusively in their own hands, and ruled the nation as they willed, without any responsibility upon their conduct, were little disposed to submit to the laying of any checks or restraints upon their proceedings. It would have been as if the long parliament in England, after abolishing the house of lords, had then appointed another body to be its substitute in controlling their own arts. It is said, and the fact is affirmed to be now publicly known, that the influence, public opinion, and patriotic disinterested character of the leaders of the moderate party, having rendered their sanction and countenance highly necessary in many of the late arrangements, they had been artfully amused and led along with an idea that their favourite scheme of two chambers and of mutual checks was so rational and necessary a measure, that in settling the constitution it must be generally agreed to.

It is not to be forgotten, that the minds of the people had been already poisoned in an extreme degree upon the subject of the three chambers, which they were taught to consider as the great land-marks of despotism, and as utterly incompatible with every scheme of reform, and every principle and hope of liberty. This prejudice was easily directed against any plurality of chambers; against two, as well as against any greater number. It was like the cry of "A mad dog!" The people accordingly took a most decided part in the business; especially those in the galleries, and the Parisians. They must be sceptical indeed who are in any great doubt, whether present means were wanting to excite this fermentation. Even in the assembly, every power

distinct from that of the representatives of the people at large was branded with the name of aristocracy; and senates were rendered odious by being indiscriminately compared to that of Venice. A schism likewise arose, as usual, among those parties, who were bound by every principle of reason and policy to have acted with one accord; most of the nobility and clergy voting against the measure, because they thought it would entirely preclude the renewal at any future time, of their old favourite system of sitting in three orders. The very reason, if it had been valid, why the friends of the new constitution should have supported the measure.

Under all these circumstances, within and without, the question of one or two chambers was finally put to the vote, when  
 Sept. 10, 1789. only eighty-nine members voted for two chambers, against a majority of above nine hundred. Although it is evident that the measure must have been rejected without any external violence, yet it is not incurious to see the freedom of suffrage which prevailed in this new temple of liberty. Of this, exclusive of lists of proscription and incendiary letters, we have two specific instances: The first is from Lally Tolendal, who asserts, that several members of the popular side said to him individually, "Would you have me expose my wife and children to be murdered by the mob?"—The second is from Mounier, who declares, that different members came to him to beg certificates that they had not given unpopular votes, as they had heard their country seats were to be burnt.

The assembly likewise decreed, that the legislative body should be

renewed every two years by elections, and that this biennial period should be denominated a legislature. This measure of limiting the term of each convention to two years, was founded on the prejudices derived from that numerous body of English writers, who constantly represent our septennial parliaments as fraught with the greatest dangers to the state, and as actually productive of all our public evils. The effects produced by the adoption of this guarded measure in France will appear in its time.

It was about this time, that the assembly received a letter, written directly in the king's name, in which, after approving of the general spirit of their determinations, he, however, declared, that there were a few articles to which he could give only a conditional assent; promising, however, to modify or renounce his own opinions, if convinced by the observations of the national assembly. He then remarked on the hardship of abolishing, without any compensation to the landlord, those rents, which had once, indeed, been paid as a compensation for personal servitude, but which, having been settled between the lords and their vassals ages ago, had since frequently changed hands, had been exchanged, or bought and sold for a valuable consideration, without the purchasers observing or thinking of the odious origin of their titles.

The king then took notice in his letter of the danger of offending, and the impropriety of offering wrong and injury to several of the German princes, who held great feudal possessions in Alsace, and some of the neighbouring territories, which were guaranteed to them by the most solemn treaties; but

whose estates and property were all indiscriminately involved in the general effect of the decree for the reform of the feudal system. He concluded by observing the various difficulties which would attend the unconditional abolition of tythes, without making an honourable provision for the clergy, and laying the burden of their subsistence equally upon all classes of the citizens.

This letter was ill received, and occasioned much general discontent; not on account of its matter, which, whether agreed to or not, none could pretend to be unreasonable, but on account of the interference of the executive power in attempting to influence the legislative, by entering into a discussion of laws which it was only called upon to give a sanction to; or, in this instance, as being parts of the new constitution, merely to accept. The consequence may be easily judged. The king was obliged to give his sanction simply, without observation or comment; and the principle was established or avowed, that so far from suspending, he could not even offer his advice upon, much less criticise the measures of the present legislature. The assembly, however, paid so much attention to him as to send word, that in the future discussion or carrying into act the principles to which he objected, they would consider, and pay a proper regard to the opinions he had given.

In the mean time, things were tending fast to an unexampled crisis, which was to produce a new and extraordinary face of affairs. The violent republicans, both within and without the assembly, had it long in contemplation, and were now determined,

mined, that by some means or other, the residence both of the court and of the national assembly should be transferred from Versailles to Paris. This design being known, the court, and particularly the queen, were struck with horror at the idea of being compelled to reside among so tumultuous a people, who from their bloody acts of cruelty had already been stigmatized in the public prints by the name of the cannibals of Paris. At the same time, that the nobility might have no doubt remaining as to their impending and absolute ruin, they were regaled in every coffee-house with writings, in which the strongest hopes were expressed, that in a very short time, the term 'nobility' would for ever be banished from the French language. Under these circumstances on both sides, it is not to be doubted (although the fact has in no degree been proved) that the queen listened eagerly to any proposal for removing the court to some reasonable distance, which might prevent that, to her, most dreadful of all events, the being committed to the jealous and dangerous custody of the frantic, uncontrolled, and ever suspicious Parisians; nor will it be doubted, on the other hand, their character considered, that many rash and imprudent things were said or proposed by the discontented nobles.

As correlative to this state of things, the most atrocious accusations, which the bitterest rancour could imagine, were unsparingly laid by each party against the other. The nobles and clergy were every day charged with new conspiracies against the revolution; and each garnished with its peculiar circumstances of alarm or of horror. It was seriously and confidently asserted,

as if the writer had himself seen it, that a subscription was secretly opened for the murder of all good citizens; and that priests and nobles were the subscribers to this bloody instrument of proscription. It was further said, that it was resolved once more to invest Paris and Versailles with an army, to dissolve, sword in hand, the national assembly, and to kindle in every part of the empire the flames of civil war. On the other side a charge was openly laid, by men of eminence, who did not shrink from supporting it, that the violent republicans were resolved, at the hazard of murder and civil war, to compel the king and the national assembly to reside within the walls of Paris, and thus render both, and through them the whole nation, subservient to the influence, and instruments to the caprice of that turbulent capital.

The rebellious French guards, who had deserted and fought against their sovereign, and who were now in the actual pay of the city of Paris, under the denomination of center companies, were seized (unless it proceeded from some hidden cause) with a most unaccountable fit of ambition, to have again the honour of attending and guarding the king's person, which they claimed as an undoubted right, and even talked of marching to Versailles to enforce the claim. St. Huruge, who was now at liberty, was the chief instigator and caballer in this matter. It will be easily judged that, exclusive of the apparent danger of entrusting the king's person in such hands, nothing could be more personally odious or mortifying to him, than to be compelled to endure the sight and attendance

tendance of men, who had already so shamefully trampled upon their oaths, and violated all the bonds of military subordination, duty as soldiers, and loyalty as subjects.

The only protection the king could rely on in case of any sudden incursion from Paris, or of any sudden attack from the rabble of Versailles (who were only second to their brethren in the capital in all acts of violence and cruelty) rested in his *gardes des corps*, a regiment formed upon the same principles with our ancient English life guards, being composed entirely of gentlemen; upon which account, they were at this time peculiarly detested by the people. He was likewise attended by the national guards of Versailles, who had placed themselves for that purpose under the command of D'Estaing; but their principles were known to be too deeply infected by those of the community to which they belonged, to warrant the smallest confidence being placed in their protection. It appears that letters from La Fayette to D'Estaing, indicative of some approaching or apprehended danger, had been communicated by the latter to the municipal committee of Versailles, who were accordingly persuaded to demand an additional regiment, in order to protect the town from any sudden violence. The compliance with this request, which was not obtained without difficulty, and the consequent sending for the regiment of Flanders to perform that duty, were the common, and, in all other cases, indifferent and innocent circumstances, which, under the fatality of the present times, opened the way to all the horrid mischiefs which so speedily ensued.

Sept. 15. In the mean time, the assembly had confirmed the hereditary succession of the crown in its ancient form, and according to the Salic law; and seemed disposed to recur to ancient loyalty, by declaring the king's person sacred and inviolable. The duke of Orleans and his party brought on a violent debate upon the subject of the succession, in which Mirabeau took an eager part, and which was productive of words and circumstances that served to open the eyes of many, who had not before discerned the operative motives of many parts of their conduct, and the grand object of their views. They eagerly contended, that the assembly should confirm the renunciations made by Philip the Vth of Spain, of his right of succession to the French crown, by declaring them to be valid and legal; and of course that the Orleans branch would be the next in succession, after the failure of the present royal line. The assembly, however, deemed it too imprudent and dangerous a measure, in the present state of affairs, for them to enter at all upon the subject of the Spanish renunciations; and that it would be equally idle and ridiculous to agitate questions now upon events which might never take place. Mirabeau, who was the most unguarded of mankind in his expressions, seemed to count as nothing all the lives now existing, which must, some how or other, be disposed of, before any dispute could arise upon the ground of succession; he said openly, that such a subject of discussion might arise much sooner than was expected; that the corruption of the king and of Monsieur afforded little cause for expecting  
their

their lives to be lasting; that the dauphin was only a weakly infant; and as to the count d'Artois, and his two sons, he affected scarcely to consider them as existing with respect to that question, representing them not only as fugitives, but nearly as outlaws.

The arrival of the regiment of Flanders caused as great a ferment at Paris and Versailles, as that of a powerful foreign invading army could have done. The usual baggage, stores, and six-pounders of a regiment, were immediately swelled into magazines of warlike stores and trains of artillery. All the orators of the palais royal were set to work, and seemed inspired with new vigour in their successful efforts to inflame the minds of the people; assuring them, as a matter of fact of which they had direct knowledge, that the king intended to make his escape under the escort of this regiment; and stating in dreadful colours the consequences which must necessarily take place from the accomplishment of this design.

In the mean time, numerous detachments of those zealous and indefatigable supporters of Parisian liberty, the women of pleasure, were dispatched to Versailles, in order to make converts and establish their influence among the new-comers; one of their principal objects being to embroil the private soldiers and their officers, by continually leading the former into those petty neglects of duty, which, though apparently trivial in themselves, are so totally subversive of all military discipline and order, that no relaxation of them can be admitted in any army. We are informed by Rabaut, that on the arrival of the regiment of Flanders, the citizens of Versailles

and the court strove which should shower most caresses upon it; the former on the soldiers, the latter on the officers. It is evident that this regiment, for the short period that the sunshine lasted, needed not to have envied any other in Christendom for the goodness of its quarters; the soldiers, from the first day, being in such a state of fraternity with the inhabitants, that they seemed incorporated in one body; and such a continual scene of feasting and good cheer prevailing, as left little time or disposition for recalling to remembrance the severity of military duties.

Before we enter into the particulars of the succeeding convulsions, perhaps it may not be displeasing to many of our readers, to take a view of that picture of the state of public affairs at this time which was drawn by Rabaut; which he assures us was faithfully done; and which includes the pre-disposing causes which operated upon the Parisians in their conduct. He says, that "Paris was a prey to all the miseries of famine, even in the midst of abundance; bread was dear, and of a bad quality; the inhabitants were knocking at the doors of the bakers, in order to obtain relief; it seemed that measures had been taken to exasperate the people against the new popular powers; and persons, evidently paid for occasioning disturbances, besieged the shops of the bakers, carried away the bread, threw it into the river, and returned for the purpose of renewing this practice. The provinces were affrighted by a circulated whisper, of the approaching flight of the king, and of a counter-revolution; and the party which desired it, already vaunted of it loudly, and with that overweening

overweening confidence, which it hath shewn upon every new conspiracy. At length, the alarmed capital saw no other means of terminating its fears, both for France and for the deputies, than by possessing the national assembly and the king within her walls, where a hundred thousand arms were ready to defend them, where six hundred thousand persons were continually on the watch against conspiracies.”

A question, which should never be out of mind in reading this account is, In whose hands was the government of Paris at that time placed? and, as derived from the same, Who were the persons employed to provide the capital with corn; and if they did not fulfil their duty, why were they not removed? It might have been supposed, that the rabble of Paris in that season of famine, would have been much more profitably employed along the Seine, in angling for the loaves newly thrown into the river, than in raising useless riots in the streets, and about the bakers shops. It will perhaps be a matter of surprise to some, that of the six hundred thousand pairs of jealous and suspicious eyes which were ever watching conspiracies in Paris, they should all look so directly one way, as never to take a view of the banks of the river, nor of the passages leading thereto; and that neither chance or fortune should so far befriend them, as to enable them in a single instance to detect any of that atrocious gang of conspirators, who thus wantonly robbed them of the means of subsistence and life. We cannot help observing, that the abundant plenty of which Rabaut speaks, accords but badly with the immense sums of money which were soon

after disposed of to foreign nations, in order to induce them to transport corn or grain of any kind into France; a measure which was not, however, sufficient to preserve that country from all the bitterness of famine.

But whether the picture be correct or not, it was at the period which it intends to describe, that October 1. the officers of the king's life guards at Versailles gave an entertainment to those of the regiment of Flanders; it being, according to the writers on one side of the question, the usual etiquette in the service, for the officers in garrison to entertain the new-comers upon their being joined by strangers; but Rabaut asserts, that this was the first banquet which the king's guards, as a *corps*, had ever yet given. He farther asserts, that the great object of this feast was, to attach the military to the king; and that, in pursuance of endeavours which had been used for some days to gain over the national guards of Versailles, several of their officers were invited upon this festive occasion. Rabaut seems to consider it in every respect as the effect of a settled plan, contrived by the court. However that was, the proceedings of this extraordinary day and night were too ridiculously contemptible, to merit any enquiry, whether they were the effect of deliberative folly, or of casual intemperance and madness.

The king and queen were most injudiciously advised to visit these bacchanals after dinner, and to bring the infant dauphin with them. The extravagance of the joy that prevailed upon their appearance was beyond all description, and the whole company seemed to be men mad



mad with loyalty. A loyal air, which, with a song appropriated to it, "*O Richard, O mon Roi!*" &c. had till very lately been highly popular, being now played by the music, excited the general fever to the highest pitch. Rabaut says that the dauphin was carried by his royal mother completely round the table; that enthusiasm then taking possession of the guests, they, sword in hand, drank the august healths of all the family, while the court, bowing and curtsying, retired.

The banquet was continued through the greater part of the night, and ended in the most complete drunkenness. It will be no great matter of surprize, that the most imprudent and the rashest things were said or done. It is said on one side, that after repeated libations to the royal family, one of the present fashionable toasts, either the nation, the new constitution, or the assembly, being proposed by one of the Versaillesian officers, it was rejected with the greatest marks of contempt. It appears that the ancient white cockade had never been quitted by the royal life guards, who had constantly refused adopting the new striped one of the Parisians; and that the officers of Flanders, in one of the freaks of their festivity, having adopted a similar determination, stripped the national cockades out of their hats, and, it is said, were supplied by the court ladies with white ones, as fast as they could make, or procure them to be made. It was likewise added, and had a prodigious effect in inflaming the populace, that the national cockades had been torn, trampled upon, and treated with every mark of contempt which folly or outrage could inspire. This, however, ap-

pears to have been one of those numerous calumnies which were now so successfully propagated, on every occasion in which the court was any way concerned; the charge being absolutely refuted by the solemn testimony on oath of all or most of the officers who were that night present.

Nothing could exceed the rage which the account of this ill-fated banquet, loaded with all the additional circumstances which malice and invention could supply, produced upon the populace of Paris. The famine which pressed so sorely upon so vast a multitude, would in itself, independent of all political causes, have been sufficient to dispose a much more temperate and better-conditioned people to outrage and violence. They immediately charged the queen with being at the head of a conspiracy for carrying off the king and exciting a civil war; and they represented this affair at Versailles as the opening of the plot; this they said was too manifest to admit of a question; and the contempt shewn for the national cockade, with the refusal to drink prosperity to the nation, were to be considered as a declaration of war; that it was time to terminate at once all these inquietudes; and that as some were desirous of carrying off the king to place him at the head of a party, they had no other course to take, than to be beforehand with them, by securing his person in the capital.—We pass over the scurrilities and motives to immediate violence which were thrown out by the caballers and demagogues. At the same time, the starving multitude, having been taught to believe that the famine proceeded from the court, and had been particularly excited

cited by the schemes for carrying off the king, were loud in their outcries for proceeding to Versailles, in order to demand bread from him, and for bringing him to Paris, and keeping him there, as the only means for re-producing plenty to that city. It needs scarcely to be observed, that accounts of the recent excesses at a banquet, cannot tend much to tranquillize the minds of hungry men.

Nothing seemed more unlucky than that the king should at this critical period have involved himself in a dispute with the national assembly. It appears that some of the first articles of the constitution, particularly that which enacted the indivisibility of the assembly, the suspension on the royal  *veto* , with the declaration of rights of men, had not yet received the king's sanction; and he seemed now, in the most dangerous season which could possibly have been chosen, to assume an air of confidence, and some disposition to preserve his rights, which, though now totally out of time, might have long since been exerted to great advantage. Being now pressed for the sanction, the king entered into a sort of an argumentative written discussion with the assembly, in which the following words were particularly marked as affording great cause of offence: "I grant, according to your desire, my accession to these articles; but on the positive condition, which I will never depart from, that by the general result of your deliberations, the executive power shall have its entire effect in the hands of the monarch."

This capitulary message or answer was delivered on the morning of the 5th of October, and immedi-

ately produced the most violent debates: in the course of these, Pétion having inveighed against the late imprudent feast of the life guards, and asserting that it had been attended both with criminal words and actions, a member on the other side asked, whether he would venture to denounce (that is to impeach) any particular person, and seemed to dare him to it? With that Mirabeau started up, and with the utmost fury in his looks and manner, cried out, "Declare that the king's person alone is sacred, and I will bring forward the impeachment myself." When he sat down, he informed the people near him, that the queen and the duke de Guiche, colonel of the life guards, were the objects he had in view. Mounier happened to be president, and values himself highly for those last but powerful exertions of his official authority, by which he prevented the agitation of a question, which most probably would have led to the massacre of the unfortunate queen. The debate on the king's answer was resumed, in which it was declared, that the assembly ought not to be contented with any thing less than his entire acceptance; that this pretended assent, including its causes, amounted to a real protest; and that the rights of nations had existed long before kings were ever thought of. The president was deputed to state this matter to the king; but a new set of legislators from Paris were destined to intervene, and to throw all things into confusion. The king, however, in the course of all the tumults and dangers of the succeeding day and night, was obliged to find leisure for retracting, as usual, his own positions; and for giving a

full

full acceptance, pure and unmixed, without comment or reserve, to all the decrees of the assembly.

The ferment in Paris had risen to its highest pitch on that very day, and the flame which had for some days been rather smothering than lighting, burst out in its utmost violence. There are the strongest reasons for supposing, that the Orleans cabal, though assisted and supported by the republicans on very different grounds, were the immediate and principal authors of the present disturbances; none other could, in any degree, equally influence and command the rabble of that city, as the faction in question. An universal cry was raised in the morning to go to Versailles, to demand bread of the king and the assembly, and to take vengeance on the *gardes du corps*. It was deemed fitting that the women should take the lead in this insurrection; and fitter instruments could not have been chosen. Besides the Dames du Halle, and all the other classes of female auxiliaries to Parisian liberty which we have heretofore described, and of which the lanes, allies, cellars and garrets, poured out so vast an abundance, they are said to have pressed every woman they met with into the service. It may be considered as some sort of concurrent testimony that this scheme was preconcerted, and that the cabal had more prudence than to trust the business entirely to the conduct of these heroines, that a great number of men, disguised in women's clothes, were intermixed in the ranks of this supposed female army. Bread, was at first the watch word and the universal cry of this strange assemblage, which Rabaut describes as composed of mothers frantic with despair,

through the dreadful circumstance of not having bread to give to their famished children.

Arms were, however, thought necessary, as affording more effectual means for the obtaining of bread than mere supplication. They accordingly proceeded to the Hotel de Ville, or Town House, which they broke open and plundered; and gave an early specimen of their courage in passing thither, by making their way boldly through several battalions of Parisian guards who were drawn up armed in the open space before that building. Having met on the stairs of the Town House an unfortunate ecclesiastic, they, as an essay in the business of death, immediately hung him up by the neck. Some of their male followers, whether it was through mercy, or by way of varying the pastime, cut the priest down before he was quite dead; and then so effectually kicked and tossed his carcase about, that in a short time he fully recovered his sensibility, and was most unexpectedly permitted to get home as he could. After plundering the Hotel de Ville, seizing a magazine of arms, gathering the artillery together, and forcing open the prisons, with tumult undefinable, this hermaphrodite army set out about noon, for Versailles, the cannon being dragged behind as a rear-guard. The vociferous cries for bread were now changed into loud threats and horrid imprecations against the queen, the life guards, and the clergy, all of whom they devoted as victims to their vengeance. One Maillard, in the proper garb and character of a man, appeared now as their leader; on whom Rabaut bestows high praise for the discipline, order, and government which he established

established among them; at the same time that he seems to think, no limits could otherwise have been assigned to the effects of their capricious uproar.

A second army of Amazons was preparing to follow the first, who were with much difficulty dispersed by La Fayette, the national guards telling their general that they could not fire upon, or use any force against their fellow-citizens who were asking for bread. At the same time, the rage for going to Versailles, which had for some days been industriously fomented among the people, was now become general, and so strongly infected the national troops, that they rather commanded than desired their officers to lead them thither. Upon this occasion some of the grenadiers told La Fayette without reserve, *that understanding the king was an idiot, there was no doubt but matters would go on much better by the appointment of a council of regency.* As this was not only the peculiar language and doctrine of Mirabeau, and of those other leaders of the cabal who were initiated in its most secret mysteries, but as it was publicly known that the establishment of a council of regency was the most immediate object of their ambition, none could be at a loss to determine from what source the grenadiers had derived this idea.

La Fayette, who seemed astonished at even the idea of offering any violence to the king's person, or laying any restraint upon his inclination with respect to residence, endeavoured to allay this fermentation, and temporized with the troops as long as possible; but they becoming every instant more outrageous, and at length directing their

menaces against himself, he and his principal officers, under an immediate apprehension for their lives, were compelled to submit to the demands of the soldiery: but in order to legalize his proceedings as much as he could, he first required and obtained an order from the mayor and council of Paris, to lay before the king the uneasiness of his people. This done, he began his march from Paris, at the head of the national army, accompanied by its artillery, and with every display of military pomp and parade, about five o'clock in the afternoon. Ra-baut observes, "No pencil can depict the frantic joy of Paris, on beholding her militia march, with the intention of seeking and bringing away the king. The capital is assured that her distress shall at length be terminated."

Notwithstanding the boasted discipline and order which Maillard was said to have so suddenly, and it might almost be said miraculously, established in his Amazon army, it appears their march to Versailles was marked by such circumstances of outrage, such brutality, and gross obscenity of language, and such horrid and profane curses, oaths and imprecations, as were without example in any country under the name or character of civilization. It was currently reported at the time, and we never heard it contradicted, that having hung up to death two unfortunate passengers whom they met on the way, they had the audacity to boast to the national assembly of these wanton and horrid murders, which, it seems, no member would venture to reprove them for. Maillard prevailed on the women, which certainly could have been no easy task, to permit him to be their

their spokesman to the assembly; but they frequently, notwithstanding, interrupted him by their oaths and menaces. The orator inveighed against the aristocrates as the authors of the famine, and for insulting the national cockade; and he complained of the life guards, for wearing white cockades. The assembly sent a deputation of the most decent of the women, with their orator Maillard, accompanied by their own president, M. Mounier, to wait upon the king: the subject of the deputation being confined to the scarcity of provisions only. The king, who was just returned from the chace, received them kindly, and issued the strongest orders in his power to give, for the immediate supply of Paris with provisions.

In the mean time no words could describe, if the recital of such a description could even be endured, the extravagance of the scenes which the women exhibited at the national assembly. They not only filled the galleries, and all the open parts of the hall, but in proportion as they became intoxicated, which they were not at all slow in doing, they mixed with the members, crowded into their seats, overwhelmed them with their vociferation and noise, and at length, upon the absence of the president with the king, in procuring the royal sanction to the decrees, they mounted into and took possession of his chair. Such was the scene of confusion, and such was the society, in which the most awful and momentous business that perhaps was ever transacted by any body of men, the establishment of a new constitution in a vast country, which went to the total overthrow of the old, and of all its appendant

rights, laws, and institutions, which had been confirmed by the sanction of untold ages; was completed and promulgated. It is reported, that Mounier, as an act of duty to his sovereign, and independent of his official situation, advised the king to submit so far to the necessity of the time, as to give his pure and simple acceptance to the constitutional articles, although he acknowledged that they were in several parts extremely faulty, with respect both to policy and to justice; but that he at the same time advised the king to resist courageously, and to the utmost, the insolent and violent attempts of the Parisians; and to call on the national assembly, that at the time he was sacrificing every thing to their desire, they would exert themselves in asserting their own freedom and that of their sovereign. It is likewise said, that the king was disposed to adopt this counsel, but that the danger to which the queen was exposed clogged his measures and designs; to remedy this evil he sent for the royal carriages, in order that she might be removed to some place of greater safety than the present, but the carriages were stopped and seized by the rabble. The queen, however, as soon as she heard of the design, put an end to all farther thought of it, by nobly refusing to abandon her husband in the hour of danger; declaring, with a magnanimity worthy the daughter of Maria Theresa, that, "she would stay and die at the king's feet."

The events of this day, night, and the ensuing morning, could scarcely be more irregular and confused, than the narratives of them which have been laid before the public. Scarcely any two of them agree, in time, fact, or circumstance,

stance, as to any thing; so that it is hardly possible in some instances to trace, what was the preceding or the subsequent act; and we must trust more to opinion than knowledge for placing them in their proper and natural order.

We are informed by Rabaut, that after Maillard, with his female army, had set out from Paris, "there issued forth also a multitude of men, armed with pikes, battle-axes, and sharpened stakes, men whose hatred was principally directed against the queen, and against the warriors of the life guards." That, "with this second army of invaders, came several persons, whose appearance betokened that they were foreigners, and who seemed to have been summoned for the occasion; for the men of Paris have a cast of countenance peculiar to themselves, and those who are acquainted with it are well able to distinguish such strangers as mix among them. These ferocious battalions had taken the lead of the national guards, with whom we must be careful to avoid confounding them. They proved the cause of all the disturbance which ensued on the following day." This strange story of imaginary foreigners, seems calculated merely to remove from his favourite Parisians some part of the odium attached to the ensuing atrocities, and to persuade his readers that an infusion of foreign ferocity into the milky disposition of those peaceful citizens, was absolutely necessary to their production.

While the extraordinary appearance and conduct of these unnumbered hosts of male and female ruffians struck terror into all beholders,

and each of their movements seemed calculated to overwhelm every object that came in their way, the first measure adopted by the king was an order to the troops not to fire by any means upon the people. The next was naturally an enquiry into the means of protection and safety which he possessed; and these were found miserably defective indeed. The dragoons of Flanders had already been as thoroughly debauched at Versailles, and as totally seduced from their duty, as the French guards had before been at Paris. The national guards of Versailles, who amounted to about four thousand, and who might have been expected to be the natural and zealous protectors of their sovereign, who had spent his life amongst them, were in fact his most determined enemies, and vied with the Parisians, if they did not exceed them, in their inveteracy against the whole royal family. As if this had not been sufficient, they likewise bore a long and particular animosity to the life guards, which one Le Cointre, of Versailles, had for several days been equally incessant and successful in his endeavours to increase to the highest possible pitch. In these circumstances, the king ordered the dragoons to retire from Versailles, retaining only a small number, who acted as sentinels in the interior parts of the palace. Thus his whole means of security and defence, environed on every side, as he was, with enemies and danger, was at length reduced to the single body of the *gardes du corps*: and these, whose courage and fidelity were undoubted, were, however, far from being numerous; and were at the same time surrounded by private as well as by public enemies.

It is impossible to speak with any accuracy as to the manner in which the first scuffle originated at Versailles; nor would it be easily settled, at what particular time even it took place, any farther than that it was in some part of the evening, and probably before it was dark. The democratic accounts say, that the life guards fired wantonly upon the national guards of Versailles, and having wounded some of them, occasioned a return of their fire. This appears so contrary to all reason and probability, that it would require the strongest and most positive evidence to render it credible. Another account, which seems much more probable, states, that an inhabitant of Versailles, whose name is mentioned, having mixed with the rabble, and endeavouring with them to force his way through the iron gates, was wounded by the life guards who defended the entrance, and that this being resented by the national guards as an attack upon the whole corps, immediately drew on their fire. However it happened, it was productive of less mischief than could have been expected; a few were wounded on both sides, but we do not learn that any person was killed. The hostile parties came to some explanations; and it seems as if something like an armistice was concluded between them for the present.

As soon as the king's ratification of the constitutional articles, which was about ten at night, was received by the assembly, most of the members, if not all, were glad to make their escape from the capricious rage and eternal clamour of the frantic female bacchanals, by whom they were still accompanied, surrounded, and in every sense incommoded: so

that the hall and the seats of legislation were literally abandoned to them. In the mean time, the furious banditti without, who filled every place, excepting the interior of the castle or palace, which they surrounded and besieged, spread terror and confusion through the whole city, as it was impossible even for their friends to determine to what objects the rapine or fury of so lawless and frantic a rabble might chance to be directed.

The deputies had scarcely time to escape from the noise and tumult in their hall, and to seek for retirement and quiet in their respective apartments, when a new alarm was given, which occasioned their immediate recal, and appeared more formidable than any that had yet taken place. This proceeded from the unexpected news, that Fayette was marching, at the head of an army of 30,000 men, to Versailles; and this intelligence was soon confirmed by signals of musquetry and rockets which were seen and heard at a distance. To expedite the march, and for the better preservation of order, he had divided his army into three columns, each of which proceeded by a separate route; but adjusted their movements with so much regularity, that they all arrived about the same time. As no intelligence had yet been received of the causes or objects of this march, it could not fail to excite doubt, and some degree of alarm, in all the different parties.

It is seriously told, that Fayette made his troops stop in the avenue of Versailles, and swear fidelity to the king and to the laws. Who can avoid being surpris'd that the fabricators of this absurd story should not once have reflected; how many

hours it would cost, even in open daylight, to administer an oath to an army of 30,000 men? nor how extensive a plain would have been necessary for the purpose; or at least for the troops who were sworn to file off to and form on, while their remaining fellows were undergoing the ceremony. It is, indeed, not impossible, that Fayette, and those principal officers who were immediately about his person, might, at the awful appearance of the castle, to which they were approaching, and perhaps some recollection of former greatness and splendour, have entered into some such compact or oath.

However that was, La Fayette certainly shewed the most pacific disposition. He presented himself first before the king, and then before the assembly, and behaved to both with every appearance of the greatest respect and even submission. He lamented to Mounier, the measures which a powerful cabal had forced him into; and it was understood from his discourse, that by a few submissions from the *gardes du corps*, and their adoption of the national cockade, all the existing differences would be reconciled, and all jealousies removed. This was excellent, and speaking like a man of honour; without sacrificing any part of his principles, or deviating in any degree from his duty, with respect to the cause which he espoused. And if it had not been for the subsequent error, mistake, imprudence, or whatever it may be called, which he fell into, the event might possibly have been happy, much, if not the whole, of the succeeding evils prevented; and his name long remembered with praise.

It was about midnight when La

Fayette arrived at Versailles: between two and three in the morning, he most unfortunately and fatally persuaded Mounier to break up the assembly and retire to rest; an advice which opened the way to all the ruin which ensued. It is not to be doubted, but that, through the bustle, fatigues, and fears of the preceding day, Fayette must have been greatly exhausted, and sleep highly necessary to him; but he should have remembered, particularly as a soldier, that in cases of great emergency, moment, and danger, it was his duty to resist to the utmost, and even to overcome, if possible, the calls of nature. He well knew the cruel and bloody disposition of that uncountable crew of male and female ruffians, who filled and surrounded the whole city and its environs; and if he thought at all, he could not but expect, knowing so well as he did the motives and objects of their coming, that they would take some fatal advantage of his going to rest. Nor were the national assembly at all excusable, in pursuing his advice; they could not but perceive the pressure of the motive on his part which produced it; and as they had so lately made no difficulty of sitting up and watching a night for their own protection, they should not have hesitated in paying a similar attention to the safety of their sovereign at this moment of such imminent danger, when his own life, and the lives of his whole family, were evidently at stake.

Notwithstanding the horrors of the situation; the hearing her life repeatedly threatened, and her blood howled for, the queen possessed such a stock of intrepidity and coolness, that she retired to rest at



two o'clock, and if we credit the attestations of her bed-chamber women, slept soundly. At six o'clock, a numerous body of those ruffians who had arrived the day before from Paris, broke, with furious menaces, into the courts of the palace, where they seized Monfrs. de Huttes and Varicourt, two of the life guards, dragged them from their posts, and murdered them in the most cruel manner; their heads being, with many blows, severed from their bodies by the bungling hands and blunt axe of one Nicolas, a self-constituted executioner, who had from liking taken up this business, and from the beginning of the troubles gloried in mangling and beheading all the suspected royalists that were put into his hands.

Another party rushed into the queen's apartments, with loud outcries, execrations, and threats, too horrid to be related or endured, by any but the most savage minds, in the recital. The centinel, M. de Miomandre, after bravely resisting for a few minutes, finding himself entirely overpowered, opened the queen's door, and called out with a loud voice, "Save the queen, her life is aimed at! I stand alone against two thousand tigers!" He soon after sunk down covered with wounds, and was left for dead; but coming again to the use of his senses, he had the fortune to creep away unobserved through the crowd: it will afford pleasure to all admirers of courage and fidelity to know that he was afterwards cured of his wounds. The unhappy queen flew almost naked through the apartments, starting at the sound of the pistols which were continually fired in the courts, and calling eagerly to such guards as she happened to meet, "O my friends! save my

"life, save my children!" From whatever cause it proceeded, some instantaneous impulse seemed to fix a persuasion in the minds of the attendants, that the life of the poor young prince, the heir to the crown, was particularly aimed at; and this operated so strongly, that without waiting for orders, they ran instantly, as if by a common sympathy, to the children's apartments, and brought them away half-naked, to place them under the protection of their royal father. Such being the force of ancient prejudice and opinion, that they still thought Frenchmen could not but pay some reverence to the person of their king.

The king, awakened by the noise, flew through a private passage to the queen's apartment, in order to save her life, or to perish along with her. He was met by some of his guards, who escorted him back to his own apartment, where the queen was already arrived, and the children speedily after. The guards were in the mean time hunted from place to place, through all the purlieus of the palace, much in the same manner that the protestants had been after the massacre of St. Bartholomew. A considerable party of those who had been on duty in the interior palace had only time to barricade themselves in some of the rooms adjoining to the royal apartments; and being there completely enclosed, the pursuing murderers were in the act of forcing open the doors. At this critical moment La Fayette and his officers fortunately appeared, and with much persuasion and intreaty induced them to desist. It would seem strange in any other possible case, that a general at the head of a powerful army, instead of immediately applying the force in

his hands to disperse, if not to punish, a body of ruffians, whom he had detected in the very acts of murder and treason, should degrade himself to intreaty and supplication to procure their forbearance. But such was the present unexampled state of affairs, that Fayette could not act otherwise. His faithful soldiers, the Parisian or national guards, had already declared that they would not use force against their fellow citizens, in which description they included all the banditti who were now in and about Versailles; and a few of them had this very morning afforded a specimen of the disposition and conduct to be expected from the whole; for being on duty near the spot where MM. de Huttes and Varicourt were so barbarously murdered, and in full sight of that inhuman transaction, no principle of generosity or sympathy could induce them to interfere, or make the smallest attempt to save them.

It cannot but excite surprize that a man who, like Rabaut, had some character to support and preserve, should have so disguised, altered, and mistated the transactions of this night and morning, that no one, acquainted with them, could, without referring to the date, judge, from his account, what period he alluded to, or what events he was describing. In the face of the most irrefragable testimonies, and in some instances of facts corroborated upon oath before a tribunal of justice, he states things directly contrary. In particular, with respect to the conduct of the national troops and the banditti, he states several rencounters to have taken place between them; that the former, by force, not only soon cleared the

palace and its environs of the ruffians, but that they likewise compelled them to leave all the plunder which they had seized behind; that, upon some new occasion, they pursued and routed them again; and they seem at length to have driven them quite away, and obliged them to pursue a new route to Paris. So that by this statement, the national troops would have merited high praise for the zeal and activity with which they quelled and dispersed this rabble.

But it is time to return, and to see things as they really were. The king, accompanied and protected by La Fayette, went through the palace, his mind being so occupied by the danger of the guards, that it could dwell upon no other subject than that of recommending them to the mercy of the crowd, with assurances to all that they were unjustly accused. He then went to a balcony, where he repeated the same intercession to the crowd who filled the courts below; but the mob, instead of paying any attention to the supplication of their sovereign, roared out with the utmost violence and indecency for the queen. Fayette accordingly went for her. She hesitated a moment, and asked if her presence was necessary to appease the people? He assured her it was. "Then," said she, "I will go, even if I was sure that I went to execution." She accordingly appeared in the balcony, with the dauphin in her arms; and the popular fury seemed in some degree to subside; although in the depositions given before the chatelet it is testified, that muskets were at that very time seen levelled in the crowd, which appeared to the deponents to be pointed directly at the queen. Some sort of calm, however,

ever, took place for a few minutes, which was suddenly interrupted by an universal cry, directed to the royal pair, "To Paris, to Paris!" There was no refusing nor remonstrating; the whole royal family were at the mercy of the rabble; nor could Fayette have insured their lives for a moment, if they appeared only to hesitate.

The king's assent was soon notified to all the parts of the crowd by papers immediately dispersed for the purpose; and after a preparation not much longer than that of changing horses on an English post road, one of the most degrading and melancholy processions commenced, of which there is any record in history. The sovereign of one of the greatest, most powerful, and most splendid monarchies in the universe, governing a people long and far renowned for arriving near the summit of civilization, learning, arts, and science, a nation likewise particularly renowned for the valour, generosity, and nice attention to honour which has distinguished its nobility through a course of ages; and yet this sovereign, without foreign invasion or war, without any avowed domestic competitor for his throne, and even without any acknowledged rebellion of his subjects, is, in the face of day, with his queen and family, dragged from their palace, and led captives in savage triumph, by bands of the meanest and most contemptible ruffians in his dominions, and by those modernuries the abandoned women of Paris, who, for every degree of infamy and wickedness, but particularly for ferocity and thirst of blood, have not, most fortunately for mankind, their similitudes upon any part of the face of the globe. To render the triumph more complete, or,

as if it were to insult fallen greatness by mockery, a party of the obnoxious life guards, deprived of their arms, and treated as prisoners of war, were, with drooping heads, and revolting hearts, appointed, under the name of an escort, to attend their sovereigns. That the procession, however deplorable, might, in all its parts be characteristic, the mangled and bloody heads of the two guards who had been murdered in the morning were carried along on pikes, to grace the spectacle; and, it is said, were frequently and designedly exhibited before the windows of the carriage which conveyed the royal captives. We shall not defile our page, nor insult the delicacy, or shock the feelings of our readers, by repeating any of the obscene, savage, and horrid expressions, which the beasts of women used in the hearing of the queen, and directed to her hearing.

Such was the mournful procession, which attended Oct. 6th,  
1789. the removal of Louis XVI. King of France, from his palace at Versailles, to his prison in Paris.

As time brings out many of those hidden circumstances, in cases of plots and conspiracies, which are not at first known, or perhaps suspected, so it has for some time been reported, both on the continent and here, and we find is credited by persons who have more than common means of information, that the too great and overgrown subject, who is now considered as the principal author and cause of those disturbances which have ruined France, was himself present in disguise among the mob who were destined in the morning to the attack of the palace; that he was revealed, notwithstanding his disguise, to the

leaders, by certain prefixed marks or signals; that the principal service which he intended was, from his intimate knowledge of the interior of the palace, to lead the banditti by the nearest way to the royal apartments, in which case it is supposed, that all that part of the royal family would have been instantly sacrificed. That fortunately his heart, according to its usual custom, failed when he arrived at the scene of action; and that he accordingly slunk away from his associates, whose numbers, violence, and ferocity, were possibly among the causes of his terror. It is likewise told, as a part and confirmation of the same story, that Mirabeau, in his rage at what he considered such shameful conduct, threw out the following extraordinary sarcasm: "That man constantly carries a cocked pistol loaded with mischief in his hand, but his cowardice is so extreme that he never can draw the trigger."

Mounier, who had relied too much upon La Fayette's vigilance, and upon the order of safety which had he established for the night, when awakened late by an account of the horrid transactions which were taking place, at once augured the downfall both of liberty and monarchy, to each of which he was most zealously attached. He hastened to the assembly, and proposed that they should immediately proceed to the palace, hold their meeting in the grand saloon of Versailles, and assist the king with their advice, as well as with their assistance and protection, at this momentous crisis. But it did not at all suit the views of the patriots in any degree to impede, much less to prevent, the dismal procession to Paris: Mi-

rabreau answered, in his usual character, that it was beneath their dignity to meet in the king's palace; and this answer was received by the rest of the party, as a full and sufficient reason for continuing as they were. Mounier declares, that the joy of Mirabeau, Barnave, and others of the most violent leaders, was so extreme, as to become indecently apparent; whilst the members on the other side, expecting every moment to be surrounded by an armed rabble, trembled for their lives, and dared not utter a word. To while away time it was voted, that the national assembly was inseparable from the king; after which any trifling business that could be thought of was brought forward, to afford some appearance of debating until the business at the palace was entirely over.

The broken remnants of the middle or moderate party, of whom Mounier was the head, and who had ever endeavoured to establish, what they conceived to be the safest and most permanent system of liberty for the people, under the form of a limited monarchy, to be regulated and kept within proper bounds by a constitution somewhat resembling that of England, held a meeting in the evening, at which it was stated, that having long, with great peril to themselves, discharged their duty as honest men, in endeavouring to stem the torrent of republicanism, to defeat the unwavering, and therefore more dangerous designs of some of the factious leaders, to establish the liberty of the people, and at the same time to preserve the proper and necessary rights of the monarchy inviolate; that after this long and virtuous struggle, it was now a matter of grievous

grievous reflection to perceive, not only that all their efforts were fruitless, but that a directly contrary and most dangerous state of affairs had taken place. They saw the monarchy overthrown; the king a prisoner, not merely to his own subjects, considered generally as such, but to the rabble of Paris; while his life hung suspended by a hair, which it was in the power of every ruffian to snap or to cut in a moment. They saw that liberty for which they had so much contended, now placed in such a train, that if causes produced their proper effects, it was likely to be destroyed before it was formed. The national assembly must now remove to Paris, which had for some time been the prime wish, and chief object in view, with some of the most dangerous of the factious leaders who ruled that body. In Paris, the representatives of the people would become as absolute prisoners as the king; and France would be governed by laws, framed by these leaders, and enforced on the assembly by the terror of their instruments, the cabals and mobs of the capital. As for themselves, the purity of their views and the integrity of their conduct could not preserve them from continual danger and menace to their lives; indeed it was unhappily too clearly shewn, that these were qualities now so little regarded, that they could procure neither esteem nor safety. The question now for them to consider was, Whether, having fulfilled the duty which they owed to the public to the utmost of their power, but without effect, and finding affairs now in a state which not only rendered them totally useless for the present, but which cut off all hope of their ever

being otherwise under the present system, they should, notwithstanding, persevere in the same fruitless toil, and devote their lives, without a competent object, by placing them in the hands of the Parisians; or whether they should at once secede from the assembly, and submit their conduct in every thing, along with the causes of this procedure, to their constituents, as well as to the public at large?

The greater part of the members present, notwithstanding these reasons, in the veracity of which they all equally agreed, were yet unwilling to abandon their seats. Mounier and Lally Tolendal were at the head of the seceders.

But before Mounier had quitted the president's chair, he had the address, with the fervent aid of his friends, to carry a very important resolution, and which there was little reason to expect could have been passed. This was an order for an enquiry into the horrid massacre, intended and actually commenced on the 6th of October, and for prosecuting the authors thereof. This was the foundation of all the proceedings which were conducted in the chatelet upon the subject; and though substantial justice was not obtained, nor probably could be expected, yet it could not be without some good effect, by letting wanton murderers see, that they might not always be safe in the gratification of that horrid propensity; and reminding them, that public enquiries, and public prosecutions, were not pleasant matters to play with. It would have done much honour to the national assembly, would have prevented much well-founded reproach, which will not wear off while the memory of

any of their acts continue, and would have prevented acts which will be an eternal stain to their country, if they had passed, and supported with vigour, many similar resolutions; instead of turning accounts of the most inhuman murders to ridicule, and shamefully joking upon the purity or impurity of the blood thus shed.

Nothing at the same time can afford a stronger demonstration of the homage paid to Mounier's character; and of the awful ascendancy which virtue holds over those even who abhor its name, than that he should have been able to carry a resolution so abhorrent to the likings of all the principal leaders of the factions; — they evidently shrunk before it. He has declared himself, that the reflection of his having carried this measure of humanity and justice, was no small solace to him in his subsequent troubles and misfortunes. This was his last public act: and he, who had not long since been one of the most popular men in the kingdom, was, at no distant period, destined to fly from his country, and to retire to Geneva for the preservation of his life. This obligation he owed to Barnave and others of his brother deputies, who, unable to resist or endure his virtue when present, took care to prepossess the minds of the people so effectually against him, as to prevent the possibility of his being ever again troublesome. Mounier was, with respect to strictness of integrity, purity of principle, love and admiration of virtue, undoubtedly the first man in the assembly, and seemed to belong to another age rather than to the present. In talents and abilities he was second to none in that body; but they were

not showy, nor calculated to catch the vulgar; so that his popularity arose from the general sense entertained of his virtue. He was an enthusiastic lover of liberty, and as determined a foe to tyranny in every shape and form; but the liberty which he adored, and wished to establish, was a rational and regular one, fenced in with insuperable restraints against its degenerating into licentiousness and anarchy, as well as with impassable bounds against the inroads of despotism. In political affairs his faults were, being too refined and speculative, and sometimes being immoveable in his opinions.

We thought it both becoming and a part of our duty, to say thus much of a fallen and unfortunate, but a very eminent man; and the more so, as there is little probability that he will ever again come within our observation.

Mounier declared to a few particular friends, at his quitting Paris, how much he was oppressed by the melancholy reflection, that all his efforts in favour of liberty had only ended in enslaving France to the despotism of faction, instead of the despotism of royalty.

Two factions, with views totally different and incompatible, had an equal share in promoting the late disorders and violence. The republican levellers intended, by the removal to Paris, to place the unhappy sovereign so entirely in their own power, and by the aid of the Parisians to purge the assembly to totally of all who opposed them, that neither the king, the nobles, nor the clergy, could find it possible afterwards to defend any of their rights, not only by arms, but even by legal resistance. And they well  
saw

saw that the bare name of the king, which did not produce the smallest benefit to himself, might be turned to great account by affording some sanction to their proceedings, and thereby become a most useful instrument in the confirmation of their power. Upon these principles no designs that affected the king's life could originate or be received in this party.

The other faction, of which Mirabeau was, at least, the ostensible head, and the leaders of which were generally called the cabal, held very different views, though they pursued the same means, and used the same instruments, the mobs of Paris, for their attainment. The first, as we have seen, wished to confine the king, perhaps for life, within the walls of that capital; but the second hoped to terrify him into a flight; in which case they would have proceeded to deposition; and possibly the circumstances of the flight might have afforded an opportunity for greater and more decisive violence. Though these assumed the character of republicans, and generally acted along with them, yet so far were they from wishing the overthrow of the sovereignty, that they very reluctantly admitted even the reductions that were made in its authority; they wished it to continue perfect and whole, but wanted to change the hands in which it was placed; so that having set up a phantom of power, which, from its weakness, they knew they could manage as they pleased, a very few of their principal leaders would be enabled afterwards to govern with supreme authority. This party was from two causes particularly dangerous; one was the extreme profligacy, and

total want of principle, joined with uncommon abilities, of some of its leaders; the other was the profound secrecy with which its ultimate views were kept concealed, so that the real objects of its pursuit and conduct were never apparent.

The republican party were triumphant upon this occasion; and the views of the cabal, if not entirely seen through, were at least so far understood, as to excite much mistrust, and draw no small degree of odium upon their leaders.

Though the revolution was now completed, and no visible obstacle remaining which could check the republicans in their future career, yet the idea of shutting themselves up within the walls of the turbulent city of Paris, where 100,000 pair of jealous and suspicious eyes were to be an eternal watch upon their conduct and actions; where they were to be subjected to the caprice of a frantic and bloody populace, who had constituted themselves both judges and executioners of the law in all cases of life and death; and where the most zealous patriot was liable to become an instantaneous victim to the falsest report, or to the most unfounded suspicion; these considerations, acting altogether, could not but strike a great part of the assembly with the most serious and alarming apprehensions, and thereby serve much to lessen that satisfaction and exultation of pride and success, which their signal triumph over the crown, and that extreme and abject state of degradation to which it was reduced, might otherwise have afforded.

In order, by every means in their power, to guard against this danger, which, however unavowed, was equally obvious to all, the assembly immediately

immediately passed the strongest resolutions that could be framed, respecting the sacredness and inviolability of their persons. But these being in no degree sufficient to remove the general impression of danger which had taken place, so great a number of members were continually applying for leave of absence, that it seemed at length as if the assembly would be entirely deserted; and it was found necessary, as a remedy for the evil, to pass an order or resolution, that no farther applications for leave should be received.

These apprehensions had not, however, time to wear off before an event took place which sufficiently shewed that they were by no means ill-founded. For the assembly had not been long in Paris, when those loyal and peaceable citizens, being perhaps apprehensive that their rights and authority might, without frequent exertion, become dormant, and lapse into what the lawyers call a state of desuetude, determined to give their new visitants of the assembly an early specimen of what those rights and that authority were, so as to prevent all future mistakes about their nature and extent, and at the same time to afford a striking instance of their own due qualification, from the ease and facility with which they administered summary justice. There could be no want of an object on which to display their justice and dexterity, while there remained a baker still in existence. The lot accordingly fell upon an unfortunate member of that fraternity, who happened to be totally innocent of any known crime, or of any breach whatever of the laws; but the pithy death-term of 'monopolizer' being suddenly

founded in his ears, he was, at noon day, dragged out of his own house, and instantly hanged before the door, in the sight of his wife and family.

While the assembly were at a distance, matters of this sort were passed over without concern or notice; but this tumult taking place under their eyes, and the danger seeming already at their own doors, the alarm and apprehension excited by it were beyond description. This paroxysm of terror, however, produced an excellent effect, it roused the assembly into a degree of exertion, the want of which had been long and lamentably felt; and its very excess proved the means of inspiring them with courage. They likewise could not but feel how much their authority and dignity were set at nought and degraded, and that public opinion, upon which every thing depended, would be shaken, if so violent an outrage, committed almost in their presence, and as if it had been to shew who were in future to be their masters, had been suffered to pass with impunity. Under these, and similar impressions, the assembly immediately passed a very effective and severe law, founded much upon the principle of the English riot act, by which the municipal magistrates were obliged to proclaim martial law whenever the mob proceeded to outrage; and were besides furnished with a red, or, as it is called by seamen, a bloody flag, which, upon such occasions, was to be displayed from the town house, as a formidable emblem of the consequences which would ensue. In the same spirit, the Parisian rabble were condemned to the inexpressible mortification of beholding two or three of the



the most notorious of their brethren, who were concerned in the late tumult and murder, publicly hanged. These vigorous measures produced an immediate happy effect; and order and quiet were for some time established.

An event now took place which could not fail to astonish all those who were not admitted deeply into the secrets of affairs. This was the extraordinary measure of sending the duke of Orleans out of the kingdom. To understand this we are to observe, that nothing could exceed the indignation of La Fayette at the unexpected disobedience which he experienced from his troops on the 5th of October. All the mutual ties which should unite a general and his army seemed at once dissolved; and, besides the disappointment, and wound to his pride, the personal security of a commander seemed in a very precarious state, whose troops disdained to obey, and who made no scruple of flying in the face of his authority and command. He well knew that their disobedience and mutiny did not originate with themselves, but were produced by the machinations of the cabal; and he directed all his indignation and resentment to their proper object, the supposed father of that faction. For, whatever La Fayette's private political views might have been, there certainly was nothing farther removed from them, or which he abhorred more, even in idea, than that the duke of Orleans, through any convulsion, or change of circumstances, or under any denomination, of regent or otherwise, should ever be placed at the head of public affairs. He saw that the season was highly favourable to the gratification of his

enmity; that the views of the cabal were thoroughly seen through, and they had consequently lost all influence, weight, and confidence in the assembly; that Mirabeau had not been more unfortunate in his views to aggrandize his principal than himself; and that his late design of forcing himself into the royal administration, was so well understood, that his preparatory motion was rejected, with every mark not only of disgust but abhorrence.

It is said, that the leading party in the assembly had already derived all the benefits from the duke which they wished, or at any time intended: his pecuniary aid had from the beginning been indispensably necessary to their success, without it they could have done nothing; but now things were totally changed: if his treasures had not even been pretty well exhausted, they were not, however, in that state of necessity which rendered them once indispensable; he had been as long the instrument to their purposes as was necessary, to continue it longer would be folly. Besides that his services were no longer wanted, his presence was becoming troublesome; and might, under certain circumstances, through his influence with the rabble, possibly prove dangerous.

Whether the opinion that these motives operated upon the assembly be well founded or not, it seems evident that La Fayette must have had a certainty of being well supported when he ventured upon so bold, and seemingly so dangerous a measure. He settled the business like a soldier, with little ceremony but peremptory effect. In a short and sudden conference with the duke,

duke, he informed him in a few words, that his presence in France was at this juncture incompatible with the good of the nation; that England, where he was well acquainted, was deemed the country most fitting for him to retire to; that a passport from the king was ready for him; and that, to cover the matter, he should be apparently sent to execute a private commission from his majesty in that country. The mandate was so peremptory, delivered with such firmness,

and accompanied with an air of such decisive authority, that the duke, surprized and subdued, shrunk under its effect; and, every thing being prepared, was dispatched to England.

Mirabeau's rage was unbounded at this cowardly submission, as he termed it, of the duke. It was given in evidence before the chatelet, that he concluded a torrent of the grossest abuse by exclaiming, "He does not deserve the trouble that has been taken for his sake!"

## C H A P. III.

*Effects of the transactions in France upon the minds of the people of Great-Britain. General disposition in their favour at the commencement of the revolution. Various political speculations thereon. The evils which followed foreseen by more accurate observers, and particularly foretold in the celebrated work of Mr. Burke. The interest which the French leaders had in involving the surrounding states in the same distractions. Their attempts, and the effects of them, particularly in Great-Britain and Ireland. Meeting of parliament. Speech from the throne. Address voted in both houses without debate. Act of indemnity relative to the order of council for stopping the exportation of corn. Military estimates animadverted upon by Sir Grey Cooper, Mr. Marsham, and Mr. Fox; and defended by Mr. Grenville and Mr. Pitt. Some expressions of Mr. Fox, applauding the French revolution, and the conduct of the French army on that occasion, censured by Col. Phipps. The same subject taken up by Mr. Burke. His speech upon the spirit and consequences of that event, and his regret at differing in opinion from Mr. Fox. His opinion concerning the conduct of the French army, and concerning the comparison between the French revolution, and the revolution of 1688. His speech received with general applause. Mr. Fox, in reply, laments the difference of opinion between them. His encomium upon Mr. Burke. Explains his own sentiments respecting the French revolution. Professes his political principles. His opinion of the revolution of 1688. His apology for the excesses of the French patriots. Mr. Sheridan's speech upon the same occasion. Declares his entire difference of opinion from Mr. Burke. Defends the French revolution. Apologizes for its excesses. Charges Mr. Burke with being an advocate for despotism. Compliments the marquis de la Fayette, and other French patriots. His opinion of the revolution of 1688. Mr. Pitt, and other members, rise to express their obligations and gratitude to Mr. Burke for the sentiments he had expressed during the debate.*

**I**T was impossible that transactions of the kind we have just been relating, should not, in every point of view, forcibly attract the attention of all the surrounding nations of Europe. But, to the people of these kingdoms, they became, at an early period, from several peculiar circumstances, a subject matter of a more direct, as well as serious interest. Before we proceed, therefore, to the detail of our parliamentary proceedings, it will be necessary to give a short account of the general impression which the transactions of France made upon the public mind; to point out the different views they suggested to political parties, and the first appearance of a design to form a common cause between the speculative reformers of our own nation, and the levelling party, which soon became all-powerful, in France.

The reader will have remarked the many favourable circumstances, under which the states-general of France were at first assembled, and which seemed to require but an ordinary degree of public virtue and political prudence to improve them into the most important advantages. With a spirit of concession tending to facility, the representatives of the two first orders, the clergy and the nobility, were empowered, by the instructions of their respective constituents, to concede upon almost all the points, which had ever been considered as invidious, or were then in dispute, and particularly those of pecuniary privileges. Every thing that could be required from a prince, to whom the happiness of his people had ever been the object nearest his heart, was to be reckoned upon as certain; and, amongst the rest, the future periodical meetings of the states, by which the gradual improvement of

the constitution, without convulsion, perhaps without contest, was almost a necessary consequence.

Whilst the affairs of France wore this promising aspect, the English nation seemed disposed to congratulate, with sincerity, its ancient rival upon the dawn of its liberty. A laudable partiality for their own country had, indeed, excited apprehensions in some, that France, by availing itself of the advantages of a free constitution, might become a more powerful, and consequently a more dangerous neighbour: whilst others, led away by the fashionable theories of the day, conceived, that whatever temptations to ambition France might derive from its future prosperity, they would be more than counterbalanced by those principles of equity and moderation, which might be expected to prevail under its new system of government, in proportion to the predominance of the popular interests in it. This latter opinion had its advocates particularly amongst those, who were admirers of republican forms of government, and willing to cast an odium upon monarchy by attributing all the wars which have desolated the world, to the ambition and avarice of princes.

Such, in general, were the opinions which floated upon the public mind; and rather as matter of curious speculation, than of national concern. But upon what a superficial view of things these opinions were formed, in all their parts, the events, that have since happened, have fully evinced. The evils, however, which at that time existed only in their principles, or in such effects as might be supposed occasional or collateral, did not even then escape more experienced observers. They were developed and pursued

pursued to the dreadful consequences, which have since ensued. Before the close of the year 1789, a celebrated member of the British parliament, in a work, which will remain to the latest posterity as a monument of enlightened patriotism and unrivalled political judgment, not only warned the French nation of the dreadful precipice, upon which it stood, but foretold, with a circumstantial exactness, these horrors, which, though since acted almost under our eyes, we hesitate to believe. At the same time, he laid open to the view of all Europe, the designs of a faction, which aimed directly, both from policy and upon principle, at the total subversion of all its established governments.

It was evident to the projectors of the French revolution, that their plan must necessarily exceed the limits of their own territory. Conscious of the desperate lengths to which their system led, and resolved to push it to its utmost extent, they could not expect, that either the policy or generosity of the neighbouring states would suffer them to remain unconcerned spectators of the scenes they were preparing to act, or inattentive to the principles established, in order to justify or produce them. They saw, that it was not less necessary to the success of the general plan, than to the execution of that part, in which they were immediately engaged, to involve the other nations, without delay, in the same distractions. And notwithstanding they failed, for the most part, in this attempt, yet it is not to be doubted, but that the countenance they received amongst individuals in foreign countries, though not attended with fatal consequences to those countries themselves, yet by

the credit it gave to the exaggerated accounts given by their journalists of the general prevalence of their principles, contributed, in no small degree, to encourage the prevalent faction to the perpetration of those dreadful excesses, which they were afterwards wrought up to commit.

Such were the zeal and activity of the French agitators, and such the extent and boldness of their plans, that it is notorious, that there was no part of Europe in which their agents were not established for the purpose of disseminating their pernicious principles. Great-Britain and Ireland offered, upon many obvious accounts, the fairest field to the industry of these democratic missionaries. It was not neglected, and was cultivated not without success. Active and zealous partizans were found ready to co-operate with them. Nor was this confined to individuals: but various political societies, of more or less ancient denomination, made it their business to propagate their principles, and recommend their example. The nobility of France had not been long proscribed and the church plundered, nor the king many days led captive to Paris, before letters of congratulation were sent from several of these societies in both kingdoms, and a regular official correspondence opened between them and the leaders in France. In the transactions of these societies, the means by which the revolution was carried on and effected, if not always praised, were yet pronounced to be sanctified by the end; the example was recommended as a glorious pattern for the imitation of mankind, and sanguine expectations were held out, that it was but the first, though an essential and leading step to the general

ral emancipation of Europe. That these public declarations might not miss their effect upon the minds of the people, they were accompanied with plaintive comparisons between the august perfection of the new French constitution, and the imperfections of our own; and the palm of having so soon outstripped their ancient rivals, in the glorious race of freedom, was conceded with affected regret and humiliation.

At the same time the press teemed with the most daring libels upon the constitution of this country, and all its constituent parts. They were distributed gratis, and circulated with astonishing industry, not only amongst the lowest class of the community, but through the army and the navy. In these writings the people were invited to form themselves into clubs and societies, after the manner of the French; and many were actually formed in a great number of the most populous towns of the kingdom, avowedly affiliated (to use an expression of their own) by the democratic clubs in France.

Such was the state of things previous to the meeting of parliament, which took place on Thursday the 21st day of January.

In the speech from the throne, his majesty, after expressing his concern at the continuance of the war on the continent, and lamenting the internal commotions which disturbed the tranquillity of different parts of Europe, informed the two houses, that he continued to receive assurances of the good disposition of all foreign powers towards these kingdoms; and that he was persuaded they would entertain with him a deep and grateful sense of the favour of providence in continuing to his subjects the increasing advantages of peace; and

the uninterrupted enjoyment of those invaluable blessings which they had so long derived from our excellent constitution.

After the usual demand of supplies for the services of the year, he informed them of the measures he had been under the necessity of taking, during the recess of parliament, for preventing the exportation and facilitating the importation of corn, and that he had directed a copy of the order issued for that purpose to be laid before them.

Before the house of lords proceeded to take his majesty's speech into consideration, the marquis of Bath, the marquis of Salisbury, the earl of Mount Edgcombe, and the earl of Fortescue, who had been advanced, during the recess of parliament, to their several respective ranks in the peerage, took their seats with the accustomed solemnities.

The usual addresses were moved, and seconded in the house of lords by lord viscount Falmouth and lord Cathcart; and in the house of commons by the viscount Valleront and Mr. Cawthorne, and voted without opposition or debate. The topics chiefly insisted upon by the several speakers, were the notoriety of the facts mentioned or alluded to in the speech from the throne, and the striking contrast which the happiness and prosperity of this nation exhibited, when compared with the situation of almost every other power in Europe; circumstances which, they said, were to be attributed, in the first place, to the superior excellence of our constitution, and, in the second, to the wise and prudent administration of the executive government.—In the house of commons, as soon as the address was voted, an act of indemnity was order-

ed to be brought in; respecting the orders of council alluded to in the speech from the throne.

The estimates for the military establishments were nearly the same with those of the preceding year, and were not voted without some objections from the side of opposition. It was observed by Sir Grey Cooper, Mr. Marham, and Mr. Fox, that eight years of peace had elapsed, and that the military estimates were not yet reduced even to the peace establishment of 1775, though the committee of finance, which sat in the year 1786, had presumed upon a still greater reduction. That there was nothing in the actual situation of affairs that called for this extraordinary military force: but, on the contrary, that his Majesty had assured them of the pacific disposition of all the foreign powers; that our ancient rival and enemy, in consequence of her internal disturbances, would probably be disabled from giving us any molestation for a long course of years; and, lastly, that the alliances we had made, and the subsidiary treaties we had entered into on the continent, inasmuch as they multiplied the chances of our being involved in war, were proportionably mischievous, if they did not enable us to reduce our expences in time of peace.

To these arguments it was answered in general by Mr. Grenville and Mr. Pitt, that though there was no reason at present to apprehend that we should be engaged in hostilities with any foreign power; yet the unsettled state of Europe, and the internal situation of several parts of it, made it necessary for us to keep ourselves in such a state, as might enable us to act with vigour and effect, if occasion should require. That it was a preposterous economy

to tempt an attack by our weakness, and for a miserable present saving, to hazard a great future expence. That our foreign alliances, which had been approved of by all parties as necessary for the preservation of that balance of power in Europe, upon which the permanence of its tranquillity depended, could only be rendered effectual for that purpose, by our being able to support them with an adequate force; and, lastly, that it would be found upon an examination of the detail of all our military establishments, that they could not with common prudence be reduced to a narrower scale.

In the course of the debate upon this subject, Mr. Fox took occasion to remark, that the conduct of the French soldiers, during the late commotions, tended greatly to remove one of the objections, which he had always entertained against standing armies. That army, by refusing to obey the dictates of the court, had set a glorious example to all the military of Europe, and had shewn, that men, by becoming soldiers, did not cease to be citizens.

This remark did not pass without animadversion at the time it was made. Colonel Phipps begged leave to enter his protest against the compliment which had been paid to the profession, to which he had the honour to belong, so far as it was connected with any approbation of the proceedings of the French army. He conceived, that the conduct of the British army in the year 1780, might have furnished the right honourable gentleman with a much more unexceptionable ground of panegyric. He would there have found the soldiery of this nation not joining those, who were riotously disturbing the public peace and scattering ruin among individuals; not

not the first, in violation of their oaths and of their allegiance, to head anarchy and rebellion; but men really feeling as citizens and soldiers, patiently submitting to the insults of the populace, and, in spite of provocation, maintaining the laws and acting under the constituted authorities of the realm.

On the 9th of February, when the military estimates were reported from the committee, a further debate took place; in which Mr. Fox having again let fall some expressions of applause of the French revolution, Mr. Burke rose, and after a few observations upon the general state of Europe, as it affected the question of encreasing or diminishing the military force of Great Britain; he adverted, in a more particular manner, to the situation of France. That country, he remarked, by the mere circumstance of its vicinity, ought to be the first object of our vigilance, not only with regard to her actual power, but also to her influence and example, which had once been, and might again become, more dangerous to us than her worst hostility. He instanced the earlier part of the reign of Louis the Fourteenth, and the difficulty, with which the patriots of that day struggled in this country against the influence of an example, which, by its splendor and success, had not only captivated our then sovereigns king Charles and king James, but gained something upon all ranks of people. The danger, in the last age, he observed, was from an example of despotism in government, and of intolerance in religion. In the present the disease was altered, but it was far more likely to be contagious; it was on the side of religion, atheism, and, with regard to government, anarchy; it was the danger of being led

through an admiration of successful fraud and violence, to an imitation of the excesses of an irrational, unprincipled, proscribing, confiscating, plundering, ferocious, bloody, and tyrannical democracy.

He then proceeded to observe, that the very worst part of the example set us in France was, in his opinion, the late assumption of citizenship by the army. As this opinion was in direct opposition to the sentiments of Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke expressed the great regret he felt in differing from his right honourable friend; and after pronouncing a fine panegyric upon his superior abilities, and bearing testimony to the natural moderation, disinterestedness, and benevolence of his disposition, he begged the house to judge from his coming forward to mark an expression or two of his best friend, how anxious he was to keep the distemper of France from the least countenance in England, where, he was sure, some wicked persons had shewn a strong disposition to recommend an imitation of the French spirit of reform; so strongly, he said, was he opposed to any the least tendency towards the means of introducing a democracy like theirs, as well as to the end itself, that he would abandon his best friends, and join with his worst enemies, to oppose either the means or the end.

Mr. Burke then took a concise view of what had been lately done in France. That nation, he observed, had gloried (and some people in England had thought fit to take share in that glory) in making a revolution; as if revolutions were good things in themselves. All the horrors and all the crimes of the anarchy, which led to their revolution, which attend its progress, and which may virtually attend it in its establishment,

establishment, pass for nothing with the lovers of revolutions. The French have made their way, thro' the destruction of their country, to a bad constitution, when they were absolutely in possession of a good one. They were in possession of it the day the States met in separate orders. Their business, had they been either virtuous, or wise, or had been left to their own judgment, was to secure the stability and independence of the States, according to those orders, under the monarch on the throne. It was then their duty to redress grievances.

Instead of redressing grievances, and improving the fabric of their state, to which they were called by their monarch, and sent by their country, they were made to take a very different course. They first destroyed all the balances and counterpoises, which serve to fix the state and to give it a steady direction, and which furnish sure correctives to any violent spirit which may prevail in any of the orders. These balances existed in their oldest constitution, and in the constitution of this country, and in the constitution of all the countries in Europe. These they rashly destroyed, and then they melted down the whole into one incongruous, ill-connected mass.

When they had done this, they instantly, with the most atrocious perfidy and breach of all faith among men, laid the axe to the root of all property, and consequently of all national prosperity, by the principles they established, and the example they set, in confiscating all the possessions of the church. They made and recorded a sort of infirmitate and digest of anarchy, called the rights of man, in such a pedantic abuse of elementary principles as would have disgraced boys at school;

but this declaration of rights was worse than trifling and pedantic in them; as by their name and authority, they systematically destroyed every hold of authority by opinion, religious or civil, on the minds of the people. By this mad declaration, they subverted the state, and brought on such calamities as no country, without a long war, has ever been known to suffer, and which may in the end produce such a war, and, perhaps, many such. Should they even perfectly succeed in what they propose, as they were likely enough to do, and establish a democracy, or a mob of democracies, in a country circumstanced like France, they would establish a very bad government—a very bad species of tyranny.

But the worst effect of all their proceedings, he said, was on their military. If the question was, whether soldiers were to forget they were citizens, as an abstract proposition, he could have no difference about it; though, as it is usual, when abstract principles are to be applied, much was to be thought on the manner of uniting the character of citizen and soldier. But as applied to the events which had happened in France, where the abstract principle was clothed with its circumstances, he thought that his friend would agree with him, that what was done there furnished no matter of exultation, either in the act or the example. It was not an army embodied under the respectable patriot citizens of the state in resisting tyranny. Nothing like it. It was the case of common soldiers deserting from their officers, to join a furious, licentious populace.

He expressed his concern that this strange thing, called a Revolution in France, should be compared with  
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the glorious event, commonly called the Revolution in England; and the conduct of the soldiery, on that occasion, compared with the behaviour of some of the troops of France in the present instance. At that period, the prince of Orange, a prince of the blood royal in England, was called in by the flower of the English aristocracy to defend its ancient constitution, and not to level all distinctions. To this prince, so invited, the aristocratic leaders who commanded the troops, went over with their several corps, in bodies, to the deliverer of their country. Military obedience changed its object; but military discipline was not for a moment interrupted in its principle.

But as the conduct of the English armies was different, so was that of the whole English nation at that time. In truth, the circumstances of our revolution (as it is called) and that of France, are just the reverse of each other in almost every particular, and in the whole spirit of the transaction. What we did was in truth and substance, and in a constitutional light, a revolution, not made, but prevented. We took solid securities; we settled doubtful questions; we corrected anomalies in our law. In the stable, fundamental parts of our constitution we made no revolution; no, nor any alteration at all. We did not impair the monarchy: perhaps it might be shewn, that we strengthened it very considerably. The church was not impaired: The nation kept the same ranks, the same privileges, the same franchises, the same rules for property. The church and the state were the same after the revolution that they were before, but better secured in every part.

Accordingly the state flourished,

Instead of lying as dead, in a sort of trance, or exposed, as some others, in an epileptic fit, to the pity or derision of the world, for her wild, ridiculous, convulsive movements, impotent to every purpose but that of dashing out her brains against the pavement, Great Britain rose above the standard, even of her former self. An æra of a more improved domestic prosperity then commenced, and still continues, not only unimpaired, but growing, under the wasting hand of time.

This speech of Mr. Burke was received with great and general applause. As soon as he sat down, Mr. Fox rose and said, that his right honourable friend had mixed his remarks upon what he had said with so much personal kindness towards him, that he felt himself under a difficulty in making any return, lest the house should doubt his sincerity, and consider what he might say as a mere discharge of a debt of compliments. He must, however, declare, that such was his sense of the judgment of his right honourable friend, and such the estimation in which he held his friendship, that if he were to put all the political information which he had learnt from books, all which he had gained from science, and all which any knowledge of the world and its affairs had taught him, into one scale, and the improvement, which he had derived from his right honourable friend's instruction and conversation, were placed in the other, he should be at a loss to decide, to which to give the preference.

With respect to the approbation he had expressed of the late conduct of the French military, and his exultation upon the revolution, which had taken place in that country, Mr. Fox said, he should still main-

tain that he was not wrong in so doing. But he hoped that no person would thence infer, either that he was a friend to democracy, or approved of the excesses which had been committed in France. With respect to the former point, he declared himself equally the enemy of all absolute forms of government, whether an absolute monarchy, an absolute aristocracy, or an absolute democracy, and approved only of a mixed government, like our own. But though he should never lend himself to support any cabal or scheme, formed in order to introduce dangerous innovations into our excellent constitution; he would not, however, run the length of declaring, that he was an enemy to every species of innovation, because that constitution, which we all revered, owed its perfection to innovation. He differed greatly from Mr. Burke in his opinion of the revolution of 1688, in which he conceived that many innovations had taken place, and he thought that case was certainly more parallel to the revolution in France than his right honourable friend seemed willing to allow. With regard to the scenes of bloodshed and cruelty which had been acted in France, no man could have heard of them without lamenting them; but still when the severe tyranny, under which that people had so long groaned, was considered, the excesses which they committed, in their endeavour to shake off the yoke of despotism, might, he thought, be spoken of with some degree of compassion; and he was persuaded that, unsettled as their present state appeared, it was preferable to their former condition, and that ultimately it would be for the advantage of that country.

After a short explanation from Mr. Burke, Mr. Sheridan rose and said, that the very reasons which Mr. Burke had given for expressing the sentiments, which he had that day uttered, namely, an apprehension of being supposed to acquiesce in the opinions of those, for whom he entertained the highest regard and with whom he had uniformly acted, operated also on his mind, and made him feel it a duty to declare, that he differed decidedly from that right honourable gentleman in almost every word that he had uttered respecting the French revolution. Mr. Sheridan added some warm compliments to Mr. Burke's general principles; but said, that he could not conceive how it was possible for a person of such principles, or for any man who valued our own constitution, and revered the revolution that obtained it for us, to unite with such feelings an indignant and unqualified abhorrence of all the proceedings of the patriotic party in France.

He conceived, he said, theirs to be as just a revolution as ours, proceeding upon as sound a principle and a greater provocation, and vehemently defended the general views and conduct of the national assembly. He joined with Mr. Burke in abhorring the cruelties that had been committed; but what, he said, was the awful lesson that was to be gathered from the outrages of the populace? What, but an abhorrence of that accursed system of despotic government, which sets an example of depravity to the slaves it rules over: and if a day of power comes to the wretched populace, is it to be wondered at, however it is to be regretted, that they act without any of those feelings of justice or humanity,

manity, which the principles and practice of the governors had stripped them of?

Mr. Sheridan went into several other topics respecting the French revolution, and charged Mr. Burke with being an advocate for despotism, and with having spoken of the national assembly with an unwarrantable freedom of speech.

After paying some high compliments to the marquis de la Fayette, monsieur Bailly, and others of the French patriots, Mr. Sheridan concluded, with expressing a farther difference with Mr. Burke with respect to our own revolution of 1688, He had ever been accustomed to consider it as the glorious æra that gave real and efficient freedom to

this country, and established, on a permanent basis, those sacred principles of government, and reverence for the rights of men, which he, for one, could not value here, without wishing to see them diffused throughout the world.

Mr. Burke made a short reply to Mr. Sheridan, after which Mr. Pitt and several other members expressed their concurrence with Mr. Burke in the sentiments he had delivered, and their sense of the obligation he had conferred upon his country by the part he had that day taken.

The estimates delivered in for the service of the army and ordnance, were then voted by the house without alteration.

C H A P. IV.

*The dissenters encouraged, by the small majority by which the motion for the repeal of the test and corporation act was rejected the last session, to renew their application. Steps taken by them to support it. Alarm of the friends of the established church. Mr. Fox's speech upon moving for the repeal. His general principles of toleration. His opinion of the impolicy and injustice of the test laws. Argues from the merits of the dissenters. Urges the example of France. Censures the conduct of the bishop of St. David's. Concludes with declaring his determination to support the question he had brought forward upon every future occasion. Motion opposed by Mr. Pitt. He objects to its extent, and the principles on which it was supported. Is of opinion it might affect the security of the church. He considers the test acts as proper restraints on the prerogative of the crown. Animadverts on the attempts of the dissenters to influence members of parliament. Thinks it would be dangerous to trust them with power. And that tests, the severity of which could be occasionally mitigated, were necessary to enable government to ward off danger in cases of necessity. Mr. Burke concurs with Mr. Fox in his principles of toleration; but thinks the dissenters, at the present moment, not intitled to indulgence. Charges them with factious and dangerous practices, and reads various papers in support of his charge. Suggests the propriety of a new test, and of a committee to enquire into their recent conduct. Mr. Fox's motion rejected by a majority of 294 to 105. Motion by Mr. Flood for a reform in parliament. States the inadequacy of the present mode of representation. Proposes one hundred additional members to be chosen by resident housekeepers. His arguments to prove the necessity of a reform. Answers objections. The motion opposed by Mr. Wyndham. He asserts that*

*the house of commons, as at present constituted, is adequate for all beneficial purposes. Answers the objections relative to the American war. Deprecates innovations founded upon theories. Objects to the time as dangerous. Mr. Pitt objects to the motion as ill-timed. Sir James Johnstone's objections. Mr. Fox supports the motion, and answers the objection of its being ill-timed. Mr. Burke in reply. Other speakers on both sides the question. The motion agreed to be withdrawn.*

**T**HE very small majority by which Mr. Beaufoy's motion for the relief of protestant dissenters had been rejected last year\*, justified the perseverance of that body in renewing their application to parliament, and could not fail of giving them sanguine hopes of success. Another application was immediately determined upon, to be made in the present sessions, and the interval was employed, with indefatigable industry, in making every possible exertion to fortify their cause, both by general appeals to the people, and by an active canvas of individual members of parliament. The circumstance of an approaching general election was also thought favourable to their attempt, on account of their great weight and influence in many counties and corporations, and their avowed determination to exert them, on the ensuing occasion, in the support of such candidates only, as were known, or should promise, to be their supporters. At the same time it appears, that they wished to consolidate with their own, the interest of the Roman catholic dissenters, and probably expected, that they should derive some accession of strength from that quarter, by extending their application so as to include in it the members of that persuasion. Their cause, thus promising and thus supported, it was resolved to entrust, in the house of commons, to the zeal and talents of Mr. Fox.

On the other hand, the friends of the established church, alarmed by the activity and confidence of their opponents, exhibited some symptoms of vigour in preparing for its defence. Appeals were answered by appeals, and in one instance, at least, an eminent prelate of the church was found to have used his influence amongst his clergy in opposition to a parliamentary candidate, expressly on account of his having voted for the repeal of the corporation and test acts. But what contributed most especially to prejudice the public mind against the claims of the dissenters, was the violence with which some of their leaders engaged in the politics of the times, their known correspondence with France, and their open avowal, that the repeal of the offensive act was not sought for as their main object, but as a step towards a total demolition of all church establishments. Even some of the most moderate and most respectable of their own party, alarmed or disgusted at the spirit of their proceedings, refused to concur in the proposed application.

On Tuesday the second of March, Mr. Fox, agreeably to the notice he had given, brought the subject before the house of commons, which was one of the fullest that had been for some time assembled. He began his speech with observing, that he had not obtruded himself upon the occasion, but that he came forward at the express wish and solici-

\* See Annual Register for the year 1789, page 148.

tation of the persons most interested in the success of the motion he was about to make: that it was a subject of some triumph and exultation to him, to see those men, who on former occasions had acted with the most violent hostility towards him, desirous, notwithstanding, of entrusting their dearest interests to him.

The argument which Mr. Fox chiefly laboured to establish was of this kind: that religious tests were justifiable only upon a supposition, that men who entertained certain speculative opinions, would be led by those opinions to commit actions that were in themselves immoral and hurtful to society. Now it was unwarrantable, he contended, to infer *a priori*, and contrary to the professions and declarations of the persons holding such opinions, that their opinions would produce acts injurious to the commonweal. To presume to judge of other men's opinions, and to know the consequences of them better than themselves, was the constant practice, and was of the very essence, of persecution. How little speculative opinions were, in fact, to be considered as disqualifications for being admitted into civil employments, was evident from various instances. Those who were the most strongly attached to the present constitution of the house of commons, would not contend, that the duke of Richmond ought to be disqualified from being master-general of the ordnance, or Mr. Pitt from being first lord of the treasury, because they were of opinion that the present mode of representation was defective and called for amendment. For the same reason, he did not see why the church should be supposed to be in danger, though Dr. Priestley himself were at the head of it. The object of the test laws, at first, had

been to exclude anti-monarchical men from civil offices; but he would ever reprobate such a procedure; it was acting under false pretences; its tendency led to hypocrisy, and served as a restraint upon the good and conscientious only. Instead of a formal and direct oath of allegiance, there was an indirect, political test resorted to, by means of a religious test; although the obligation of all direct political tests had been justly exploded by the practice of the country. Why not have proposed a monarchical test at once? It would have answered the end by far more effectually than the present test; for the test now given went only to guess at a man's opinion: it might admit those whose political sentiments might be inimical to the constitution, while it operated directly against others who were amongst its staunchest friends. With respect to the church, he ridiculed the opinion, that it might be endangered by the repeal of the acts, as of all others the most unfounded and absurd. The only danger that the church had to apprehend, was from the supine indolence of the clergy, and the superior activity and zeal of the dissenters in the discharge of the duties of their sacred functions.

Mr. Fox then argued from the merits of the dissenters, first historically; and then contended generally, that the political principles they were supposed to entertain were less inimical to the British constitution, than those of the high churchmen.

With respect to French politics, he did not see what the present question had to do with them. He reprobated the injustice of imputing to any body of men the exceptionable conduct of a few individuals amongst them, and contended, that his motion ought to be decided upon general

general principles. Yet he saw no reason but the example of France ought to have its influence; the church there was now suffering for its former intolerance. However he might rejoice in the emancipation of near thirty millions of his fellow-creatures, and in the spirit which gave rise to the revolution; yet he was free to own there were some acts of the new government which he could not applaud. The summary and indiscriminate forfeiture of the property of the church came under this description. But the violence of this proceeding might, in some measure, be attributed to former ecclesiastical oppressions; and, in particular, to the impolitic revocation of the edict of Nantes. Before that period, there existed no test in France; protestants and catholics were indiscriminately admitted into civil and military offices: but by that rash measure, liberality and toleration were thrown away; the arts and manufactures were driven into other countries, to flourish in a more genial soil, and under a milder form of government. This should serve as a caution to the church of England; persecution may prevail for a time, but it generally terminates in the punishment of its abettors.

After animadverting upon the conduct of the bishop of St. David's, who had, about that time, sent a circular letter to the clergy of his diocese, dissuading them, in the strongest terms, from giving their votes for a certain member of the house of commons, on account of his having supported the petition of the dissenters, and thereby attempted to overthrow our ecclesiastical constitution; Mr. Fox concluded an able, temperate, and judicious speech, by declaring, that he was sufficiently aware of the

unpopularity of the cause he had undertaken; that he knew that some of the persons, whom he most valued and respected, differed with him in opinion upon the subject; that he had no particular connexion with the parties, who considered themselves as aggrieved, but, on the contrary, that they had been amongst his most violent political enemies; but regarding their cause as the cause of truth and liberty, he should give it his warmest support both upon the present and on every future occasion.

The act of the 13th of Charles II. "for the well governing and regulating corporations, &c." and the act of the 25th of Charles II. "for preventing dangers which may arise from popish recusants, &c." having been previously read at the table, Mr. Fox moved,—“That this house will immediately resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider of so much of the said acts as requires persons, before they are admitted to any office, civil or military, or any place of trust under the crown, to receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper according to the rites of the church of England.”

The motion was seconded by Sir Henry Hoghton, and opposed in a long and able speech by Mr. Pitt. He began by expressing his obligations to Mr. Fox for his clear and candid statement of the precise object of the dissenters in their present application, and of the full extent to which his motion was intended to be carried. Whatever doubts he might before have entertained relative to the expediency of admitting any alteration in the acts, which had been read, he certainly could not hesitate a moment in opposing their direct and total abolition.

If the principle that had been laid down by Mr. Fox was admitted, that *actions* were the only test that ought to be resorted to in cases like the present, there would be an end of what had always been esteemed one of the tests of political wisdom, the policy of *prevention*. He considered the church of England, as by law established, to be so essential a part of the constitution, that whatever endangered it, would necessarily affect the security of the whole; and therefore that it ought to be guarded with the most watchful jealousy. It was for this reason, he conceived, that the legislature had thought fit even to abridge one of the undoubted prerogatives of the crown, by preventing the sovereign from employing persons in offices of trust, who could not give a certain pledge of their attachment to the established government in church and state. And he reminded the house, that our constitution owed its present existence to the sanction of those laws; that had they not existed, the family of Stuart might have been at that time in possession of the throne, and that house deprived of the privilege even of deliberating upon the question then before them.

The constitution, he said, by investing the executive power with the sole appointment to offices of trust, and making it ultimately responsible for their execution, must be supposed to have joined to it the power of judging of the fitness or unfitness of individuals to occupy those stations. In the exercise of this discretionary authority, the executive power might possibly be induced, by peculiar circumstances, to exclude some certain descriptions of people; and surely what the executive government might adopt as

a measure of necessary policy, the supreme legislative power might enact upon the same grounds of expediency. The claim as of right to civil offices, appeared to him perfectly absurd and ridiculous, unless it were agreed, that the offices in question were created for the advantage of those who occupied them, and not as trusts for the benefit of the public, and that they ought to be distributed upon the principle of public lottery, in which every man ought to have an equal chance for a prize.

Having argued the question of right, Mr. Pitt proceeded to consider that of expediency. And here he gave it as his decided opinion, that the acts in question were necessary to the security of the established church. He could not, he said, avoid remarking a little on the conduct of the dissenters, who, at the moment they were reprobating a test, had pretty publicly indicated an intention of forming associations throughout the whole country, for the purpose of putting the members of that house to a test, and of resolving to judge of their fitness to fill their seats by their votes on this single question. They had explained themselves since indeed, and declared, that they never meant to put a test to any one; in the explanation, however, it appeared that they had retained the substance, though they had done away the word: for in the resolutions of their meeting, signed by Mr. Jefferies, it was declared, that they meant to give their support to such members as proved themselves to be friends to religious and civil liberty, the true meaning of which general terms must strike every man. It was evident, that the dissenters would not consider any one a friend

to religious and civil liberty, who did not vote for the repeal of the test and corporation acts. In his opinion, therefore, they came with an ill grace to solicit the repeal of a test, when at the same moment they threatened the house with one.

He need not, he said, trouble the house to prove, that the dissenters would exercise power, if put in possession of it, since the possession of power always produced the inclination to exercise it; and, without meaning to throw any stigma on the dissenters, he could not hesitate a moment in supposing it probable, that they might feel inclined to exercise their power to the subversion of the established church; it would be so far from reprehensible in them, that, possessing the principles they profess, and acting conscientiously upon those principles, it would become their duty, as honest men, to make the endeavour; for those who considered the established church to be sinful and bordering on idolatry, would not act conscientiously nor consistently, unless they exercised all the legal means in their power to do away that idolatry.

The test laws had been declared inefficacious and nugatory, as the legislature had been obliged every session to pass an act of indemnity. If the fact was so, the complaint of oppression must cease; for, from the right honourable gentleman's own argument it was obvious, that the laws were not enforced. Although the temperate forbearance of government from the execution of the laws was truly laudable, when the danger was neither imminent nor alarming to the church, whose permanent safety was their object; yet, to repeal the laws in question, because their execution was not always necessary, would be

impolitic in the extreme; as the legislature, if it once suffered the remedy against such danger to be taken out of the hands of the executive government, might not be able to place it there again when the exigence of the times might render it absolutely necessary for the safety of the church.

Mr. Burke concurred with Mr. Fox upon the general ground of many of his arguments respecting toleration, and declared, that had the repeal been moved for ten years ago, he should probably have joined him in supporting it; but he had the strongest reasons to believe, that many of the persons now calling themselves *dissenters*, and who stood the most forward in the present application for relief, were men of factious and dangerous principles, actuated by no motives of religion or conscience, to which toleration could in any rational sense be applied. This led him to remark upon the danger and absurdity, of recurring to abstract original rights in determining civil regulations, upon their incompatibility with each other, and upon the advantages which men derived in exchange for the rights of nature from the establishments of civil society, and of its necessary concomitant, religion.

Mr. Burke also agreed with Mr. Fox, that men were not to be judged merely by their speculative opinions, but by their opinions and conduct taken together. It was by these that he should judge how far the petitioners were entitled to the indulgence they requested; by their acts, their declarations, and their avowed intentions.

Mr. Burke then produced and read to the house, several authentic documents to substantiate the allegations he had before made:—

Amongst



Amongst these was a catechism circulated amongst the dissenters, expressly adopted by some and publicly condemned by none, which, instead of teaching the principles of revealed religion, was full of the most audacious libels upon the national establishments and continued invectives upon kings and bishops. Another was a letter written by Mr. Fletcher, a dissenter, from a meeting of dissenting ministers, holden at Bolton, in Lancashire. Mr. Fletcher stated in his letter, that the meeting avowed such violent principles, that he would not stay, but came away with some other moderate men. It asserted, that one member, on being asked what was their object, and whether they meant to seek for any thing more than the repeal of the test and corporation acts, answered, in the language of our Saviour, "We know those things, which ye are not yet able to bear." And on another member's saying, "Give them a little light into what we intend," they informed him, that they did not care the nip of a straw for the repeal of the test and corporation acts, but that they designed to try for the abolition of the tythes and liturgy. In addition to these documents, he read several well-known extracts from the writings of Doctor Priestley and Doctor Price, expressive of their hostility to all establishments, their persuasion that those of religion were sinful and idolatrous, and their determination to proceed step by step till they were demolished.

Mr. Burke concluded his speech by declaring it to be his opinion, on account of the many alarming and suspicious circumstances, under which the present application came to parliament, that if the test and corporation acts were repealed, some

other test ought to be substituted. He said he had a draft of another test in his pocket, and he had formed an idea of moving the previous question, with a view afterwards to move for a committee to examine into the recent conduct of the dissenters. He did not wish the house to rely on his facts before he had established them by proof, of which he knew them to be capable. If, however, they should, upon investigation, not appear to be founded, he would hold himself bound to vote for the repeal of the test and corporation acts. If they should think the best way of laying the question at rest, would be by coming to a vote upon the motion, he would submit.

Mr. Fox made a long reply, in which he particularly urged the injustice of deciding a general question of right upon the conduct of a few individuals: after which the house divided, for the motion 105, against it 294.

The next question of importance which engaged the consideration of the house of commons, was a motion made by Mr. Flood, on the 4th of March, for leave to bring in a bill to amend the representation of the people in parliament.

The grounds upon which Mr. Flood proceeded were these: That as, by the general law of the constitution, the majority is to decide for the whole, the representative must be chosen by a body of constituents, whereof the elective franchise may extend to the majority of the people. For, if the constituent body consisted of but one thousand for the whole nation, the representatives chosen by that thousand could not, in any rational sense, be the actual representative of the people.—That nothing less than a constituent body,

dy, formed on a principle that extends to the majority, can be constitutionally adequate to the return of an actual representative of the people; and that unless the people be actually represented, they are not constitutionally represented at all. He admitted that property, to a certain degree, is a necessary ingredient to the elective power; that is to say, that franchise ought not to go beyond property; but at the same time it ought to be as nearly commensurate to it as possible. Property, by the original principle of the constitution, was the source of all power, both elective and legislative; the *liberi tenentes*, including at that time, in effect, the whole property of the country, and extending to the mass of the people, were the elective body. The persons whom they chose to represent them in parliament, sat in right of the property of their electors; and the barons sat in right of their own baronies; that is to say, of their own property. At that time the latter were not creatures of royal patent as now. But now that the lords are creatures of royal patent merely, and that freehold property is but a part of the property of the nation, the national property is not as fully represented as it was originally, and as it ought to be still by the constitution.—That the constituent body is also defective in point of number, as well as in point of property; the whole number of electors being infinitely short of what it ought to be, and, what is worse, the majority of the representatives who decide for the whole, chosen by a number of electors not exceeding six or eight thousand; though these representatives are to act for eight millions of people.—That a new body of constituents is therefore wanting;

and in their appointment two things are to be considered; one, that they should be numerous enough, because numbers are necessary to the spirit of liberty; the other, that they should have a competent degree of property, because that is conducive to the spirit of order.

To supply this deficiency, both in the representative and constituent body, Mr. Flood proposed, that one hundred members should be added, and that they should be elected by the resident householders in every county—resident: first, because they must be best acquainted with every local circumstance; and next, because they can attend at every place of election, with the least inconvenience and expence to themselves, or to the candidate:—Householders, because being masters of families, they must be sufficiently responsible to be entitled to franchise. There is no country in the world, he said, in which the householders of it are considered as the rabble—no country can be said to be free, where they are not allowed to be efficient citizens; they are, exclusive of the rabble, the great mass of the people; they are the natural guards of popular liberty in the first stages of it—without them it cannot be retained; as long as they have this constitutional influence, and till they become generally corrupt, popular liberty cannot be taken away.

In order to evince the necessity of the reform proposed, Mr. Flood used the following argument: The constitution, he said, consists of three orders, one monarchical, one aristocratic, and one popular; the balance consists in maintaining the equipoise between them. This balance was lost in the first part of the Norman æra; it was recovered in some degree afterwards; it was im-

paired

paired again in the period of the Tudors and Stuarts; at the revolution it is supposed to have been again recovered. Let us see whether it has not been impaired since. The lords have been the most stationary part; yet, by a great increase of their numbers of late, the upper house has obtained a great many patrimonial and private boroughs; thereby obtaining an influence over the house of commons, which does not constitutionally belong to them. But the great alteration has happened on the part of the crown. On this point he quoted the authority of Mr. Justice Blackstone and Mr. Hume; and, lastly, the memorable revolution of the house of commons.—“that the influence of the crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished.” Does any man, he said, doubt this authority? Were not they who voted it witnesses of the fact, as well as judges of the proposition? But it does not rest on their authority; an act of the whole legislature has since confirmed their words—they have been made statute by the act of reform that passed afterwards. But what has happened since? An East India bill has passed, and a declaratory law. And what is the consequence? No man who has any modesty, or who ever expects to be credited, will deny, that by those laws more influence has been conveyed to the crown, or the minister, than was subtracted by that act of reform. After answering the objections that might be made to his motion as ill-timed, innovating on the constitution, and tending to excite discontents among the people, Mr. Flood concluded to the following effect:

Montesquieu has said, that a free

people will pay more taxes with greater alacrity, than a people that are not free; and he adds the reason, because they have a compensation in the rights they enjoy. The people of England pay fifteen millions and a half annually, to the revenue. This purchase they pay for the constitution. Shall they not have the benefit of it? Every individual pays fifty shillings a year.—How many enjoyments must every inferior individual relinquish, and how much labour must he undergo, to enable him to make this contribution? No people ever deserved better of government than the people of this country, at this moment; they have not only submitted with alacrity to this enormous mass of taxation, but when the health or the rights of their sovereign were at stake, they gathered around the throne with unexampled zeal: Can such a people be denied their privileges? Can their privileges be a subject of indifference or remissness to this house? I cannot believe it; and therefore I move for leave to bring in a bill to amend the representation of the people in parliament.

The motion was seconded by Mr. Grigby, and opposed by Mr. Wyndham, who observed, that, in his opinion, before the house could receive the motion, the right honourable gentleman ought first to make out some specific grievance, arising out of the present mode of representation, and then propose his remedy; and when the house were put in possession of both, it would be for them to judge how far the first was ascertained and the second proportionate, and to decide whether the remedy ought to be adopted or not. Mr. Flood had said, that the representation was inadequate, without

without producing any fact in proof of the allegation, except an arithmetical calculation, which only proved it to be, what needed no proof, unequal. The right honourable gentleman seemed to have confounded the end with the means. Experience had convinced them, that the representation was not inadequate; but that the house of commons, constituted as it was, answered all the beneficial purposes that could possibly be desired. This was a case in which we might lose every thing and could gain nothing. The liberty of the country stood in need of no speculative security, it could not be better secured than it was.

Mr. Flood having adduced the support given in parliament to the American war, contrary to the sense of the people, as a proof of the necessity of a reform, Mr. Wyndham denied, that the continuance of the American war had been owing to the inadequacy of representation; on the contrary, he said, it was the war of the people: a better proof of which need not be desired, than what had happened to the member for Bristol, a right honourable friend of his (Mr. Burke), who had been turned out for opposing its continuance. Towards the close of that war, which had been undertaken with no better reasons, he was afraid, than the hope of saving themselves by taxing America, a clamour indeed was raised on account of the expence and ill success attending it, and the cry was for a reform of representation in parliament, as a remedy for the evils, which the people had at least their share in bringing upon themselves. He had hoped, that the wild notions which were generated during that war, had happily subsided, never to rise again: and he was sorry to find, that, like

locusts, they had only lain torpid, and had been brought to life again by the heat and fermentation which prevailed in the affairs of the continent. He was sorry to hear them again buzzing abroad, and thought it portended no good to the verdure and beauty of the British constitution.

But if he had approved ever so much of the right honourable gentleman's proposition for a parliamentary reform, he should object to it on account of the time at which he had thought proper to introduce it. What, he said, would he advise them to repair their house in the hurricane season? Speculatists and visionaries enough were at work in a neighbouring country; there was project against project, and theory against theory, *frontibus adversis pugnantia*; he intreated the house to wait a little for the event, and in the mean time to guard with all possible care against catching from them the infection.

Mr. Pitt followed Mr. Wyndham, and said, that after the extraordinary display of ingenuity and wisdom which the house had just heard, little remained to be said upon the merits of the motion. What he should say, therefore, would relate to the question, so far as he might be thought personally concerned in it. He had brought forward, some years back, a proposition of the same nature; to which the opposition had been successful, though the times, and a variety of other circumstances, were then more favourable than at present. The chief objection, then, was, the danger of innovation; and it was a knowledge of the impression that argument had made, which rendered him desirous of waiting till some more favourable moment than the present should offer itself, when

when he most certainly should again submit his ideas upon the subject to the house; at present, unless the right honourable gentleman would consent to withdraw his motion, he should move to adjourn. Mr. Pitt declared, that if he were forced to come to a specific vote upon the right honourable gentleman's plan for amending the constitution, he should be against it; and even if it were his own proposition, he should act in the same manner; feeling that the cause of reform might suffer disgrace and lose ground from being brought forward at an improper moment.

Sir James Johnstone contended, that if the propositions of the right honourable gentleman were complied with, the act of union would be violated, and in that case the two countries must be placed in the same situation in which they stood before the union, and then the difficulty would be to bring them together again. By the union England was to have 313 members in that house, and Scotland 45. If the act of union were dissolved, probably that house would think eight members from Scotland enow, but the Scotch parliament might insist upon having 200 at least. The parliament had done extremely well for some years past; he hoped, therefore, that the right honourable gentleman would suffer them to try the experiment for another century, and then, if it did not answer, he would be glad to second his motion.

Mr. Fox argued in favour of the motion; but, at the same time, candidly said, that he believed the opinion he supported was not that

of the majority either within or without the doors of parliament. He differed from Mr. Wyndham on the point of the American war, and was of opinion, that had the house of commons been differently constituted at that time, it would have put an end to that war much earlier. Sure also he was, that what had happened in 1784, would never, in that case, have taken place. He differed totally from Mr. Wyndham in the sentiments he had expressed relative to France. That gentleman had asked, would any man repair his house in the hurricane? Mr. Fox said, he would be glad to know what season was more proper to set about a repair in, than when an hurricane was near, and might possibly burst forth? He concluded with declaring, that he thought the reform proposed by Mr. Flood the best of all he had yet heard suggested.

Mr. Burke combated the various arguments that had been urged in favour of the motion. He particularly contended, that the people did not wish for any reform, and that such attempts did not originate with, or were countenanced by them. He contended, that the American war was a war of the people, and that it was put an end to by the virtue of the house of commons, with scarce any interference of the people, and almost without their consent.

Mr. Powis, Mr. Wilberforce, and Mr. Secretary Grenville, spoke on the same side; and Mr. Courtney, Sir Joseph Mawbey, Mr. Martin, Mr. Duncombe, and others, for the motion. At length Mr. Flood agreed that it should be withdrawn.

## C H A P. V.

*Motion by Mr. Montagu for increasing the salary of the speaker of the house of commons. He states his present emoluments, argues upon their insufficiency, and proposes that they should be advanced to £. 5,000 per annum. Motion opposed by Mr. Hussey, as tending to encrease the influence of the crown. Supported by Mr. Marsham and other gentlemen. Amendment proposed in the committee that the salary should be £. 6000 per annum, and carried by a large majority. India budget opened by Mr. Dundas. Comparative statement of the revenues and charges in India. Flourishing state of the company's affairs in general. Doubts expressed by Mr. Hussey. Speech of Mr. Francis upon the affairs of India. Proofs of the company's distress. Observations on the duty on salt. Remarks on the letter of Lord Cornwallis. Mr. DeWynes in reply to Mr. Francis. Mr. Dundas asserts the falshood of Mr. Francis's statement. Resolutions passed by the committee. Sir J. R. Miller's account of the proceedings of the committee on weights and measures, to be inserisd entire in the article of useful projects. Petitions presented for the repeal of the tobacco excise act. Motion upon that subject by Mr. Sheridan, asserts that the act had endangered the foreign trade, encouraged smuggling, and laid the manufacturer under insuperable hardships. Mr. Pitt in reply. Sir Grey Cooper, Mr. Wyndham, and Mr. Fox, for the motion. Rejected by a majority of 191 to 147. Bill passed to explain and amend the tobacco act. Clause to grant trial by juries rejected. Budget for the year 1790. Flourishing state of the finances and growing prosperity of the country. Remarks on the budget by Mr. Sheridan. Message from the king to both houses of parliament relative to the disputes with Spain. Addresses voted unanimously. Motions for papers and debates thereon. Vote of credit for a million. Committee on American claims. Case of Mr. Penn. Compensation voted for the losses of his family. Pension granted to Dr. Willis. Amendment of the tontine act. Account of proceedings relative to the slave trade. Proceedings relative to the trial of Mr. Hastings. Speech from the throne. Parliament prorogued. Summary of the proceedings of the Irish parliament.*

ON the 10th of March, the right honourable Frederick Montagu rose and requested the attention of the house to a subject in which he conceived their honour and dignity, and the dignity and interest of all the people of Great Britain to be essentially concerned; —he meant, the due support of the office of the speaker of that house. He then stated, that the emoluments hitherto enjoyed by a speaker of the house of commons were exceedingly inadequate to the maintenance of

the dignity of such a station, and contended that this great officer ought to be enabled to appear and live, wherever he was, and at all times, not only while he was in town, and pending the continuance of the session of parliament, but in the country, or wherever he might chuse to go, during the recess, with the splendor and importance becoming, what he undoubtedly was, the first commoner in the kingdom. Upon an inquiry into the amount and nature of the profits of his place,

place, he had been given to understand, that the speaker's fees, *communibus annis*, might be computed, on an average of ten years, at the sum of 1,232*l.* and on an average of twelve years, at the sum of 1,266*l.* and that the allowance to the speaker from the exchequer was about 1,680*l.*, so that putting the two sums together, the emoluments of the speaker did not amount to 3000*l.*\*, a sum by no means adequate to the dignity of the office, which he and every member of that house must wish to see properly sustained. It was on this account that the predecessors of the present speaker had generally holden places under the crown. Sir Spencer Compton had filled the office of pay-master of the army; and Mr. Onslow, a name never to be mentioned in that house but with reverence, had been treasurer of the navy. He did not like that the speaker of that house should be under the necessity of looking for the favours of the crown, and, therefore, he wished the house itself to make an adequate provision for him. He related the following anecdote in confirmation of his argument. When Mr. Onslow was speaker, and held the office of treasurer of the navy, upon a warm discussion of a certain political point, the question came to be decided by the casting vote of the speaker, which Mr. Onslow gave in opposition to the court. This conduct was resented by the court party, and the place which he held was thrown in his teeth. Mr. Onslow, being a high-spirited man, the very next day resigned his

place; and though he held the office of speaker for eighteen years afterwards, to the disgrace of the house, he received no more than the usual income, of the amount of which the house was now apprized. The consequence was, that when he resigned, Mr. Onslow must have retired in a very uncomfortable state, indeed, had not the house, aware of the circumstance, and feeling its own credit or disgrace involved in its conduct on the occasion, voted Mr. Onslow a pension of 3000*l.* a year.

With regard to fees arising out of the business of the house, he thought they should be left exactly as they were, as a check upon frivolous applications. If the fees were abolished, the house would be overwhelmed with such a deluge of private business, that it would be impossible to get through the whole of it. With respect to the other part of the speaker's emoluments, he should propose that so much might be added out of the sinking fund, as to make up the whole 5,000*l.* a year at least. Such an addition might be considered as the price paid for the purchase of the speaker's independence; and the public (he conceived) would cheerfully pay for a purchase, in which they had so great an interest.

Having explained what he meant to suggest, when the house should be in a committee, Mr. Montagu begged leave to address himself personally to the chair, and to assure the speaker, that he had heard his manly address at the commencement of the session with great pleasure, and that

\* Mr. Montagu afterwards stated to the committee, that, besides these emoluments, the speaker was presented at the commencement of a new parliament with 1000*l.* for equipment money, 2000 ounces of plate, 100*l.* for stationary, and two hogheads of claret annually.

he had witnessed, with infinite satisfaction, since he had held his high office, his great politeness and affability, his strict impartiality, his great attention to business both public and private, and, above all, his care and attention to the forms of the house, and forms, he must be allowed to say, were the very essence of a popular assembly like the house of commons. Mr. Montagu, in conclusion, moved,

“ That this house will, on Monday next, resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider of an allowance to be made to the speaker of the house of commons for the time being, more adequate to the dignity of the said office, and to the expence necessarily attending the same.”

The motion being seconded by the honourable Mr. Marsham, and the Chancellor of the exchequer having signified his majesty's consent, Mr. Hussey rose to express his disapprobation of the measure, as tending to increase the influence of the crown, by annexing so large a salary to an office undeniably in the disposal of its ministers. He was of opinion that it would add nothing to the independence of their speaker. Those who had formerly held offices under the crown had not been complained of; and he had no doubt but that the worthy gentleman who now filled, and those who should be called to the chair, would be equally independent with or without a place.

The arguments of Mr. Hussey appear to have made no impression upon the house, and the motion was carried without any other dissentient voice. In the committee which sat on the 15th, Mr. Montagu moved, “ That it is the opinion of this com-

mittee, that for more effectually supporting the dignity of the speaker of the house of commons of Great Britain, the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury be directed to issue from the exchequer such sum as, together with the salary of the said office of 5*l.* per day, and the fees thereof upon private bills, will make the whole 5000*l.*

A motion being made by Sir James Johnstone, that instead of 5000*l.* should be inserted 6000*l.* the same was carried by a majority of 154 to 28.

On the 31st of March Mr. Dundas opened the India budget. He began with the state of Bengal, the revenues of which, he said, exceed the charges by a sum of 2,136,711*l.* This excess of revenue was 178,000*l.* above the estimate of the last year, and he accounted for the increase from a better collection of the land revenues, and an increase on that of salt. This great increase of revenue he considered to be a strong proof of the prosperity of the country, which was so rapidly increasing, that he doubted not but in a very few years, the company would be enabled to pay off the whole of their arrears; and that the British possessions of India would be more flourishing in wealth, in commerce, manufactures, and in every enjoyment, than any other part of the whole continent of Hindostan.

He then took a review of the finances of Madras, the establishment of which, he said, exceeded the income; but he was of opinion, that measures might be taken to bring the expenditure within the revenue. Of Bombay, he said, he had not received later accounts than those, on which he had grounded the resolution



tion of last year, Of Bencoolen and the Prince of Wales's Island, he said, he had last year estimated the expence too low by 5000*l.*; as he now found by accounts received since that time, that instead of 60,000*l.* he ought to have estimated them at 65,000*l.* Upon the whole statement, however, there was a very

considerable excess. He last year estimated the surplus at 1,516,119*l.* but the accounts for 1788-9, prove a considerable increase of clear revenue.

The whole of the revenues and charges, with their totals, from the accounts of 1788-9; stood as follows:

The Revenues of	<i>£.</i>	
Bengal		5,619,994
Madras		1,212,229
Bombay		138,228
		6,971,451
		Total Revenue.

The Charges of	<i>£.</i>	
Bengal		3,183,250
Madras		1,302,037
Bombay		568,710
		5,053,997
		Total of Charges.

Leaving a clear surplus of 1,917,454

From which was to be deducted, for Bencoolen and the Prince of Wales's Island, 65,000*l.* which would leave a nett revenue of 1,852,454*l.* and gave an exceeding over the last estimate of 336,335*l.*

To the before mentioned nett revenue of 1,852,454*l.* was to be added for exports, 230,361*l.* which would make a sum of 2,147,815*l.* applicable to the discharge of debts, and purchase of investments.

The debts of the company for the last year, were 7,604,754*l.* those of the present year, 6,501,385*l.* giving a decrease of 1,103,369*l.*

He flattered himself that by the statement he had just made, the committee would be enabled to judge accurately and satisfactorily of the revenues of India, which were in a most flourishing state, and had been gradually improving for some years. He considered the increase on the land revenue to be permanent; he would not, however, say the same of

that on salt, nor did he wish an increase of revenue from that article, if it was occasioned, as he believed it was, from a rise of price on the consumer, which, he said, must be an oppression on the natives, to whom salt was an absolute necessary of life, and to whose ease he should consider a decrease in the revenue on that article a very good sacrifice. He gave it as his opinion, that our establishments might be considerably lowered, and the surplusses thereby increased. This country, he said, was likely, from a variety of circumstances, long to enjoy an undisturbed peace at home and abroad. When her situation was compared with that of other European nations; and when our connection with Holland, a power of great consequence in India, was also remembered, he hoped he should not be considered as too sanguine in the opinion he entertained, that England had no danger to apprehend

from any European rival in India; and he was confident that we should have nothing there to fear from the combination of any Indian powers, so long as we continued to preserve our present good faith toward them, and trod in the path we were now in, that of moderation. It was well known, he observed, that there was a prince, who, inheriting all the ambitious and turbulent views of his father, possessed the same rancorous spirit against the English, whom he ever had, and most likely ever would endeavour to extirpate from India. That prince had, however, lost no inconsiderable portion of the consequence he formerly was possessed of; and his opinion was, that our establishments had for some time been more than sufficient to repel any attack he could make. Other circumstances had recently occurred, which still rendered us more formidable, and our establishments still more competent to bear a reduction, without endangering the public safety. The circumstances he alluded to were, the state of the French settlement at Pondicherry, and a requisition which had been made from the king of the Travancore country (one of the oldest and best allies of the English in India) for a considerable body of our troops to be taken into his pay, for the purpose of covering the frontier of his territory to the westward, which requisition would be complied with, and orders sent out for the purpose in the course of the present year. By this arrangement our military establishment at Tellichery, would in a great measure be superseded; and those of Madras and Bombay might safely be diminished. He concluded by stating, as an additional proof of the prosperity of the affairs of the company

in India, that the discount on their bonds at Bengal, which were at eight *per cent.* on the commencement of the government of Lord Cornwallis, had fallen to the inconsiderable discount of less than one and a half.

Mr. Hufsey was of opinion, that to judge fairly of the Company's situation, their affairs at home and abroad ought to be considered together; he could not consider their affairs at home to be in a prosperous way, while they were continually borrowing; and had borrowed from the year 1781, no less a sum than 5,800,000l.

Mr. Francis made a long reply to Mr. Dundas. He insisted that the true, the proper, and the only intelligible proof of the propositions in question, would have been to have produced a short and simple account of debts paid off, of an investment purchased with a surplus of revenue, of nett profit upon that investment, and of a thriving, happy, industrious people in the Indian provinces under our dominion. What signified all the right honourable gentleman's arithmetic, when the notorious facts were, that we had no return from India, but a return or transfer of debts, which the Company could not pay, and which sooner or later must fall upon the shoulders of England when the Company, instead of discharging their bonds, and clearing themselves from the burthen of their debts at home, were every year coming to parliament for assistance, for leave to borrow more and more money, for an authority to increase their capital, or for the direct power of the legislature to protect them against their creditors, either by authorising them not to accept, or not to pay the bills they had accepted; and,

and, finally, when the letters from Lord Cornwallis, now lying on the table, described Bengal as a declining and almost ruined country.

As a proof of the distress of the company's affairs at home, and the poverty of their treasury, he stated that they were then taking up silver, tin, and copper upon credit, which formerly they used to pay for with ready money. The discount upon their Bengal bonds he also considered as another symptom of distress.

With regard to Bengal, Mr. Dundas had said, that the *jumma's* being collected entire was a proof of the prosperity of a country, and that therefore Bengal was most prosperous. Neither the premises nor the inference were founded on fact, since an oppressive government might get their revenue entire, and the country be nevertheless rapidly going to ruin.

Mr. Francis proceeded to take notice of what Mr. Dundas had said respecting the revenue arising from salt. He had truly stated salt to be a necessary of life in Bengal more than in any other country. It actually was so; and nature seemed to have considered the circumstance, as it hath made salt one of the cheapest manufactures of the country. They could get it there for next to nothing, if an oppressive revenue were not derived from it. The late Lord Clive, who was accused of having established a monopoly of salt, had expressly provided, "That the price of salt, sold by the Society of Trade, should never exceed 200 rupees per 100 maunds;" and Mr. Bolts, who stretched every thing to the utmost that could be brought to bear against the government of Lord Clive, stated 500 rupees per

100 maunds, as the highest price to the consumer.

The selling price of the company at Calcutta, appeared to have been in August, 1789, about 300 Sicca rupees per 100 maunds. At one period within these two years, the price, at the company's sale, had got up to the enormous amount of 700 Sicca rupees; upon which there was also to be a proportionate increase for profit and charges on the retail.

But supposing the final retail price of salt, in the provinces, to be 700 Sicca rupees per 100 maunds, it would then cost the consumer two-pence three-farthings per pound English. Every individual native would, as long as it is possible for him to get it, consume half a chittac, or one ounce per day; consequently a family of five persons, living on the labour of one man, must spend 5-16ths of two-pence three-farthings in salt, or about three-farthings a day. The medium price of labour throughout Bengal, is one anna and half per day, or three-pence halfpenny English. Consequently, when he has paid for the salt, without which his vegetable food would be poison to him, he has just seven farthings a day left to provide himself, a wife, and three children, with every other necessary of life, and to pay some rent for a mud-house; not to mention any allowance for salt for his cow, if he has one; for without salt the cattle in that country cannot exist for any useful purpose.

Mr. Francis concluded with some observations upon the letter of Lord Cornwallis, dated 2d August 1789. The first passage he remarked upon was the following—"The security of property, however; and the certainty which each indivi-

“ dual *will now feel* of being allowed to enjoy the fruits of his own labours, must operate uniformly as incitements to exertion and industry.”—This, Mr. Francis said, was a pretty plain confession of the misery and oppression the inhabitants had long suffered.

The letter proceeded thus: “ I have purposely, in these settlements, proposed to withdraw the *gunges* from the zemindars, and to place them in the hands of government, in order that it may at all times have an unrestrained power to raise or lower the internal taxes or duties on particular articles of produce of manufactures, as may be found most suitable to the general interests of commerce; but, above all, as the land revenue, when the jumma is once fixed, cannot encrease, that the company may, through the medium of duties upon an encreased consumption of the necessaries and luxuries of life, participate in the wealth and advantages, which, I trust, will be the consequences of a permanent revenue settlement to the inhabitants of this country.” Upon this he remarked, that Lord Cornwallis gave the people of the country a *quietus* in an essential point, viz. in a permanent revenue settlement, or fixed land-tax, and at the same time advised the company to tax the necessaries and luxuries of life. Would he have them encrease the tax on salt? and as to luxuries, what were the luxuries of life to a Hindoo? Did they expect to get any thing by a duty on betel-nut and tobacco? Or would they tax oil and ghee?

In the next section of the letter, Lord Cornwallis assures the directors, “ that it will be of the utmost importance, that the principal land-

holders and traders in the interior parts of the country should be restored to such circumstances as to enable them to support their families with decency.” Had the right honourable gentleman been year after year boasting of the prosperity of the province of Bengal, (asked Mr. Francis) and was it only in the year 1790, that it was recommended that the principal land-holders and traders in the provinces should be restored to the power of supporting their families with decency? This was a fresh proof of the miserable and ruinous state of Bengal. The next paragraph confessed, that agriculture and internal commerce had for many years been gradually declining, and that at present, excepting the class of Shroffs and Banyans, the inhabitants of these provinces were advancing hastily to a general state of poverty and wretchedness; and Lord Cornwallis said, “ in that description he must also include almost every zemindar in the company’s territories.” These facts, Mr. Francis said, he told them long ago, and therefore he concurred with Lord Cornwallis, when he said, in the same paragraph, “ that these miserable effects were owing to the bad management of the late government.”

Mr. Francis next mentioned the paragraph relative to opium; “ he (Lord Cornwallis) doubted not but the relief given to the Ryots, may occasion some increase of price on the offers that will be made by the candidates for the contract; but he was persuaded, that the loss would be more than compensated to the company, by the encouragement that would be given to the Ryots to extend the cultivation of the poppy.” Thus, said Mr. Francis, Lord Cornwallis dares not tell the company

of a loss without always offering a compensation. Mr. Francis reprobated the extension of the cultivation of opium: poppies, he said, were the most noxious weeds that grew; had it been an extension of the cultivation of grain, he should have thought the suggestion a laudable one.

In answer to Mr. Francis, Mr. Devaynes, the chairman of the company, declared, that the company were in no need whatever of credit; it was not true that they were sending out their silver and other exports upon credit; they had already paid for their usual quantity of silver, and were ready to pay to-morrow for the quantity now in treaty, if a fair price was agreed upon.

Mr. Dundas declared his astonishment, that any man could so wilfully have attempted to pervert every line he had quoted of the letters from Lord Cornwallis; and by selecting passages partially, and detaching them from the context, pervert their sense, misapply their reference, and destroy their meaning. He hoped gentlemen would carefully peruse those letters in their closets, and he was confident that every candid man would be convinced, that the honourable gentleman's assertions were unfounded.

The facts stated by Mr. Dundas were then moved in the form of resolutions, and agreed to by the committee.

On the 15th of April, Sir John Riggs Miller informed the house of the proceedings of the committee appointed to take into consideration the subject of *weights and measures*. His speech, upon this occasion, contained a full and accurate detail of the various means which had been suggested for obtaining a true and

fixed standard of measure: but as, from the nature of the investigation, it does not admit of an abridgment, we conceive it will be more acceptable to our readers to have it entire in our next volume, under the article of *Useful Projects*.

During the course of the session, a great number of petitions from various parts of Great-Britain, had been presented, praying for the repeal of the act for subjecting dealers in tobacco to the excise, which had passed in the last session of parliament. These petitions were, on the motion of Mr. Sheridan, referred to a committee of the whole house; and the 16th of April was fixed for taking them into consideration. On that day Mr. Sheridan began a long and eloquent speech, with an invective against the whole system of the excise laws; in which he illustrated and urged with great force all the usual topics which have been employed upon that popular thesis. He then adverted to the peculiar hardships of the tobacco bill; and enforced the objections which had been made last year, by a number of allegations taken from the petitions, which had been presented, and information he had received from the manufacturers themselves.

From the mass of evidence which had been given on the subject of this act, Mr. Sheridan drew the following conclusions. First, that the export trade to foreign countries must be greatly injured, if not totally destroyed, by the act. The price paid for licences was proportioned to the quantity of tobacco manufactured, and, consequently, it ought to be considered as a tax, which must raise the price of the article in the foreign markets. This was contrary to every sound principle of trade, which

which condemned all burdens laid, without absolute necessity, on articles of exportation. Again, if a tobacconist was in the act of getting ready to execute an order from abroad, he must suspend his work, if the excise officer should come to take a survey; he must attend him whilst weighing the stock; and many hours, perhaps some days, being lost in this business, the vessel in which he was to ship the goods ordered by his foreign correspondent, probably might be obliged to put to sea in the mean time, and thus the order would be lost, and perhaps the customer, for ever. As to the encouragement which the act gave to smuggling, though its avowed object was to suppress it, he observed, that formerly, one difficulty which attended the smuggling of tobacco was, that even after it was landed and housed, it was still liable to seizure. But this difficulty was completely removed by the present act; for, the moment it got under the roof of the tobacconist, it was as sacred as if it had paid duty.

Among the many hardships of the manufacturers under this act, there were two of a very serious nature. One, that the tobacco during the process of its manufacture might, from the moisture or dryness of the air, lose or gain more in weight, than the table laid down in the act allowed. What, then, was the manufacturer to do? He could not answer for the state of the atmosphere; and if his goods had decreased in weight through heat, or increased through moisture, without any act of his, to a degree beyond the standard established by the act, then was he liable to ruinous fines and penalties. The commissioners, before they could, in justice, levy these

fines, ought to ascertain that the weather will always be in that precise state of heat or cold which the act supposed it would be. They ought to make Christmas give security for frost; take a bond for hot weather from August, and oblige damps and fogs to take out permits. It was true, that where the increase or decrease, beyond the allowed table, appeared to have been really the effect of the weather, and not of any intention in the manufacturer to defraud the revenue, the commissioners ordered the goods, if seized, to be restored, and the penalty remitted. But he had two strong objections to this exercise of illegal mercy by the commissioners. First, it gave them a dispensing power, which parliament had not thought proper to allow even to the king. And, secondly, this dispensing power might be used to very bad purposes. When the law was harsh and severe, and the executive power indulgent, and willing to soften its rigour, the people would be led to dislike their own representatives, who could pass a rigorous law, and to fly to the crown for relief against it. If a dispensing power could be tolerated, it must be when the benefit of it was general, and extended, without exception, to every class of subjects without distinction. But in the case of remitting fines to manufacturers who should have incurred them, an inquiry might be set on foot into the life and political principles of each individual, and those only might feel the indulgence of the commissioners who should be found to be the friends and supporters of the subsisting administration.

The second hardship, perhaps greater than any other, considered in a mere commercial light, was, that

that the mysteries of their trade were laid open, to the irreparable injury of their families and fortunes. Of the value of some of these mysteries the committee might form an idea, when they recollected that it had been proved in evidence, that one manufacturer had refused 20,000*l.* for the disclosure of a secret in the manufacturing of tobacco that was peculiar to himself.

When the manufacturers were under examination at the bar, they had not let fall any expression, which might intimate, that it was their intention to quit the trade if the act was not repealed; they thought that such an intimation would not be decent in them, as it would appear like a threat; but what their respect for parliament would not suffer them to utter at the bar, they had said to him in private; and he believed he might assure the committee, if the bill was not repealed, the tobacco manufacture would be lost to this country.

Mr. Sheridan now asked the chancellor of the exchequer, what were the mighty advantages gained by the revenue, which could be considered as a compensation for such hardships and encroachments upon the liberty of the subject? The produce was but 25,000*l.* more than was collected on tobacco before this act passed, and the duty was raised from 11  $\frac{3}{4}$  *d.* per lb. to 15*d.* Would any man, to whom the rights of the people were dear, for so insignificant an increase of revenue invade those rights; but, above all, would he, for such an increase, risk the loss of the whole? which he verily believed would happen if the act was not repealed. Mr. Sheridan concluded his remarks by moving the following resolution: "That

"the survey of the excise is inapplicable to the manufactory of tobacco."

The chancellor of the exchequer, in reply to Mr. Sheridan, observed, that the chief turn of his argument had been directed against the whole system of excise, a system which raised no less a sum annually than six millions and a half of the revenue, and without which system, he believed, neither the resources of the country, nor the ingenuity of man, would be competent to raise so considerable a sum. In his motion, however, he stopped short, and objected barely to the excise on tobacco. He was willing to leave the manufacturer of malt, the manufacturer of soap, the manufacturer of starch, the manufacturer of candles, and the dealers in wine and spirituous liquors, subject to all that intolerable tyranny and oppression which he had described with so much energy and eloquence. If the tobacco act were to be taken up on general principles, the chancellor of the exchequer said, he was at a loss to know how it applied to the constitution more than any other excise bill, passed at any former period, and therefore stopping short, as the honourable gentleman had done, and confining himself solely to the tobacco act, his general argument was inconsistent and contradictory.

The chancellor of the exchequer next observed, that it was his duty, and the duty of that house, to receive, with a considerable degree of caution and doubt, the evidence delivered at their bar; he meant no reflection on the gentlemen; he believed they were very worthy men, but they might have been actuated considerably by prejudices, which naturally might be expected to have arisen

arisen in the minds of persons obviously interested. The hon. gentleman himself had stated that the manufacturers were, before the act, the only medium for conveying the illicit tobacco from the smuggler to the consumer; and taking this for granted, and the statement of the tobaccoists themselves, that eight millions of pounds weight were annually smuggled, the consequence would then evidently appear, that for years they had divided among them 400,000 pounds sterling, of which sum the revenue had been defrauded; and, if an average could be taken, each man's share of this plunder was more than a thousand pounds annually. The house being in possession of this notorious and direct fraud, he was sure it was not asking too much of them to weigh well the evidence before they decided against the remedy already provided for the evil. As to the argument about the discovery of the mysteries, and the great danger of the manufacturers secrets being exposed, upon which so much stress had been laid; if the secrets were so easily discoverable by an exciseman upon a mere view, they must undoubtedly be known to the manufacturers workmen, and consequently at all times liable to be divulged. Mr. Pitt concluded with observing, that during the existence of the act, the consumption had very considerably encreased, which was a complete refutation, and a conclusive answer to the assertion of the act's being likely to drive the manufacturer from this country. The public had already, in the two least productive quarters of the year, received 130,000*l.* over and above the wonted income of revenue from tobacco in the same quarters before

the act passed; and in all probability, the difference on the next two quarters of excise would make the whole produce of the difference 300,000*l.* at the least.

The motion was powerfully supported by Sir Grey Cooper, Mr. Wyndham, and Mr. Fox. The first contended, that the evidence of the manufacturers and officers of excise had uncontrovertibly established the following propositions: 1. That there is no mode by which the survey can be made, save only by taking the whole stock of each manufacturer. 2. That stock cannot be taken by any other manner than by weight. 3. That it is absolutely necessary to except from being weighed, all that part of the stock, that is in the actual operation of manufacture. 4. That this exception destroys the rule.

Mr. Wyndham reprobated the speech of the chancellor of the exchequer, as a laboured and indecent panegyric upon the whole system of excise laws, and such as had never before been heard in that house. No one would venture to assert, that the excise was not adverse to the principles of the constitution. It was an evil which, perhaps, circumstances had made necessary to prevent a greater; but necessity alone could justify it. It might itself become the greatest of all evils. Considered even as a necessary measure, it should be used with caution; it might be pushed beyond its due extent; it might be disgraced by being injudiciously managed; it might, like a tool, be spoilt by being worked with too much. It had been avowed, that it was to be limited only just as the state of our finances may admit: He lamented that the nation seemed so much disposed to sacrifice every other



other consideration to *revenue*, and expressed his fears that the monied interests had so totally corrupted all ranks of people, that they seemed entirely to have changed and altered their notions upon great political subjects, on which formerly every man felt alarm and jealousy.

Mr. Secretary Grenville strongly protested against the manner in which the question had been argued, as tending to raise a clamour against laws, upon which, as those gentlemen well knew, the whole national credit, and with it the very existence of the empire depended.

The members for the city of London and for Southwark spoke in favour of the motion; and Mr. Sheridan, after a long reply, having altered the question to a motion for leave to bring in a bill to repeal the tobacco act, the committee at length divided — ayes 147 — noes 191.

An act was afterwards passed to explain and amend the act of the last year, and to relieve the manufacturers from certain hardships therein. Upon the third reading of this act, Sir Watkin Lewis moved that a clause should be inserted, giving the right of a trial by jury to all the persons subject to the act.

The Attorney General objected to the clause, as a dangerous experiment upon what constituted one-third of the revenue of the kingdom. He remarked, that the mode of collecting the excise had stood now near a century and a half; yet it was never, during that time, discovered that any danger arose to the constitution from it. He concluded with saying, he should vote against the clause.

Mr. Beaufoy replied, and in

strong terms reprobated the encroachments which the excise was making on the liberty of the people, and contended for the necessity of inserting the clause: as did Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Watson, Mr. Sawbridge, and Mr. Martin; but upon a division of the House, the noes were 100, ayes 22—majority against the clause 78.

On the 15th of April the Chancellor of the Exchequer opened the budget for the year 1790, the particulars of which our readers will find in its usual place. He began by congratulating the committee upon the prosperous state of the finances of the country, which he was that day enabled to lay before them, not upon speculation and from conjecture, but upon facts. After stating the items of the supplies voted, and of the ways and means, he called the attention of the committee to the sum stated as the surplus of the consolidated fund—This he said was estimated upon an average of the three last years, which would give an average of 500,000*l.* less than the produce of the last year, and which, consequently, could not be considered as an unfair one; and, by that estimate, it would appear that the growing surplus of the consolidated fund was 1,903,000*l.*; to this was to be added an increase on taxes not taken into that estimate, amounting to 60,000*l.* He took for balances of arrears 100,000*l.* and for an increase on the tobacco duties another 100,000*l.* He was sanguine in his expectation of the produce from the arrears of assessed taxes, which in the last year amounted to 240,000*l.* over the permanent assessment; there still remained out-standing arrears to the amount of 600,000*l.* which gradually

ally were to be drawn in; and, from the exertions made for that purpose, he conceived he might justly reckon upon 150,000*l.* being brought in during the present year; all which sums added together, would give a total of ways and means of 5,996,000*l.* which sum was more than sufficient to meet the supply, and afforded fair ground to estimate the growing produce of the consolidated fund for the next year, at 2,300,000*l.* Mr. Pitt then proceeded to state the extraordinary expences which had been defrayed since the year 1786, with the assistance only of a loan of a single million, which had been borrowed last year. He recapitulated the unforeseen increase of the peace establishment from various causes, such as the aggravated extraordinaries of the navy, arising from large purchases of timber, and other stores; the extraordinaries of the army, owing to the unliquidated demands at the end of the war; the expence of the armament in 1787, the charge which the generosity of Parliament had incurred on account of the loyalists; the debts of the Prince of Wales; all of which, with the reduction of the national debt, would be found to amount to six millions. The increase of revenue, which had enabled the public thus to meet the various charges he had mentioned, he regarded as permanent, and as originating in two causes; the suppression of smuggling, and the increase of the commerce of the country. The exports, as valued by the custom-house entries, for last year, amounted to no less a sum than 18,513,000*l.*; of which the British manufactured goods exported amounted to 13,494,000*l.*; upon an average of the exports

fix years prior to the American war, which average he took on account of those years being the period in which our commerce flourished most; it appeared, that the British manufactured goods exported, amounted to no more than 10,342,000*l.* The imports for the last year, amounted to a higher sum than was ever before known, being valued at 17,828,000*l.* At first sight, this increase of import might appear disadvantageous, as it would seem to lessen the balance of trade in favour of the country; this the committee, however, would perceive, upon investigation, not to be the case, but that the increase of imports arose from circumstances which demonstrated the increase of the wealth and prosperity of the country; it issued from remittances of fortunes of the East and West Indies; from the increase of importations from Ireland, which gentlemen would recollect was a proof of the increasing prosperity of that valuable part of the empire; from the Greenland and South Wales fisheries, the imports from which were to be considered as adding to the stock of the country, being wealth poured in from the ocean. Our navigation had increased in proportion to the increase of our commerce. In the year 1773, there belonged to British ports 9,224 vessels, and 63,000 seamen; and in the year 1788, 11,085 vessels, and 83,000 seamen; shewing an increase of seamen in 1788, above the number in 1773, of no less than one-third.

Mr. Pitt concluded with an encomium upon the British constitution; to which, under Providence, the prosperous state of the nation was to be ascribed, and which it was

was therefore their most sacred duty to maintain inviolate and to defend against all innovations.

Mr. Sheridan differed from the chancellor of the exchequer with respect to the actual receipt, and the actual expenditure. If the averages of 1786-7-8, were taken, it would appear that the receipt for those three years severally had been 15,140,000*l.* and the expenditure 17,140,000*l.* making a deficiency of six millions on the whole. From the five millions and a half of three per cents. redeemed, was to be deducted the additional million of exchequer bills issued, the money borrowed last year, the increase of the navy debt, and one quarter's revenue anticipated, which was every shilling debt incurred, as much as if it had been actually borrowed, making in all 3,500,000*l.* The average income of four years, including the last year, would be found to be short of what the revenue committee had taken it at, though annual taxes to the amount of 200,000*l.* had been laid since they made their calculation; and regulations for improving the collection of old taxes adopted, which the committee had pointed out as a resource to provide for contingencies, and not as necessary to make good their estimate.—He contended that there was not a single pound applicable to the reduction of the national debt, and declared that nothing would put the finances into a proper state, but either raising the income to the expenditure, or lowering the expenditure to the income; at present there existed a plain deficiency of one million.

The chancellor of the exchequer

said, Mr. Sheridan went for an average to a period which had no analogy to the present, in order to take in the year 1786, before the commercial treaty was passed, the new taxes rendered productive, or the regulations for an improved collection adopted; and then compared the permanent revenue with the temporary expenditure. He struck out the produce of the lottery, merely because he disliked a lottery, and retained the temporary expence of the American loyalists, which it was intended to meet. He admitted that the receipt and the expenditure could not be brought to a permanent balance without a considerable reduction of expence; but the time when the revenue committee had calculated that such a balance would be effected, was the end of the year 1790, not the beginning, and was not, therefore, matter for the discussion of that day.

On the 5th of May Mr. Pitt delivered to the house a message from his majesty \*, in which he informed them of the violence that had been committed upon two vessels belonging to his majesty's subjects, on the north-western coast of America, by an officer commanding two Spanish ships of war: of his applications to the court of Spain for satisfaction: of its claims to an exclusive right of navigation in those seas, and its hostile preparations: and of his majesty's determination to support the honour of his crown, and the rights and interests of his people. The message being read, Mr. Pitt moved that it should be taken into consideration the following day.

On the 6th the message having been again read, Mr. Pitt rose and

\* See State Papers.

remarked, that however natural it might be to look with concern upon the circumstances stated in his majesty's message, and all the future possible occurrences to which it might lead, he conceived that he should not do justice to the feelings and public spirit of that house, if he entertained, for a moment, an idea that there could arise any difference of opinion as to the measures which such circumstances would make it necessary to adopt. There was no occasion for him to enlarge upon the facts stated in his majesty's message; the bare mention of them (he was persuaded) would prove sufficient to induce the house to give their concurrence to the address with which he should move. These facts were: that his majesty's subjects had been forcibly interrupted in a trade which they had carried on, for years, without molestation, in parts of America where they had an incontrovertible right of trading, and in places to which no country could claim an exclusive right of commerce and navigation: that this interruption had been made by a seizure of two ships, their cargo and companies, without any previous notice: that the officers and crews of those vessels had been carried to a Spanish port as prisoners of war, and the cargoes of the vessels appropriated to the use of the captors, without even the form of condemnation or judicature, which has always been deemed necessary, even in times of war.—He wished to abstain from every word of aggravation; the statement of these facts was sufficient to induce a British house of commons to demand ample restitution to the indi-

viduals injured, and full satisfaction to the nation for its insulted honour. It was true, that one of the vessels had been delivered up by the viceroy of Mexico, but no satisfaction to the nation had thereby been given; on the contrary, the court of Madrid had advanced a claim to the exclusive right of navigation in those seas, that was unfounded and exorbitant, indefinite in its consequences, aiming destruction to our valuable fisheries in the southern ocean, and tending to the annihilation of a commerce in its infancy, which we were just beginning to carry on to the profit of the country, in hitherto unfrequented parts of the globe; it was therefore necessary and incumbent upon the nation to adopt such measures as might in future prevent any such disputes. When, in addition to this conduct on the part of Spain, the house were also acquainted, by the message, of the vigorous preparations making in the different sea ports of that kingdom, there could not be a doubt of the propriety of our preparing to act with vigour and effect in support of the honour of his majesty's crown, and the interests of his people. At the same time the house, he was confident, would heartily agree in his majesty's wish, that the present dispute might be terminated amicably, and that we should not be driven to the necessity of having recourse to measures of hostility.

Mr. Pitt concluded by moving an address in the usual form\*, which being seconded by Mr. Grenville; Mr. Fox rose, and said, he should give his vote most heartily for the address, in which he believed the

\* See State Papers.

house would be unanimous. At the same time, he could not avoid expressing a wish that the message had been more full; and particularly that it ought to have acquainted the house what our ships were doing in those parts of America, when they were seized. Mr. Fox then remarked, that it was now scarcely a fortnight since the minister had given that house the most flattering account of the prosperous state of the country; and in no part of his speech did he seem more confident, than in the assurances he gave the house of the prospect of the continuance of peace. He knew at that time that the ships had been seized, and that the crews had been sent to a Spanish port prisoners of war; he understood that the Spanish ambassador had not only avowed the capture, but accompanied it with a complaint and requisition that his majesty would not suffer his subjects to trade on those coasts, and fish in the southern ocean. It was generally known that Spain was carrying on great armaments. The right honourable gentleman had better opportunities of knowing what the extent of the armament was, than he could pretend to; but when Spain was arming, it was not very reasonable to think that we should be long at peace. He mentioned these circumstances not only as proofs of a strange inconsistency in the minister's language, but because the extravagance of the hopes holden out by ministers had added greatly to the disappointment, the alarm, and the fears of the public, when they suddenly found those hopes falsified. Had not such fallacious expectations been excited, he trusted that his majesty's message would not

have had the effect on the public funds, and the minds of men, which it had produced.

Mr. Pitt replied, that the right honourable gentleman was mistaken in his statement of the circumstances to which he had referred. He had said, "We knew every thing when the budget was opened, that we know now." The case was directly the reverse. We knew nothing of the facts in question, but what we had learned from the statement of the Spanish ambassador, whose communication was extremely vague and general, and related only to the capture of one of the vessels, and that without the particulars. He had said, we then knew the whole of the claim of Spain; whereas we did not know it distinctly, till at a period subsequent to the budget-day. Neither did we know the extent of the preparations of the court of Spain in her several ports, till a very few days since. But the right honourable gentleman would give him leave, in his turn, to make a single remark on what had fallen from him. The right honourable gentleman had affirmed, that he for months had known of the armaments of Spain, and yet, in the course of the present session, he had argued on the propriety of diminishing the forces of the country, and had expressly contended that we had nothing to apprehend from the court of Spain.

Several motions for papers relative to the dispute with Spain were afterwards made by the members of opposition, the objects of which were to ascertain, first, the precise nature of the transaction at Nootka Sound, and the value of the trade which it was intended to establish in that

part of the world; and, secondly, the dates of the communication made by the court of Madrid of the seizure of the English ships, and of its grounds for having so done; and after, the dates of the intelligence received of the hostile preparations of that power. These motions were made with a view to censure the conduct of the chancellor of the exchequer, who, it was said, in his speech upon the opening of the budget, had held forth the great advantages of the four-sea trade, at the time he knew it to be both insignificant and precarious: and the prospect of a continuance of peace, when he knew we were upon the point of being embroiled with Spain.

These motions were resisted by administration, as tending to a disclosure of circumstances, which, in the present conjuncture, it would be dangerous to divulge; and the imputations they were intended to convey, were met with a general denial of their truth, and declarations that they should be ready to meet the charges fully and directly, as soon as it could be done with propriety. Upon a division, there appeared for the production of papers 121, against it 213.

A motion was also made by Mr. Francis, for an account of all the appointments of ambassadors to Madrid since the last peace, the salaries paid them, and the periods of their residence. This motion being acceded to, and the papers laid before the house, Mr. Francis moved a resolution grounded upon them, that it appearing, "that since the year 1783, four ambassadors had been appointed to the court of Madrid, and an expence incurred on their account of 35,602*l.* and that no ambassadors had resided there but for

thirteen months, his majesty should be requested to give directions for the due performance in future of the services belonging to those appointments." In answer to the charge implied in Mr. Francis's motion, a circumstantial account was given of the causes, which had prevented the residence of the ambassadors in Spain; and the order of the day being called for, the house divided, for the order 95, against it 59.

In the house of lords, the address, in answer to the message, was moved by the duke of Leeds, and seconded by lord Rawdon, and a motion for the production of papers relative to the capture of the vessels, and to the armaments preparing in Spain, was negatived without a division. On the 12th of May, another motion was made by the earl of Kinnoul upon the same subject. His lordship observed, that for his own part, he should not hesitate to declare, that he strongly suspected the minister of having, for purposes best known to himself, kept back, for a considerable time, the information given to the house by his majesty's message. He suspected administration also of having neglected to make a timely preparation, proportioned to the armaments of Spain, by which neglect that country had been encouraged to defend the aggression complained of. He condemned his majesty's servants for having deluded the country by holding out a prospect of permanent peace, when they must have known of the probable grounds of an approaching war. He judged it proper, therefore, to move for the date of the first official information received. He wished not to move for any paper that could be objected to on the grounds of state secrecy. The substance.

substance of the information given in the remonstrance of the Spanish ambassador had been stated in his majesty's message; he desired only to have the date of the receipt of that information. This could in no ways prove injurious to the interests of the country, and he thought it would neither be candid to the house, nor honourable to the minister, to refuse it. In conclusion, Lord Kinnoul moved for "An humble address to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to order to be laid before the house, the date of the receipt of the remonstrance presented by the Spanish ambassador to his majesty's ministers, by order of his court."

Lord Walsingham then rose, and said, that the motion of the noble lord could not be agreed to, unless the house departed from a rule which they had invariably and wisely observed; that of never suffering papers to be produced relative to a negotiation with a foreign power, pending such a negotiation.

The motion was supported by lord Portchester, lord Carlisle, and lord Stormont:—and the question being put, the house divided, and there appeared, contents 34, non-contents 53.

On the 10th of May a vote of credit for one million passed the house of commons without opposition.

In our 30th volume we have given a particular account of the compensation voted for the American loyalists, of the principles upon which it was distributed, and of the case of Mr. Harford.

Our readers will also find at the end of the historical part of this volume, a statement laid before the house of commons of the claims made, and of losses allowed by the

commissioners for examining the claims of the American loyalists. On the 11th of May, the chancellor of the exchequer, after stating the amount of the claims given in by the American loyalists, the amount allowed by the commissioners, and the sums already paid, moved, that the sum of 224,000*l.* be granted for farther payments; and the sum of 32,000*l.* to make good the losses sustained by certain persons, inhabitants of the United States of America. Some of these, he said, had sustained very heavy losses by a conduct which entitled them to the munificence of this country; and it was found on enquiry, that the reason why they had not applied in person for compensation, was, that their losses had deprived them of the means of leaving America. At the same time he gave notice, that on the ensuing Tuesday he should propose a compensation, in the way of perpetual annuity, to the Penn family, whose losses were estimated by the commissioners at 500,000*l.* and, also, for some other claims not yet provided for.

He then moved a mode of compensation for such persons as sustained losses by supplying the army or the navy with stores, provisions, &c.; for such as suffered by the cession of Florida; and for such as suffered by losses of income arising from offices.

On the 14th, the chancellor of the exchequer called the attention of the committee to the losses sustained by the family of Penn. Their case, he said, was different from that of any other of the American loyalists, and could not be governed by any of the rules already laid down by the house. He stated their allowed loss to be 500,000*l.* and proposed

posed to grant to them and their heirs an annuity of 4000*l.* to be paid out of the consolidated fund. He observed, that the state of Pennsylvania, sensible of the great merit of the family, had granted a sum of 130,000*l.* sterling, to be paid by instalments. The fact, however, was, that 11,000*l.* was all that had been paid, though the family had no reason to doubt the ultimate payment. He thought that the granting of this annuity, in the manner proposed, would be a strong mark of the national generosity and respect for the services of their great ancestor. He hoped the committee would think with him, that the annuity he had proposed was neither profuse on the one hand, nor sparing on the other. He concluded by moving a resolution for granting the said annuity from the 5th of January 1790.

Mr. F. Montagu and other members were of opinion, that 5000*l.* ought to be the least sum granted as an annuity to that respectable family. Mr. Wilmot argued, that taking the case of Mr. Harford, whose loss was estimated at 230,000*l.* and who received a compensation of 70,000*l.* as a rule, a grant of 5000*l.* per annum would still be below the mark. Mr. Fox and Mr. Francis thought 4000*l.* sufficient, and declaring they should take the sense of the committee; that sum was agreed upon without a division.

On the 17th of May, a message from his majesty was delivered by the chancellor of the exchequer, acquainting the house with his intentions of granting to the Rev. Dr. Willis, a pension of one thousand pounds a year nett, for twenty-one years; and requesting the assistance of parliament for that purpose: a bill was the next day ordered to be

brought in for the purpose mentioned in the message, and passed both houses.

On the 26th of May the house having resolved itself into a committee of the whole house, upon the tontine act of the last sessions, Mr. Pitt begged leave to remind the committee, that the tontine had originally been proposed as an experiment, and, at the time, it had appeared to him a reasonable expectation, that it would have proved of equal advantage to the public and the subscribers. This, however, had not been the case; and although the tontine originally bore a premium, it had since been at a considerable discount, and if persisted in according to the original terms, the individuals who had taken the whole of it must sustain a very considerable loss; an event which he had little doubt but that the committee would feel it became them to endeavour to guard against, and the more especially, if any means of doing so could be suggested which would not militate against the public interest. The committee would recollect, that when he had first opened the subject, with a view of affording the original subscribers relief, he had hinted at enlarging the time of nomination from October to April; but, upon mature consideration, it had appeared, that although such a measure would afford the original subscribers essential relief, it could not be adopted with perfect security to those persons who had been already nominated; and therefore, it had been considered as adviseable to push that proposition no farther. He meant to propose to give those who held the shares of the tontine an option of exchanging it for long annuities, and to em-



power the commissioners of the treasury to nominate to the shares, which might be vacant when the period of nomination to shares should expire, which would be in October next, and to hold the same for the public. By these means gentlemen would see that faith would be kept with the persons whose lives were already interested, the original subscribers would be rescued from the risque they at present ran, in consequence of a speculation, which, *prima facie*, had undoubtedly been a laudable one, and the public itself would be no sufferer.

The proposition of Mr. Pitt, after some opposition, in which it was urged that the subscribers might conceive themselves to be injured, and consequently that their consent ought to be obtained, was adopted by the committee, and a bill passed both houses for carrying it into effect.

The subject of the slave trade was again moved by Mr. Wilberforce early in the session. The evidence produced by the planters was not gone through till near the close, and the remaining time was employed in examining some additional witnesses in favour of the abolition. The further consideration of the subject was then adjourned.

Upon the 16th day of February, the trial of Mr. Hastings recommenced in Westminster-hall, being the fifty-fifth day of the sitting of the court. The court sat in this session but thirteen days, in which the managers of the house of commons went through the charge relative to the receipt of presents, which was opened by Mr. Anstruther, and the evidence summed up and observed upon, in a speech which lasted two days, by Mr. Fox. The

court adjourned on Wednesday the 9th of June, being the sixty-eighth day.

On the 11th day of May, Mr. Burke called the attention of the house to a motion he had to offer upon the subject of the protracted continuance of the trial. After some observations upon the petition presented by Mr. Hastings to the house of Lords, he adverted to what he conceived to be the principal causes of its not having been brought to a speedier conclusion: the first was, the determination of the house of Lords, obtained at the instance of Mr. Hastings, to proceed upon all the articles of charge before they came to any decision; another was, that the counsel for Mr. Hastings had insisted upon reading papers at large instead of extracts: but what occasioned, perhaps, the greatest delay, was, that the managers were not made acquainted with the grounds and extent of the principles on which the decisions of the house of Lords were made respecting the admissibility of evidence. This made it impossible for them to know how far the next questions, which they intended to put, might, or might not, militate against those principles. He concluded by moving the following resolutions:

“ That this house, taking into  
 “ consideration the interruptions  
 “ occasioned by the occupations of  
 “ the judges and the house of Lords,  
 “ as also the impediments which  
 “ have occurred, or may occur, in  
 “ the course of the trial of the im-  
 “ peachment of Warren Hastings,  
 “ Esq; doth, without meaning to  
 “ abandon the truth or importance  
 “ of the charges, authorise the ma-  
 “ nagers of their said impeachment,  
 “ to insill only upon such and so  
 [G 3] many

“ many of the said charges as shall appear to them the most conducive to the obtaining speedy and effectual justice against the said Warren Hastings.”

2d, “ That the commons of Great Britain in parliament assembled, from a regard to their own honour, and from the duty which they owe to all the commons of Great Britain, in whose name, as well as in their own, they act in the public prosecutions by them carried on before the house of Lords, are bound to persevere in their impeachment against Warren Hastings, Esq; late governor-general of Bengal, until judgment may be obtained upon the most important articles in the same.”

On the 17th of May complaint was made to the house by general Burgoyne of a libellous publication inserted in one of the morning papers with the signature of John Scott, a member of the house of commons, grossly reflecting upon the conduct of the managers of the impeachment, and upon the justice of that house. The letter was then read by the clerk, and major Scott being called to answer this complaint, avowed himself to be the author of the letter in question; and at the same time declared, that no man living had a higher respect for the rules of the house than he had; and if he had broken them, he had done so unintentionally, and was sorry for it. The honourable major then entered into a general justification of his letter, and declared, that if he had been guilty of an error in his conduct, he had been drawn into it by great examples. He then entered into a variety of publications by Mr. Burke, Mr. Sheridan, and ge-

neral Burgoyne, which he considered to be by far stronger libels than he had ever written.

Major Scott, according to the practice of the house, having given in his defence, immediately withdrew.

General Burgoyne then moved, “ That it is against the law and usage of parliament, and a high breach of the privilege of this house, to write or publish, or cause to be written or published, any scandalous or libellous reflections on the honour and justice of this house, in any of the impeachments or prosecutions in which it is engaged.” Which being voted without a division, he next moved, “ That it appears to this house, that the letter now delivered in, is a scandalous and libellous paper reflecting on the honour and justice of this house, and on the conduct of the managers appointed to conduct the impeachment now proceeding against Warren Hastings, esq;”

Upon the suggestion of the chancellor of the exchequer, that in a matter relative to their own privileges, and especially as a great laxity of practice had of late years obtained with respect to publications upon the proceedings of parliament, the house ought to proceed with all possible caution. He then moved, that the debate be adjourned to Thursday, the 27th of May. It was then resumed, and after a long conversation, in which the prevailing abuses of the freedom of the press were pointedly discussed, the motion was adopted.

It was then moved, “ That John Scott, esq. a member of that house, in publishing the said letter, was guilty of a gross and scandalous libel,

bel, reflecting upon the house of commons, and upon the managers of the impeachment."

The motion was opposed by Mr. Wigley, who thought that the house, in its justice, ought not to proceed in a severe manner against the honourable member; who, he said, had already made the most satisfactory and sufficient apology for what he stood accused of. He then made a number of observations on several pamphlets written by gentlemen on the side of opposition; and thought that the house, as well as the honourable member accused, had a right to enquire into the nature of those pamphlets, and to proceed upon them in the same manner as the house is now doing in the present case.

After several amendments proposed by different members, it was agreed that the motion should stand as follows: "That John Scott, esq. having avowed himself to be the writer of the said letter, was guilty of a violation of his duty as a member of that house, and of reflecting upon the managers of the impeachment."

Mr. Jekyll then moved the previous question; which was negatived, and the motion, as amended, agreed to.

General Burgoyne then moved, "That major Scott be reprimanded at the bar of that house, for his conduct in publishing the said libel."

This motion brought on a very long and personal debate, in which Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Wyndham took a part; and, after a considerable opposition, it was agreed that major Scott should be reprimanded in his place.

Mr. Pitt then moved, that John Scott, esq. do attend in his place in that house to-morrow.

The order of the day being then read for the attendance of John Scott, esq. in his place, and the strangers being ordered to withdraw, he was reprimanded by the speaker in the following terms:

"Mr. Scott, the house have resolved, that you, being the author of a letter which the house have declared to be a scandalous and libellous paper, reflecting on the honour and justice of this house, and on the conduct of the managers appointed to manage the impeachment now depending against Warren Hastings, esq. are guilty of a violation of your duty as a member of this house, and of a high breach of the privilege of this house.

"On the nature and magnitude of your offence it is unnecessary for me to dwell: whatever has a tendency to depreciate the honour and justice of this house, particularly in the exercise of its inquisitorial functions, tends in the same proportion to weaken and degrade the energies and dignity of the British constitution.

"The privileges of this house have a claim to the respect of every subject of this country. As a member of this house, it is your duty, as it is a part of your trust, to support and protect them. Had a sense of these obligations produced its due influence on your mind and conduct, you would have avoided the displeasure of the house, and I should have been spared the pain of declaring to you the result of it. The moderation of the house is not, however, less manifest on this occasion, than their just sense of their own dignity, and of the importance of their own privileges. It is my duty, in addressing you, to be guided by the lenity which marks their

proceedings; and in the persuasion that the judgment of the house will operate as an effectual admonition to yourself and to others, I forbear to say more, than that the house have directed that I reprimand you for your said offence; and, in obedience to their commands, I do reprimand you accordingly."

On the 10th day of June, the king put an end to the session by a speech from the throne, in which he acquainted the two houses that he had yet received no satisfactory answer from Madrid; and was therefore under the necessity of continuing to proceed with expedition and vigour in preparations for war, in the prosecution of which he had received the strongest assurances from his allies, of their determination to fulfil the engagements of the existing treaties.

He then informed them of his intention of immediately dissolving the present, and calling a new parliament; thanked them for the proofs they had given of loyalty to his person, of attachment to the principles of the constitution, and of attention to the happiness and prosperity of the people; and concluded by declaring, that as the loyalty and public spirit, the industry and enterprize of his subjects, had seconded their exertions, so he could rely on their sense of the advantages which they at present experience, as well as on their uniform and affectionate attachment to his person and government, for a continuance of that harmony and confidence which must at all times afford the surest means of meeting the exigencies of war, or of cultivating, with increasing benefit, the blessings of peace.

On the day following this parliament, which was the sixteenth par-

liament of Great-Britain, and had now sat seven sessions, was dissolved by proclamation.

Previous to meeting of the parliament of Ireland, the Marquis of Buckingham, after a residence of two years, was recalled from that kingdom, and the Earl of Westmorland appointed the lord lieutenant in his stead; a measure which was probably adopted on account of the misunderstanding which had happened in the last session between the house of commons and the former, upon the subject of the regency; and in order to prevent any obstruction to the affairs of government, that might arise from a retrospect to the transactions of that period.

The session was opened on the twenty-first day of January by a speech from the throne, which went upon the usual topics; but upon the report of the address an addition to it was moved, in the house of lords, by lord Portarlington, and by Mr. Grattan, in the commons, expressing "the apprehensions which they entertained from the great increase of ministerial influence and corruption, and requesting his Majesty to apply a remedy to the growing evil, by abolishing unnecessary and burthen some places and establishments." This amendment was rejected in both houses, after long and warm debates, by large majorities in the house of lords; a strong and spirited protest was entered and signed by the eight dissenting peers.

On the first of February, Mr. Grattan, after reprobating, in a long speech, the corrupt system of government which prevailed in that country, and pointing out the necessity for that house to interfere for

for the purpose of protecting the people from the burthens it occasioned, made the following motion, "That the resolutions of this house against increasing the number of the commissioners of the revenue, and dividing the boards, be laid before his Majesty, with an humble address, that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to order to be laid before this house the particulars of the representations, in consequence of which two new commissioners of customs have been added, notwithstanding the resolutions of this house; and also that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to communicate to his faithful commons the names of the persons concerned in recommending that measure."

Mr. Conolly seconded the motion, which, after much debate, was rejected by a division by a majority of 135 to 80.

Soon after Mr. Forbes called the attention of the house to the increase of the pension list, and moved an address to his Majesty, to communicate to the house the names of those ministers who advised the same. This motion was also rejected by a majority of 136 to 92.

The members in opposition were not discouraged by these repeated defeats. On the 15th of February, Mr. G. Ponsonby moved to represent to his Majesty, "That his faithful commons, having taken into consideration the growth of public expence in the last year, could not but observe many new and increased salaries annexed to offices granted to members of that house, no fewer in

number than 14; that so rapid an increase of places, together with the number of additional pensions, could not but alarm the house; and tho' they never could entertain a doubt of his Majesty's affection and regard for his loyal kingdom of Ireland, yet they feared that his Majesty's servants may, by misinformation, so far have abused his Majesty's confidence as to have advised such measures for the purpose of increasing influence." Mr. Grattan seconded the motion: and at one o'clock, after a long debate, the question was put, and the house divided, when there appeared, ayes 87, noes 146.

About the same time the following resolution was moved in the house of peers by the duke of Leinster:

"Whereas the lord viscount Strangford has been deprived of a pension, which, at the request of this house, his Majesty was graciously pleased to grant him, until an adequate provision should be made for him in his own line of profession: and whereas no cause has been suggested or communicated to the noble lord for such mark of his Majesty's displeasure: the house, therefore, has every ground to believe, that the same had reference to his conduct in parliament in the last sessions; and declare and resolve, that the adviser of the measure acted disrespectfully to this house, unconstitutionally, and undutifully to his Majesty."

The motion being put and negatived by a majority of 203, a strong protest was afterwards entered in the journals\*.

The

\* The protest was as follows:

DISSENTIENT,

Because we conceive that the power of granting pensions was originally vested in the Crown, to enable the sovereign, whom the constitution regards as the fountain of gratification and of mercy, to promote public virtue, by rewarding eminent services and transcendent merit, and to relieve the distress into which men of ancient and illustrious

The parliament was soon after- of April was dissolved by procla-  
wards prorogued, and on the eighth nation.

illustrious family may have fallen, without any fault of their own; and we are firmly persuaded, that if pensions were to be thus only applied, instead of a disgrace and grievance, they would become an honour and advantage to the country; and that the national expence, which would by this restriction be reduced to a comparative trifle, would be borne and provided for with the utmost alacrity; the wanton application and profuse exorbitancy of such gratuities, and not the power of granting them, having ever been the object of complaint and animadversion—the pension list, and not the pension establishment.

Because we conceive, that from his rank and circumstances no man had ever yet a stronger and more rightful claim to the royal bounty than the lord viscount Strangford, in consequence of which, and of the unanimous address of this house, a pension of 400*l.* *per ann.* was, by his Majesty's humane goodness and gracious condescension to the wishes of his faithful subjects the peers of this realm, granted to him; of which pension, however, he has been lately deprived without any cause whatsoever having been assigned for such deprivation.

Because that when a pension has been granted to a member of this house, in consequence of an address from the lords, we humbly conceive that to advise his Majesty to revoke the said pension, without previously acquainting their lordships with such intention, and with reasons of such revocation, is highly disrespectful to parliament, and derogatory from the dignity of this house.

Because we have every ground to believe that, in the present instance, the lord viscount Strangford has been deprived of his pension on account of his conduct in parliament, as well from the silence of ministers respecting the cause of this public mark of his Majesty's displeasure, as because at the period of the said deprivation, and of many others evidently on the same account, we have seen pensions and places, some of them created for the occasion, and even the highest favours of the crown lavished with a more than usual indecency of profusion and corrupt extravagance, manifestly with the view of obtaining undue influence in Parliament—ministry having thus evinced the tendency of their punishments by that of their rewards. Neither can we, on this occasion, avoid lamenting the additional conviction, which every day brings along with it, of the justice of our apprehensions, that the aforesaid measures, together with many others, which have for some time past unceasingly alarmed us, are to be considered only as parts of a general system to undermine the liberties of this country by corruption, and to overthrow, by sapping them from within, these bulwarks of our constitution, which are too strong to be openly attacked with any probability of success.

Because we conceive, that to punish any member of parliament on account of his parliamentary conduct, by depriving him of that which he possessed from his Majesty's favour, is in the highest degree unconstitutional, being a direct interference of the executive power with the peculiar province and privilege of parliament, and an open attack upon that freedom of the legislative body which is so essential to public liberty; and we are therefore decidedly and firmly of opinion, that the man who advised our most gracious sovereign, whose truly royal mind is, we are confident, utterly incapable of any such measure, unless grossly abused and misled, to revoke the pension so rightfully and humanely granted to the lord viscount Strangford; has acted not only disrespectfully to this house, but in manifest violation of the fundamental principles of the constitution.

LEINSTER,		FARNHAM,
CORK and CRRERY,		CHARLEMONT,
MOIRA,		PORTARLINGTON,
ARRAN,		RD. CLONFERT.

## C H A P. VI.

*Proceedings of the national assembly after the new law had established some order and security in Paris. Apply closely to the vast mass of public business upon their hands. Political annihilation of the two first orders of the state. New laws for regulating elections. Appellation of active citizens, to whom applied. Much trouble still with the provinces, to bring them to a surrender of their peculiar rights and privileges. France at length divided into eighty-three departments, and the term Province expunged from the language. Creation and organization of municipalities. Letters de cachet abolished. Gabelle, and others of the most obnoxious taxes, abolished. Assembly enter into the intricate business of finance; augment the pay of the army; and establish a new bank. Grand scheme for seizing the estates of the clergy, and offering them as a present to the nation, to serve as a fund and security for the discharge of the public debts, and to answer other important purposes. Some difficulties and obstructions, which appear in the way of carrying this scheme into execution, are far out-balanced by the vast advantages which it is capable of producing. Decree passed, which declares all the ecclesiastical estates to be at the disposal of the nation, Stipends allotted for the maintenance of parish priests, &c. Discontent rise to the highest pitch amongst the clergy, many of the bishops, and nearly all the chapters in the kingdom, protest against the decree. Combination of the canons, and endeavours used at Rome to draw the maledictions of the church upon the national assembly. Great prudence and address displayed by the assembly in its transactions with the court of Rome. Sovereign pontiff seems to be satisfied with their protestations. France swarms with publications of every sort, in prose and in verse, against the national assembly, its proceedings and designs. Several of the parliaments attempt to be troublesome, and protest against the decrees of the assembly; but having lost all influence with the people, are obliged to submit reluctantly to their fate. Parliament of Bourdeaux continues longer in a state of turbulence than any of the others, and endeavours to excite an insurrection in the south. Stories of plots and conspiracies necessary to keep the minds of the people in constant agitation. Various accusations against the king's ministers, and a greater number against the aristocrats in general. Animosities so violent between the remaining nobles in the assembly, and the democratical leaders, that frequent duels are the consequence. Nation, in general, said to be unanimous in supporting the assembly, and offers to raise three millions of soldiers in defence of the new constitution. Situation of the captive king and of the royal family in the palace, now state prison, of the Thuilleries. Ill effect produced at home and abroad, and worse consequences likely to ensue, from the king's captivity, when his free sanction is necessary to give validity to their laws, causes great uneasiness in the national assembly. Scheme formed to obviate these difficulties, by inducing the king to appear to come voluntarily to the national assembly, to declare himself fully satisfied with all their proceedings, and that he considers himself as sitting at the head of the revolution. Liberal conduct of the assembly with respect*

respect to the civil list. King notwithstanding firmly rejects all the persuasions used to induce him to pay the desired visit. Great distresses of the country. 20,000 people fed by charity at Lyons. 6,000 estates advertized to be sold. Decretot's noble manufactures at Louviers nearly ruined. Riots at Versailles. Some observations on the extraordinary conduct of that people through the course of the king's troubles. Parisians become again tumultuous, and, without regard to the general famine, want to have the price of bread fixed at a lower rate than it could have been afforded in the most plentiful seasons. Their rage increased to the highest pitch upon the acquittal of Bezenval by the chatelet. Form a plot for forcing the prison, and murdering him, on their own principles of summary justice. All their schemes overthrown, and Paris reduced to order, through the activity and vigour of La Fayette, well supported by the Bourgeoise militia. Surrounds a body of 1,100 of the mutineers at night, and makes 200 of them prisoners. Chatelet proceed to the trials of Lambesc, Broglio, and others of the principal refugees, for the real or supposed plot of the preceding month of July. Are all acquitted, through the failure of any evidence to support the charge. Various conspiracies apprehended or spoken of for the rescue of the king's person. The subject of the king's instant death, as the assigned penalty for any attempt to his rescue, a matter of public conversation in all companies and among all ranks, without the smallest expression of horror, at the idea of so deplorable a catastrophe. King's firmness at length gives way, and he submits to pay the proposed visit to the national assembly, and to make a speech nearly similar to that prescribed. Affairs of the clergy finally settled, their property seized, and assignats created.

AS soon as the new law for restraining the judicial violences of the mob, had produced some degree of order and security in Paris, the national assembly applied itself closely and without interruption for several months to the adjustment of public business; of which they had still such an abundant quantity on their hands, that, viewed as a whole, it seemed to present such an inextricable wilderness of jarring elements, fortuitously jumbled together, as no time or care could be sufficient to reduce to order: for what they had hitherto done was rather to be considered as an outline, containing hasty sketches of what was further intended, than as any completion of the separate parts of the design. But, independent of the old, which they had already in any degree

gone through, they had an infinite quantity of new matter to consider, arrange, and decide upon.

Among the most remarkable of the measures immediately adopted, was the political annihilation, at one blow, of the two first orders in point of dignity, and the two most ancient and only original orders of the state; while things were now arrived at such a pass, that this degradation of the nobles and clergy, and this total change of the constitution, was effected without a single struggle, by a simple decree, which only announced, in so many words, "That there was no longer any distinction of orders in France." The assembly then entered upon the business of elections, which required an entirely new code of laws or regulations, to render it conformable



to the present system. No reference to the ancient form of electing representatives for the different orders could of course be admitted or thought of. The regulations went in the first instance to the election of deputies in the primary assemblies, who were again (as we have already seen) to proceed to the election of those deputies who were to represent the nation in the assembly. Though the right of election in the primary assemblies was laid open to the citizens at large, yet some small qualification with respect to property was required to entitle them to vote; and this qualification, slender though it was, afforded no small satisfaction to the friends of property and a government by law, who fancied that both would from thence derive some degree of security. It was farther decreed, that the men thus entitled to vote in the primary assemblies, should have their names registered in books kept for the purpose, and should be characterized under the distinctive appellation of *active citizens*. The qualification of those who were chosen electors was required to be somewhat higher than that of the former; but the paying any attention at all to property, however small that might be, was deemed, on one side, a considerable point gained. On the other hand, the most violent of the republican and levelling party were much out of humour and greatly dissatisfied at this decree; for they wanted to throw the elections into the hands of the whole people without distinction, and no other disqualifications to operate upon votes, than those arising from infancy, idiocy, or absolute infamy of character.

Notwithstanding all that had been said of the alacrity with which the

provinces surrendered their peculiar rights and privileges, it now appeared that these accounts required to be received with all that caution and doubt, which was so generally necessary with respect to every thing that was given out or published at this period. The case undoubtedly was, that as the deputies of the privileged provinces were generally among the most forward in framing or adopting all the political novelties of the present time, so they made but little scruple of sacrificing the rights or privileges of their constituents to their own peculiar doctrines or designs; and that this conduct, not being at all relished by great numbers of people in the country, their dissatisfaction occasioned those difficulties which the assembly now experienced; and which were indeed so considerable, that it seemed as if that body had been only commencing the business. That the matter was deemed really serious, appears from the democratical writers, who inform us, that the dissatisfaction upon this subject in the provinces, afforded the only strong ground of hope which the aristocrats now possessed; "for, finding themselves unable to destroy the kingdom, they had, however, the consolation left, that by this means they might be able to distract her."

The division of power was too unequal to admit of any great contest; nor do we hear of any particular act, done by, or imputed to the aristocrats. The assembly, to render every thing novel, and to destroy all vestiges of whatever passed before their own reign, succeeded in expunging the term 'Province,' from the French vocabulary. They divided the kingdom into eighty-three

three parts, which were distinguished by the appellation of Departments, and these were subdivided into other portions, under the name of Districts and Cantons. Thus, by cutting off a few heads under the name of Provinces, a new multiplied generation sprung up, like those of the hydra, which became in due time sufficiently troublesome in their management; and thus the geography of France being totally changed, and rendered as obsolete in an instant, as that of Gaul under Julius Cæsar; new maps became necessary, to trace out or distinguish places with which we were the most intimately acquainted. It must, however, be acknowledged, that whatever faults or inconveniences other parts of this system were chargeable with, the reduction of the exclusive privileges of peculiar provinces, and the laying them on one common level of law and government with the rest of the kingdom, was certainly a measure of no small public utility. Upon this division, above two thousand deputies of the provinces, cities, and boroughs which were affected, hurried straightway to Paris from every quarter of the kingdom, in order to maintain and establish their respective pretensions; and so many difficulties still remained to be surmounted, that it cost three months of the most laborious and painful application, before the final arrangement and division were completed. "Then," says Rabaut, "the kingdom was consolidated, and the apprehension of a confederacy of republics was done away."

The assembly during this time went through another task, which they considered of great import: this was the organization of the mu-

nicipalities; or interior governments, throughout the kingdom. Though these, in their composition and construction, bore a close resemblance to our parish vestries in England, yet, from the extraordinary powers with which they were endued, or at least which they assumed, and which produced the same effect as if they legally possessed them, together with the infinity of their number, the ignorance, and unfitness of character in other respects, which too generally prevailed among their members, they became the immediate instruments of a most deplorable tyranny, which, being every where spread, nothing could escape or evade, and which the aggrieved could find no power any where to resist. It seemed as if the new government, being founded upon untried principles in some instances, and in others run up hastily without any, as occasion and circumstance concurred in favouring the erection; so, among the numerous buttresses necessary to supply such glaring and dangerous deficiencies, this was, not the least conspicuous, that one half of the people should be officially constituted spies upon, and consequently masters of, the other half.

The assembly abolished letters *de cachet*, a measure, which if not entirely needless, was certainly an act of patriotism on their side, as there was no power in the nation, except their own, by which they could be issued. They likewise issued a number of regulations with respect to the taxes, most of which, as they were never paid, seemed no longer to exist. As if it had been to give countenance to that observation so often repeated, that their genius and disposition led more to destroy

destroy than to build up or repair, notwithstanding the failure of almost all the other taxes, excepting the partial new one upon estates, they totally suppressed the odious Gabelle, or tax upon salt; a measure which the king, (as we have formerly shewn) in the days of hope, if not of happiness, so devoutly wished to have accomplished; but which the continued opposition to his measures by the parliament of Paris, and the consequent impossibility of his finding a substitute to carry on the business of government, rendered him incapable of carrying into effect. They likewise in some time abolished the heavy tax on tobacco, which was nearly considered as much a necessary of life as salt itself; and which, in consequence of this regulation, was thrown into the common mass of articles of general commerce. Nor was their conduct less meritorious in suppressing others of the most obnoxious taxes.

The assembly did not stop here; they entered bold'y into the untried and intricate walks of finance, where they were to encounter a subject of which they were most deplorably ignorant. They seemed sensible of the disadvantage they were under, and did not venture much. They, however, saw the prudence and expedience of augmenting the pay of the army; and likewise established a new governmental bank, under the name of *Caisse de l'Extraordinaire*.

These were only objects of secondary, and comparatively small consideration, when opposed to, or estimated by that grand one which had occupied the mind of the assembly, ever since the establishment of sole and unlimited power in the

hands of the third estate; and which had probably been much earlier a subject of frequent contemplation. This grand scheme, and so it well might be called, from the extraordinary consequences which it was to produce, was to find a fund of so vast a magnitude, that it should not only reach to the discharge of the whole national debt, enormous as that was, but that it should leave such a surplus behind, as would be capable of providing for those new, and, as yet unknown contingencies, which the new change of affairs was liable to produce. One of the newly promulgated doctrines was, that all things were to give way to the good of the public, or perhaps, more correctly, that the lives and property of individuals were no matters of consideration, in any question where they interfered with the benefit of the whole. In a word, that every thing belonged to the nation, indefinite as that term was, while the individuals who composed this great aggregate, had no security in any thing; and the good of the whole, if the practice founded on it could be carried to the utmost extent of the doctrine, might lead to the dilapidation and ruin of all the parts separately.

There was no merit in discovering the fund which was to answer these vast purposes, for that was at hand, and in full view; it was no other than the great landed estates of the clergy: indeed it was barely the soil; for they had already given up the royalties and exclusive privileges, which had, from the foundation of the monarchy, been attached to, and considered as a part of their estates. Though the immense benefits to be derived from this scheme were obvious to every body,

body, yet it seemed as if some difficulties were likely to arise on the question of justice, with respect to the intended application of the fund. Some of these seemed more peculiarly to affect France than they could have done any other country. For, being the only people upon earth who had ever at once been transformed into a nation of philosophers, it seemed incumbent upon them, at least for a time, to adhere closely to the rules and principles of that sublime science. Now as it happens that Cicero, who, without formally assuming the name, was deemed in his day no inconsiderable philosopher, who was certainly extremely well versed in their history and doctrines, and who could not possibly have laboured under any of the prejudices imputed by modern philosophers to christianity, does not, in his admirable treatise of the moral and relative duties of men in a state of society, (which may be considered as such a compendium of the casuistry of the antient heathen world, as could not otherwise at this time have existed) admit expedience or profit to afford any right whatever for seizing the goods of others; and even carried this doctrine so far, as not to allow any thing to be profitable which was not honourable, nor any thing honourable which was not honest and just; these old-fashioned doctrines, which it might have been supposed would have vanished under the illumination of the present day, were, notwithstanding, troublesome impediments in the way of the grand design. But the superiority of the new philosophy, and of the genius possessed by its professors, soon appeared triumphant. The principle couched in the short apothegmati-

cal sentence, that every thing belonged to the nation, happily removed every difficulty, and assured to it this great property.

No revolution was perhaps ever signalized by so bold and so grand a stroke as this. It was bold in the extreme, because the people, having just thrown off every degree of subordination, were grown so frantic by their easy success, that they could neither think, nor it might be said dream, of any thing but farther innovations, and of new revolutions, which they concluded might be purchased at as cheap a rate, and accomplished with as much ease, as the former. But along with this, the number of clergy in the kingdom was estimated at about 130,000; and though this numerous body should be stripped of all the weight derived from rank and property, yet they could not but still retain some considerable influence over those people among whom they had passed their lives in habits of the greatest intimacy and friendship, besides being their teachers and directors in those Christian duties, which, at that time had been considered of the last importance to mankind. Now, though the professed and real philosophers had long since shaken off with disdain all the manacles of religion, yet it was apprehended, and indeed, however it might be lamented, well known, that the bulk of the people had not yet been sufficiently illuminated, to enable them to get rid of their antient prejudices, or, according to the new vocabulary, superstitions; for though with respect to other matters they seemed sufficiently irreligious, yet as that was not a philosophical irreligion, which is ever invincible, but was derived from idleness,

idleness, wantonness, and those passions which are apt to predominate over mankind, so it was liable to receive a bias, and take a direction, very different from what might be wished. It was farther to be considered, that the court of Rome, however degraded or fallen, had not yet lost all its influence; and that even the thunders of the Vatican, long as they had remained dormant, might, in certain cases, and under certain circumstances, still produce some untoward effect, especially with respect to those weak minds, who continued to be incumbered with any religious scruples. Nor was it to be supposed that the Roman catholic powers in general, would behold with indifference so numerous, so ancient, and so eminent a body, as the members of the Gallican church had for a long succession of ages been, at once stripped of their dignities and property, without any legal forfeiture incurred, or even the charge or pretence of a crime laid to cover the violence and outrage. It was a great misfortune to the cause of philosophy, and indeed a great detriment to it, that the protestant states still adhered firmly to the doctrines and principles of Christianity; it had happened likewise, from some peculiar disposition of mind which may not be easily accounted for, as it formed no exclusive or peculiar part of their system of morality, that many individuals among them had ever been much in the habit, even where they had no direct interest, of enquiring strictly into, and deciding promptly and sturdily upon, so far as a publication of reason and opinion could be called a decision, all questions of right and wrong among men,

without their being generally much swayed by the quality or power of any of the parties. This disposition in individuals, seemed to operate no less upon the states of that persuasion, where they had power sufficient to carry the theory into practice; and they have accordingly been noted in several instances, for repelling injury and injustice with respect to others, as well as to themselves. It was a farther misfortune with respect to the protestant states, that being all, even the smallest of them, more or less commercial, they paid a strict regard to the rights and security of property in all cases whatever, and, it was too much to be apprehended, would be struck, even with horror, at the establishment of a precedent which went to shake and loosen the foundations of all the landed property in Europe. Besides, that although the protestants differed in many points of doctrine as well as discipline from the Romaniſts, yet that considering them still as men, and consequently as brethren possessing the same common nature with themselves, that sympathy so natural to mankind, and so common to the greatest part of the species, could not fail to operate with great force, at seeing so numerous a body of men, many of them eminent for their parts, learning, and virtues, become, so suddenly and unexpectedly, the victims of injury and violence.

But, on the other hand, besides the magnitude, and the intrinsic value of the capital object in view, it was accompanied with so many alluring collateral circumstances, that it would seem, upon any scheme of calculation, to be an act of absolute cowardice not to encounter all these difficulties and dangers for

its attainment. In the first place, however necessary the phrenzy of liberty which intoxicated the people was to the accomplishment of the revolution, it was seen to be totally incompatible with those sober, serious, and steady maxims of policy, which must of necessity be adopted, for the government and security of so great and extensive a kingdom; large armies and fleets must be provided for, and whoever the administrators might be, the civil expences must run very high; to say nothing of the interest of the national debt, and the support of such a number of fortresses, as was without example in any other country. How then were these prodigious expences to be provided for, by a people so drunk with their new liberty, that the bare name of a tax was in the highest degree odious to them; and who, so far from being pleased or satisfied by the lightening of their burthens, which the abolition of the most heavy and obnoxious of the old ones produced, seemed on the contrary to grow more violent in their abhorrence of those which remained? Force, which has been so often used with effect in such cases, would here have been inevitably destructive; the blowing up of the new system, and of every thing appertaining to it, would be at once the consequence; and another revolution, the accidental birth of a moment, without form, order, object or design, would take place, the final consequences of which no man living could foresee. Whereas, by the attainment of the desired object, all these evils would be averted; the golden age would seem to be renewed; taxes, for a time, would no more be heard of; government would seem to support itself; and

nothing but peace and felicity could be expected during the reign of the present rulers. Nor was it perhaps forgotten, among so great a number of more important objects, that the attainment of this measure would free the assembly from the necessity of entering deeply into that most difficult task of financiering.

The business was brought forward about the last of October, 1789; and Rabaut seems to mention, with some surprize, that a most violent opposition arose to it in the very heart of the assembly. This opposition, however, produced so little effect, that a decree was passed on the 2d of November, by which, the ecclesiastical estates were all declared to be at the disposal of the nation; subjected, however, to the following charges: to the providing in a proper manner for the expence of celebrating public worship, for the maintenance of the ministers, and for the relief of the poor. To provide for the second of these purposes, it was decreed, that no parish minister should have a less salary than twelve hundred livres a year, exclusive of the house and gardens hitherto annexed to the parsonage. This decree, which was passed on the second, was published on the third of November, and received the sanction of the captive king on the fourth; a circumstance which clearly demonstrated the facility with which business of the greatest importance was conducted and concluded under the present order of things.

Whatever degree of piety, christian forbearance, and temper, might be attributed to individuals among the clergy, we cannot be surpris'd, while we consider them as men, and as composing a great and numerous political

political body of the state, that they did not submit with entire patience and resignation to this violent and fatal blow. Indeed the democratical writers assert, (and we are well disposed to give them credit upon this occasion) that they endeavoured to move heaven and earth against the assembly, and consequently against the new government. They publicly accused the national assembly of a fixed design totally to destroy religion. Rabaut says, they put in practice all those measures so familiar to the church; and which, he says, might perhaps have succeeded, but for the suppression of tithes. In fact, that previous measure afforded the best guarantee that could be given for the success and security of the present; it operating as a most powerful bribe in securing the voice and disposition of the multitude. The prelate of Treguier set the example, which was soon followed by very many other bishops, who, in the words of Rabaut, "overspread their respective dioceses with incendiary mandates, and negotiated a bull with Rome for the intimidation of the weak-minded, and for devoting the national assembly to the maledictions of the church." He likewise informs us, that all the canons of the kingdom entered into a combination, and that almost every chapter protested against the decree.

However strongly fortified and assured the national assembly was by its present vast acquisition, which placed a fund of wealth in its hands beyond all example in the history of modern Europe, yet it shewed as much prudence, management, and address, in its transactions with the court of Rome, as if

it had been in a situation and circumstances the direct reverse of what it really was. The holy father was either cajolled, or pretended to be satisfied, by reiterated protestations, of the strict union of the national assembly with the pope, as head of the christian church, in all spiritual matters; as well as of their fidelity to the religion of their forefathers. The weakness of the court of Rome, the age of the pontiff, with a grievous sense of the humiliations which that see had of late years experienced, all concurred in giving an appearance of currency to these assurances; for it is not to be supposed, that the refinement of Italian policy was so totally exhausted, as that their purport was not thoroughly comprehended, and their real value duly estimated.

The democrates say, that the press now took an entirely new direction, and that a prodigious manufacture was carried on of pamphlets and periodical publications against government. That as it was well known, that books had considerably assisted the revolution, it was, therefore, imagined, that books might effect a counter-revolution. That, the ecclesiastics expected to dazzle the people of France, by disseminating ten times as many volumes against the national assembly as there had been published in its favour; that a multitude of printing-presses, both within and without the kingdom, were devoted to this pious merchandize; that, all the different kinds of style were summoned to aid the holy cause; poems, songs, epigrams, satires, tragedies, were written against the national assembly, against its committees, against its most celebrated members, against

the city of Paris, and against the national guards, whom they mentioned with extraordinary contempt. Pamphlets succeeded pamphlets, with a rapidity proportioned to the fury which engendered them. By this account, which is given by Rabaut, it would seem, that the royalists, who were ever too late in all their attempts, enterprizes and designs, were now, when it was of no use, seized with a spirit of writing and publication, which, if it had operated in due time, might have been productive to them, and the cause, of the most useful and happy effects. The Judas-like kifs of fraternity, as it was termed, by which the clergy said they had been circumvented and betrayed, was seldom forgotten in these publications.

The parliaments, who had so great a share, though indirectly, in bringing on the present order of things, which it must, however, be acknowledged, they by no means foresaw, began now to shudder at the thoughts of their approaching dissolution, and wanted nothing but power, to make a vigorous effort for averting their impending fate. Those of Rouen, of Bretagne, and of Metz, determined, however hopeless the issue, not to perish without a struggle. They had accordingly the hardihood to protest against the decrees of the national assembly. But they soon experienced to their grief, how different the power was which they had now to contend with, from that which they were wont to insult under the name of the royal authority. They were forsaken and deserted by those towns and those people on whom they the most confided, and over whom they so lately held the most supreme ascendancy. Their fall, to which

they submitted with a bad grace, was accelerated by this fruitless effort; and was embittered by those last and most galling curses of fallen ambition, by contempt and derision. The parliament of Bourdeaux, which stood singly, held out much longer, and was much more troublesome, than the other three: it was indeed accused of using every possible exertion to excite an insurrection in the South.

The newly-created municipalities began early to detract from the sanguine hopes which had been formed on their institution. This failure of design, or misfortune, was, as usual, attributed entirely to the evil machinations of the aristocrates; who, it was said, seeing that this new authority was the first degree in the future administration, and the only popular power at that time existing; and always endeavouring by diminution or division to attain the power of destroying; they used all their influence to get their own creatures elected into these authorities. We are told afterwards, with a face of the utmost gravity, that whenever the electors had been thus led to make an improper choice, they became victims to the arts of their enemies; and that the massacres which have taken place in certain cities of the kingdom, were occasioned by evil-minded municipalities. Thus was a party ever at hand, on which to throw the odium of every misfortune, domestic or foreign, which could possibly befall the nation.

As it was necessary not only to keep the people constantly awake, but in a state of absolute agitation, and as the king and queen were too closely guarded, to admit of their being held out to excite suspicion



or apprehension, it was easily seen that other proper objects should be fought for on whom to father new plots and conspiracies. For, though the general term of Aristocrate could and did bear a great deal, yet, to prevent the effect from growing languid, and the public mind from sinking into a state of quiet and inactivity, it became occasionally necessary to quicken and enliven the scene by new matter, and by some appearance of specific charge, against such objects as seemed best calculated for answering the purpose.

There was no difficulty in finding these objects; for the king's ministers, who were still suffered to retain their offices, and who still transacted all business in his name, whether qualified or not for discharging the functions of the high places to which they were appointed, were, from their situation, eminently calculated for this purpose. A violent outcry was accordingly raised, and a number of charges laid against them; though no attempt was made to bring them to the point of trial or impeachment. If some of these charges were so loose and indefinite, that they would as exactly suit any other body of men as those against whom they were particularly directed, it is to be observed, that this was the current political language, both in writing and speaking, and the established fashion of the time; if others of them seemed incomprehensible or impossible, let it be recollected, that the people on whom they were intended to operate, were much more likely to be fascinated by those things which were unintelligible or incomprehensible, than by those simple facts, narrated in plain language, which came home to every man's understanding.

The ministers were charged, with serving the cause of the disaffected by their inaction; and that, by retarding the transmission and the execution of the new laws, they thereby designedly prolonged the existence of anarchy; indulging themselves in the fond hope, that the people, disgusted with continual scenes of endless confusion, would call loudly for the old government, under which they had enjoyed a stupid tranquillity. That, at the same time, these foes to liberty, had insidiously created a scarcity of grain; that they likewise had insidiously created a scarcity of specie; and, that they had insidiously refused to give employment to the artificers, in the hope, that every class of men becoming dissatisfied, the people would, at length, grow weary of their own courage. These were among the principal charges laid against the ministers: our readers are to bear in mind, though it seems to have been totally forgotten by the framers of these accusations, that long since, and at the very commencement of the revolution, all present and future administrations were rendered directly answerable, and personally responsible to the national assembly, for every part of their conduct; so that neither the king's name would afford sanction, nor his direct orders a justification, for their adopting any measure contrary to the sentiments of that body; even supposing the king to be now a free agent; and capable of transacting any business.

The charges against the aristocrats in general, or more particularly against the most considerable and active members of the two ruined orders, were more abundant than those against the ministers. Their

malecontents were said to be dispersed through every court in Europe, and were said to be seconded in almost all, by the French ambassadors at those respective courts; their joint endeavours being to disseminate every where their own invincible hatred against their native country. That in those courts they laid the foundations of a general confederacy of all the powers of Christendom against France. That their object was, to persuade the several crowned heads, that this cause was the cause of all kings, and, that it behoved them all equally to unite their common strength, in order to restore the arbitrary authority of Lewis XVI. Imprudent men! (Rabaut exclaims) whenever perceived, that they were, at the same time, teaching Europe that this was also the cause of nations. That, two princes, who had taken refuge at Turin, assembled there some of the gentry, and threatened France with an invasion by the way of Nice, and by the way of Savoy; and had sent emissaries into Provence, to Nismes, and to Lyons, while the king of Sardinia put his army in motion on the frontiers. It cannot escape the memory of most of our readers, how totally unprovided for war, or even for any degree of defence, that king was long after, when his dominions were so violently invaded and over-run by the French; and when his most ancient dukedom of Savoy was, so far as a decree could give permanence to the wrong, for ever annexed to the majesty of the people in the new republic. The last charge was extremely well designed, and could not but produce its intended effect. It was to this purpose, that, it was then publicly declared, that Paris was no longer

worthy of the presence of her king; and that Lyons deserved the honour of being the capital of the empire.

In the mean time, the animosities between the democratical leaders, and the remainder of the nobles who still continued in the assembly, were grown so violent and inveterate; that duels became frequent between the enraged parties; and as the last appeal is made to the sword in the great political debates of nations, so here, the smaller political differences between parties and individuals, were referred to the same arbitrary decision. And as it has been long and often observed; that a change of condition frequently produces a great change in the manners; and even, apparently, in the nature of men, so it seemed now, that as the democrates had already stripped the nobility of all power, so that, intending to be their successors in every thing, they would now deprive them of the only exclusive claim of distinction which was still left untouched, and which they had possessed unrivalled for so many ages, that of a decided superiority in all the hardy deeds of arms and chivalry.

To counterbalance all those dangers, real or supposed, with which France was said to be environed, we are informed that the nation at large was unanimous in supporting the assembly: that its table was covered with addresses from every town and city, expressive of their affection, of their admiration, and of their gratitude; promising it three millions of soldiers for the defence of the constitution, and encouraging it to persevere in its patriotism. It might well be imagined that with so prodigious a mass of strength, which

has

has in no degree been equalled since the days of Xerxes, they had little cause to be apprehensive, of either foreign invasion or domestic conspiracy: and yet they seem to have been tremblingly alive to both.

The admirers of a flowery and eloquent style may not be displeas'd at seeing the manner in which our author, Rabaut, describes the conduct and proceedings of the new sole power of the empire under these circumstances. "The national assembly, occupied in parrying these attacks, was still advancing with great strides, trampling upon the ruins of despotism, combating every prejudice, discomfiting every error, making war on every abuse, destroying usurped rights, and re-establishing that precious equality, which gives anew to nations the robust benefits of youth, and regenerates them, by restoring them to their primitive state of purity." We know some cavillers might ask, How that equality could be re-established which never before subsisted? and might likewise perversely enquire, In what period of the golden age that primitive purity existed, to which the people were now so happily restored? But it might well be answered, That such men, who would wish to manacle eloquence, and to shackle flowery description, must be by nature adverse to all the beauties of style, and graces of composition; and must likewise labour under some fatal prejudices, which would lead them to question the legitimacy of the new philosophy.

We have yet taken no specific notice of the situation of the king and the royal family from the time of their removal to Paris. The palace of the Thuilleries, which was destined to be their prison, had been

so long uninhabited, was so much out of repair, the rooms were so cold and damp, and the furniture, either removed or totally ruined, that there was not a single apartment in the whole, which, with respect even to health, independent of appearance or convenience, was fit for the reception of any person whatever. These were not, however, times for the wasting of much thought in the contemplation of small evils, when the greatest that could occur were constantly to be apprehended, if not actually expected. There is no doubt but the apartments, so far as was immediately necessary to the convenience of the royal family, were soon furnished, and rendered otherwise habitable.

The best and most authentic account which we have seen of the state of the king's confinement is given by an Englishman, whose veracity is unimpeachable, and who from the extensiveness of his connections and acquaintance with persons at that time of the first rank in France, as well as from his mixing much with persons of all classes and condition in life, had opportunities of information which seldom occur to foreigners. For we are to observe, that in perusing Rabaut and others of the democratical writers, it would never occur to any reader, who was not otherwise acquainted with the subject, that the king had been at any time under the smallest degree whatever of restraint or duress.

It appears from this authority, that early in the year 1790, but when, it being near three months after the procession from Versailles, the violence and suspicion of the people might be supposed considerably abated, that, at that period, a body of

800 men, with two pieces of cannon, mounted guard every morning at the Thuilleries. That, January 4th, on a day specified, the 1790. writer beheld the extraordinary spectacle of the king of France walking in the gardens with six grenadiers of the bourgeois militia. That the doors of the gardens were kept shut while he walked in them, in order to exclude all persons but deputies, or those who procured admission tickets, from entering. That when he re-entered the palace, the doors of the gardens were thrown open to all persons without distinction, although the queen, with a lady of her court, was still walking in them. That she was likewise attended so closely by the garden bourgeois, that she must have spoken very low not to be overheard by them. That the dauphin (who is described as a pretty, well-countenanced boy, of five or six years old) was at work, with a little hoe and rake, in a small garden which had been railed off for his amusement; but that even he was not without a guard of two grenadiers upon him. Our author, who was then a strong advocate for the revolution, acknowledges that it was a shocking spectacle, to behold the royal family thus shut up close prisoners\*.

The assembly felt no small uneasiness at the ill effect which the confinement of the king (however it was attempted to be denied or palliated) produced upon the public opinion; in other countries as well as at home; and of the strong handle which it afforded to their enemies for calling in question the validity of those laws to which his sanction

was extorted, under a state of restraint, which, depriving him of all free agency, rendered him, by the laws and consent of all nations, incapable of any legal act, or that could be binding on himself, any longer than the compulsion which produced it continued to operate.

To remove this difficulty was justly considered an object of the greatest importance; and no means were accordingly to be spared for its attainment. This could only be accomplished by persuasion; and the facility of the king's nature seemed to afford no small hope of success, in any thing that depended upon that mode of proceeding. The design was to induce the sovereign to go suddenly, and apparently of his own mere motion, to the national assembly, and there, in a set speech, to declare himself perfectly satisfied with all their proceedings, and likewise, that he considered himself as being at the head of the revolution, in terms so explicit, as to take away all idea or pretence of his being in a state of coercion or confinement. La Fayette was either the framer of this plan, or one of those who was most sanguine in its pursuit, and who placed the greatest confidence in its success.

The assembly had just displayed an unexpected act of liberality and attention with respect to the king's person, which could not but produce the greater effect from its being unexpected; and which could not fail to make a strong impression on a mind so very susceptible of gratitude as his was known to be. For, on the question being proposed, just at the opening of the year, what annual sum it would be fitting to assign for

\* See Young's Tour, pp. 264, 265.

the royal expences and support of the household, or what is usually called the civil list, the assembly, instead of debating the subject, or forming any resolution on the question, adopted the liberal measure of sending a députation to the sovereign, with an address, requesting that he would himself name the sum that would be sufficient for the purpose, and praying, that in so doing, he would consult less his spirit of economy, than a sense of that dignity, which ought to environ the throne with a becoming splendour. The liberality of this conduct gained the assembly great credit, and brought them abundant praise from all sorts of people; the most furious of the *enragés* would have been ashamed to condemn the generosity of the action; and the bitterest of their enemies among the royalists found it difficult to refrain from some commendation.

Yet, notwithstanding the apparent effect with respect to other matters, which this attention shewn by the assembly to the personal ease and dignity of the sovereign produced on his mind, he totally rejected, and continued with great firmness to reject, all the persuasions which were used, and all the inducements held out, to compass his wished-for visit, and the making of his intended speech to that body. This obstinacy, as it was termed, was, as usual in all cases, where his conduct did not exactly suit the wishes of the prevailing party, attributed entirely to the machinations of the queen, who was thereby, if possible, rendered more odious than before.

Notwithstanding the great and numberless benefits which had been showered upon the people, notwithstanding the remission of taxes, or,

what produced the same effect, the refusal of paying those that were not remitted, and notwithstanding those innumerable and unspeakable blessings which were supposed to be included in the magical term of regeneration, yet, such is the perverseness at certain times incident to the affairs of mankind, that every class of men in the kingdom was the direct reverse of being happy, prosperous, or contented. There were at this time above six thousand landed estates, a great number of them very considerable, publicly advertised for sale in France, and scarcely a purchaser to be found upon any terms. In the capital, trading, and manufacturing city of Lyons, so long the seat of industry and opulence, no less than 20,000 people were supported and fed by charity. Things were no better in Normandy, where the famous woollen cloth manufactory at Louviers, which was scarcely equalled in Europe, and where the celebrated M. Decretot gained so much honour by the unparalleled beauty and excellence of his fabricks, was already tending fast to absolute ruin. A great cotton manufactory, at the same place, and, as we apprehend, conducted by the same director, was still in a worse state than the woollen.

There were not many circumstances attending the revolution more singular, or which afforded a more striking instance of the degrees of turpitude and atrocity, to which mankind, under the dominion of certain operating causes, which are not always obvious nor easily traced to their source, is capable of arriving, than the conduct of the inhabitants of Versailles. That place had first risen from being an obscure village, through the immense sums of money

money which Lewis XIV. squandered in raising its superb palace, and in forming those prodigious gardens and water-works, whose magnificence and greatness long excited the admiration and astonishment of all Europe. The superfluity and waste which necessarily attended the expenditure of two hundred millions of livres, disposed of in such a manner, and under the conduct of such a man, could not but afford abundant means for nourishing and fostering the growth of a young city. The continual residence, for more than a century, of the most magnificent, expensive, and by many degrees the most munificent court in Christendom, as well as of all the first nobility in that vast kingdom, effectually completed what was thus begun; and Versailles, with a population of 60,000 persons, had risen to such a degree of consideration and opulence, as to stand at the head of what may be called the second-rate cities of the kingdom.

Yet this people, thus originating, growing, thriving, and arriving at maturity, who it might be said, without much hyperbole, had for more than a century past been constantly fed by the court, and all wearing its livery, had, from the commencement of his troubles, been among the foremost of the present sovereign's most implacable enemies, extending their malevolence to every part of the royal family, and seeming emulous to exceed the Parisians in their animosity and malice. Like them too, they had constituted themselves sole judges, dispensers, and executors of the laws. So that the same men being judges, accusers, witnesses, and executioners, much time was saved in all criminal prosecutions. It remains, however,

to be lamented, that this career of patriotism in pursuit of summary justice, was, in Versailles, productive of some horrid murders, although the voice and majesty of the people gave them the sanction of legality; and these seemed the more unlucky, as they occurred in private family cases, where no party or political motives could have any concern.

The felicity of the Versaillesians received a mortal blow by the removal of the court to Paris; the danger of which they seemed totally blind to until it was given. By that they not only lost the constant butt and object of all their amusements, along with the delicious pleasure of continually insulting fallen majesty, but they lost thereby their established ground and pretext for riots and tumults, without which it was scarcely possible for them now to exist. They likewise felt, with inexplicable mortification, that they had instantaneously lost all their past consequence; that instead of being looked up to as competitors in all deeds of renown with the proud Parisians, they were now no longer either named or thought of; while the voracious capital, along with the king, would gorge itself with all the praise and fame appertaining to others.

In such a state of discontent, and with such inherent dispositions, they could never want pretences for riots and tumults; the dearth of bread, and scarcity of all kinds of provisions, independent of all the other grounds of complaint which ingenuity could be at no loss in devising, afforded an abundant stock of combustible matter to feed the rage of an enflamed populace; who were at the same time peculiarly agitated by a hidden source of discontent which they

they could not avow, but which did not operate with the less force from its being concealed; this was the want and private distress they already sorely felt in their families, through the loss of those pecuniary and other reliefs they constantly drew from that court, which they could not endure, nor would suffer to exist among them, at the time that it was affording them all these benefits. From these, and other causes, Versailles continued in a state of the greatest insubordination and disorder from the time of the king's removal to Paris; but this state of things was so common, and it being besides a generally received doctrine, that tumults and disorders were the genuine effects of patriotism, and that their worst consequences, such as conflagrations and massacres, were the natural result and legitimate issue of revolutions; while such partial evils were not worth a consideration, when opposed to that immense mass of benefits by which they were produced; under all these circumstances and considerations, together with a sense of their past services, and a full confidence in the purity of their intentions, however mistaken or misguided they might be in the mode of expression, the exorbitances of the Versaillesians passed for a long time without any particular notice.

It happened, however, in process of time, that the national assembly became seriously apprehensive, that these people, whom they had considered only as noisy and riotous friends, were, after all their intemperance and violence on the other side of the question, become secret and dangerous enemies. In fine, they came to be considered as no better than a generation of plotters

and conspirators; and were strongly suspected of a criminality, which, in any other season, and with respect to any other nation, would have appeared incredible, that of leaguings with the aristocrates for the overthrow of the new constitution, and the establishment of a counter-revolution. About the season of Christmas these suspicions and charges ran so high, that nothing was talked of but Versaillesian plots and conspiracies; and the alarm became very general. One of the ridiculous stories then believed and circulated was, that a body of men was in readiness to march from Versailles to Paris, in order to murder La Fayette, Bailly, Neckar, and some other popular characters. This improbable tale, deficient in every circumstance which could give it the most distant appearance of credibility, produced, however, the effect, of occasioning some considerable increase of the guards in Paris, as well as some alterations in their arrangement. Another much more probable story was, that a great number of the rabble of Versailles had intermixed with their brethren at Paris, in order to excite them to disorders and tumults. All these plots, like so many hundred others which were hourly disseminated, came, however, at length to nothing; and it was not long before Versailles and its inhabitants were sunk in a state of utter oblivion.

Before we entirely dismiss this people, who are not likely ever again to afford any occasion for coming within our notice, although it must be attended with some anticipation in point of chronology, we think it may afford no small satisfaction to many of our readers to be informed of a certain sort of poetical justice, which, in the common course of events,

events, left apparently to their natural operation, fortune has administered to so perverse a generation of men. It is then to be observed, that from the state of population, rank, and opulence which we have described, there is scarcely, at the time we are writing, in the whole kingdom of France, so fallen, so reduced, so beggarly a town as Versailles; while want and distress operating upon a proper disposition of mind, have rendered the inhabitants so notorious for sharpening and imposition, that their lodgings, which might afford them some tolerable means of support, generally lie, through this cause, untenanted upon their hands; although the purity of the air, the excellency of the situation, the quiet and silence which now reign there, along with that pensive pleasure which men derive from contemplating the ruins of fallen greatness, would otherwise have rendered it, both to natives and foreigners, one of the most delightful places of retirement that could any where be found.

The populace of Paris, notwithstanding the severity of the late law against riots, and the terrors to be apprehended from the hoisting of the bloody flag, began to give strong indications of their disposition to renew their usual course of tumults, about the very time that their neighbours of Versailles were so sedulously forcing themselves into notice, and had excited so much suspicion and trouble. One of the assigned causes for these movements among the Parisians was the price of bread. This essential article of life, without any regard to the prices of grain, or consideration with respect to the famine which then so severely pressed all others, insisted

that the price of bread should be unalterably fixed in Paris at the very low rate of two sous per pound. This demand will appear the more singular and curious, when it is known, that the Parisians were at this time supplied with bread at a rate which would, *ceteris paribus*, prove an expence or loss to the nation of twenty-two millions of livres a year; they consuming bread to that amount cheaper than it could be procured by any other men in the kingdom.

But the Parisians felt another cause of discontent, which operated much more grievously upon their imaginations than the price of bread, however interesting that might appear. The proceedings of the court of chatelet had given the greatest offence to the body of the populace. That court having been constituted by the national assembly a temporary judicature for the trial and punishment of all treasons against the nation, had accordingly proceeded through, what we should have called here, a course of state trials. They began their process with the baron de Bezenval, the Swiss general, whose life, as we have before seen, had been preserved with so much difficulty from the fury of the Parisians. They accordingly watched the issue of this trial with the deepest anxiety; still flattering themselves that the court would not dare to acquit a man who they had so long and so often condemned; and warmly hoping, that so long and grievous a cessation from action and amusement as they had now endured, would be closed by a sportive holiday, on which the baron's mangled carcase, dragged in procession through the streets, and his head exalted on a pike, would renew a pleasing remembrance



membrance of all their past triumphs.

The sturdy Switzer faced his trial with a degree of composure, firmness, and resolution which astonished the beholders; and repelled the accusations brought against him with such judgment and spirit, that the court could not, either with regard to justice, or to their own character, possibly avoid acquitting him; at the same time, that the superior contempt which he shewed for any danger that might accrue from a due discharge of his military duties, seemed to overawe even his enemies. It is however to be observed, that the Swiss cantons took so spirited a part in behalf of their suffering commander, that it is thought the national assembly did not wish matters to be carried to extremity against him; so that the violence of the mob was possibly the greatest danger, which he apprehended he had to encounter.

Although the court had not yet declared the sentence, yet every body being now convinced of his acquittal, nothing could exceed the rage and indignation of the populace; who considered the boasted benefits of the revolution as nothing but deceptions, if the majesty of the people was to be thus flagrantly insulted, and their authority grossly invaded, by attempting to strip them of the inherent right of summary and executive justice. They accordingly determined to force the prison in which Bezenval was confined by the chatelet, and to exhibit in his person a memorable and bloody instance to mankind of that inexorable justice by which they were guided; the execution of which should not be prevented or diverted, by any laws or by any authority.

The 12th of January was fixed upon for the execution of this design; and the expectation and cruel hopes of the rabble were risen to the highest point at which they were capable of arriving. But things were much changed in this respect, and they were not able in their present state to conduct schemes of this nature with that secrecy and concealment, which are so necessary to their success, and which afforded them such infinite advantages in their past conflicts with the court. Bailly, La Fayette, the chatelet, the national assembly, and in a word, every part of government, became matters of the whole design, before it could be carried into execution, and all adopted such measures as seemed best calculated for its prevention or defeat. La Fayette acted with great vigour, diligence, and effect; but one circumstance in his conduct occasioned much surprisè, and afforded no small room for speculation. This was his placing the security of Paris, and the preservation of her tranquillity, in the hands of the bourgeoisie militia, instead of entrusting them to the regular standing forces, who received constant pay, and of whom the late French guards formed so conspicuous a part. Nothing could be more flattering to the militia than this distinction, and mark of unlimited confidence, in a case of so much supposed danger; they accordingly acted their part inimitably well; but nothing could be a more galling affront to the regular troops than this preference given to men whom they despised.

Though the immediate designs of the plotters were thus overthrown, yet the capital continued in a state of great disorder for two or three days. Cabals and meetings were continually

continually taking place, and all the past indications of mischief were renewed, and seemed to appear in stronger colours than usual. The Versaillesians were again supposed formidable, and thousands of them were said to be mixed with the Parisians. Mischiefs of every kind, and accompanied with every degree of horror and ruin, were generally expected; and even those the best informed, supposed some great, and probably dreadful event. The aristocrats were charged with being the authors of all this evil, in their endeavours to carry off the king, and to bring about a counter-revolution. It would only have exposed a stranger to mockery or suspicion, if he attempted to show the glaring improbability of so unnatural and monstrous a coalition or alliance, as that supposed between the royalists and the rabble of Paris or Versailles, who seemed by some inherent instinct destined to be their mortal and implacable enemies. At the same time, it was openly said on all sides, that the king's life would be the immediate sacrifice to any attempt to rescue his person; and that the whole royal family would probably perish at the same instant. All foreigners, who had any knowledge of the former, and even very late character of the people, were astonished at the coolness and indifference with which the immolation of the sovereign, in such a circumstance, was publicly talked of, in all companies, from the highest to the lowest, as an act which of course must take place.

In the mean time, La Fayette and his militia, by a vigorous act of exertion, put an end to the combustion in Paris. He suddenly surrounded at night, a body of 1100 of the mu-

tineers, who were assembled in the *Champs Elysees*, of whom he made 200 prisoners; the rest being so terrified, that they seemed to consider themselves happy in escaping with their lives. On searching the prisoners, they were found well furnished with powder and ball, made up into cartridges, but not a single musket was found or seen in the whole party. This put a stop for the present to nocturnal meetings, as well as to riots by day. Yet such was the genius of the time for the fabrication of plots, for the discovery of mysteries in the most common and obvious occurrences, and for the belief of the most incredible fables, that this was still insisted upon, and that by men otherwise of good sense and well informed, to be the beginning of a grand aristocratical plot, deeply laid for the subversion of the constitution and present government. A troublesome question, however, still remained to be solved, who those immediate instruments of the plot, those actual rioters were? With the evidence of 200 prisoners before them, this seemed a question easily resolved; but it would be too much to suppose the patriotic Parisians the authors of such a crime; and as to the Versaillesians, besides that they had borne their full share of reproach already, they were too near neighbours to be loaded with all the infamy. In this difficulty, the term of *brigands*, which had already answered so excellent a purpose, in destroying the castles of the nobility, luckily occurred; but, as if questions multiplied in proportion as they were resolved, it still remained to be answered, who these brigands were? if they were men like others, and not totally imaginary beings, their existence might surely be easily identified.

identified. The only solution that could be found to this question, was the supposition, that they were composed of Germans and other foreigners, who had come to Paris for the purpose of raising tumults, in order to facilitate the carrying of this incomprehensible plot into execution.

Bezenval being acquitted, and safely discharged from Paris, the chatelet now ventured upon what before would have seemed a most dangerous task, that of proceeding to the trial of the prince of Lambesc, of marshal Broglio, and of some others of those principal fugitives, who had been long accused of that real or supposed plot, for the destruction of the city of Paris, of the national assembly, for governing the kingdom entirely by the sword, and placing the king in a state of more unbridled despotism, than even the worst of his predecessors had possessed or attempted; and which had laid the foundation of the revolution in the preceding month of July, as well as of all its subsequent consequences, to the present day. As the event of these trials seemed to include in no small degree the grand question on the necessity, justness, or fitness of the revolution, which derived its birth from this supposed plot, so no cause could be more interesting, or excite greater expectation; and the several parts of it had been so long, so often, and so peremptorily repeated and asserted, that it was supposed such a body of evidence as nothing could resist or controvert, would now be brought forward in its support. But to the inexpressible surprize of every body, excepting, perhaps, those, who were in the immediate secret of things, no evidence beyond conjecture, inference,

vague reports, and hearsay conversations, appeared on the side of the prosecution; so that the plot still lay in its original state of darkness, and Broglio, with the other fugitives, were of course acquitted of the crime of *leze nation*.

It will always be found difficult in many cases, to reconcile or account for the various contradictions and inconsistencies, which appear in the conduct and actions of men. Although this business undoubtedly stood foremost in point of importance of all those which had been prescribed to the cognizance of the chatelet, yet there are good reasons for believing that its being brought forward was highly disagreeable to the principal rulers; who could not wish that the weakness which now appeared in so essential a point, through the total failure of all evidence in its support, should have been thus nakedly exposed to all the world. It was probably imagined, that this was an affair which carried such appearances of danger on whatever side it was examined, that the chatelet would not venture to meddle with it; and it was possibly intended, that no great apology would be necessary to justify the omission. However that was, the chatelet soon became an object of constant abuse with the democratical writers, and was treated with a coldness and indifference by the assembly, which strongly indicated that its new powers were not likely to be lasting.

It would seem as if this state of things produced in one instance a disposition to temporize, and accommodate matters to the occasion, in that court, which ill accorded with that high character of honour and inflexible integrity, which through a long course of past years it had,

in defiance of power, so justly merited, and so often nobly sustained. This was in the case of one Favras, who, if we mistake not, was a member of the national assembly. This man was charged with being concerned in a plot for overthrowing the new constitution, and for bringing about a counter-revolution. The evidence against him was so weak and defective, that it has been compared with that which has heretofore been received, and brought so much disgrace upon the course of legal justice in our own country, in those unfortunate periods of its history, when Titus Oates and similar villains were allowed to flourish, and such men as Jefferies were the dispensers of our laws. Favras was condemned and executed; and this unfortunate man was generally considered as a victim destined to be a peace-offering to the Parisians; in the vain hope of reconciling them to the loss of those others on whom their desire was much more strongly fixed. It was a curious circumstance, and worthy of notice, that the conduct of the chatelet, instead of procuring the end proposed, was equally reprobated and condemned by both parties; and that that court was overwhelmed with such torrents of reproach coming from all quarters, as it had never before in the course of its existence experienced.

Convinced as they undoubtedly were of its justness, the chatelet did not sink under the weight of the reproach; but seemed desirous of retrieving their character by the vigour with which they prosecuted the enquiry after the authors of the plot, murders, and intended massacre of the 6th of October; being those worthy citizens, who had been represented by the democratical wri-

ters as totally innocent of all crime, and as acting purely in their own defence. Not content, however, with this instance of independence and spirit, as if it were to afford a demonstration that the love of justice was the only operative motive of their actions, they entered deeply and with the utmost earnestness into that, evidently, most critical and dangerous business, an enquiry into the conduct, designs and proceedings of the duke of Orleans, and of Mirabeau, who acting apparently as his instrument, was in fact the framer of every thing that shewed genius in his plans, and that went beyond cunning in his projects. It required no inspiration, nor even much sagacity, to have seen, that whether these enquiries came within the letter of their instructions or not, they could not at all accord with their spirit and design; and were widely different from the purposes to which that court owed its temporary institution. They were, however, admitted to proceed to a certain decent and considerable length in their enquiries; until at length becoming too troublesome, bringing matters to light which there was no occasion should be publicly known, and the preservation of those appearances which operated to their institution being no longer necessary, their powers were suddenly withdrawn, their enquiries left unfinished, and the chatelet for ever laid by. This was soon followed by the total annihilation of that, and of all the other ancient courts of law and justice in the kingdom.

In the mean time the king's firmness in rejecting the proposed visit and coalition, was, through means or motives of which we are not informed, at length overcome. It is

not to be supposed that he could be totally indifferent to the menaces against his life which were continually thrown out in case of any attempt to rescue his person, (an event hourly to be looked for, without his concurrence or knowledge, in the present state of temper and discontent which prevailed through so great a part of the nation) and considering his remarkable affection for the queen and children, whose lives, he knew, hung by the same hair with his own, it is not to be supposed but he was as deeply affected on their account as his own. Perhaps other motives might have operated.

Feb. 4th, 1790. Whatever they were, the king appeared suddenly at the national assembly, where he complained of the attempts which were made to shake the basis of the new constitution; and declared it to be his desire, that it should be universally known, that the monarch and the representatives of the nation were entirely united; that their wishes were the same; that he would defend the constitutional liberty, the principles of which the general wish, in concert with his own, had consecrated; and that, conjointly with the queen, he would early form the heart and the sentiments of his son, for that new order of things, which the circumstances of the empire had introduced and sanctified.

As soon as the king was withdrawn, the assembly voted an address of thanks to him; and perceiving at once the deep dismay and consternation with which this unexpected measure seemed nearly to overwhelm the minority, they instantly determined to take advantage of their confusion and astonish-

ment, and immediately issued a decree, which, in that state, none had the courage to oppose, and by which every member was obliged to take the newly-devised civic oath, under the penalty of being excluded from giving his vote on any occasion. This test was of such a nature, that they had reason for conceiving it would prove effectual in purging the assembly of most, if not all of those, whose names or countenance they no longer wanted, and whose company they no farther wished to be troubled with. The assembly then decreed a general address to the provinces, reminding them of all it had done for the sake of public liberty, laying before them what it proposed farther to do, for the complete regeneration of the empire, and holding out proper reasons and arguments to prepossess them, against those unfavourable impressions which evil minded persons were endeavouring to infuse upon their minds.

Soon after the exhibition of this state farce, this strange and extraordinary coalition, by which the king without gaining one new friend lost many of the old, and much of the confidence and consideration which he held with all, the national assembly resumed the affairs of the clergy, a business which they justly considered of the last importance, as their estates and property were to supply that pledge and security, which was to be offered to the nation for the discharge of their immense debts, as well as to make good the current deficiencies which arose, from the failure of payment of the remaining taxes, and the total loss of the most productive, which had been generally repealed.

Feb. 13th, 1790. At this meeting the assembly suppressed all monastic establishments

for ever, and confiscated all their lands; allowing, however, the present friars and nuns to continue in the observance of their monastic vows; granting them some moderate stipends for maintenance; and to the nuns, the special favour and privilege, (which was indeed an act of great humanity, independent of its justice) that they should not be removed from the convents in which they then resided, without their own consent and free choice.

As the business of the clergy was now brought nearly to a conclusion, at least with respect to fact, though not entirely as to time, we shall pursue it to the end, leaving those intermediate matters which occurred in its course subject to further observation. In the succeeding month of April, the assembly completed their plan. They voted away, in pursuance of their prior resolution of November, all the territorial possessions of the church, destining them in general, but not specific terms, to the payment of the public debt. They assigned to the churchmen, in return, certain fixed pensions, which though much smaller than their former revenues, were, perhaps, barely sufficient for their existence; although not in any degree suitable to their past habits, condition, or modes of living; many of them being necessarily of the first families in the kingdom, and long used to splendour, respect, and opulence. The assembly likewise, at this time, began to issue to the creditors of the state a new kind of paper money

under the name of assignations, that is assignats, on the church lands thus confiscated, which were to be the general security for all the paper thus issued. From hence originated that inundation of assignats which have since deluged France and the neighbouring countries; and which have excited the astonishment of Europe, through the extraordinary exertions which they have enabled her to make.

It was a curious circumstance that Mirabeau, who had so lately published a severe Philippic against the emperor Joseph for the injustice of his claim on the Scheldt, and in which he particularly reprobated his conduct with respect to the plunder of the monasteries and convents in the Low Countries, should now, in so short a period of time, have so totally departed from the sentiments which he then avowed, that through the whole progress of the present business, he was, on every occasion, the strongest and most determined leader in, or supporter of all the violent proceedings carried on against the French clergy. The following sentence, addressed to the emperor, in the treatise we have mentioned, will serve to illustrate this conduct as well as to justify the observation: "Despise the monks as much as you please, but do not rob them; for it is unlawful to rob either the most determined atheist or the most credulous capuchin friar." So much do men's sentiments vary with circumstances, even in questions of right or wrong, of justice or injustice! questions, which it might be supposed did not admit of any change of opinion.

C H A P. VII.

*Ineffectual attempts made by the French privileged orders, for procuring redress or succour from the neighbouring continental powers. State of political affairs in Europe, which, with other causes, tended to produce that indifference with respect to France which now appeared. Courts of Madrid and Turin. Rash and impetuous proceedings, along with the contemptuous language used by the national assembly, serves continually to create new enemies abroad as well as at home. Wrong offered to the German princes with respect to their possessions and rights in Alsace, embitters the whole empire against the new government, and implants deeply the seeds of future contention and war. West India colonies thrown into a state of the utmost disorder and confusion, and at length precipitated into the most dreadful scenes of desolation, conflagration, and massacre, which terminate in final destruction, by a series of ill-judged and precipitate measures, of impolitic, impracticable, or contradictory decrees. Great disorders in the army. Soldiers throw off all subordination and discipline. The people being now in possession of liberty, a desire of uncontrolled rule and sovereignty becomes the leading and general passion, a circumstance which serves greatly to unite them, and to strengthen the new system. The weak attempts of the royalists, and the continual reports of plots, conspiracies, and insurrections, cause such a general alarm, that the provinces associate and arm; so that France seems covered with camps and armies. State of the aristocrates and parties adverse to government. Corsica annexed to France as part of the kingdom. Application from the court of Spain relative to the dispute with England, brings on a debate on the question, in whose hands the right of peace and war should be lodged. Second application from Spain brings on a change of the ministry. Mutiny of the feet at Brest. Anacharis Clootz, introduces to the assembly his ambassadors from all mankind. Decree for abolishing all titles, and obliterating all memorials of nobility and family distinction, for ever in France. Grand national confederation at Paris. Bloody contest at Nancy. Mr. Neckar quits the kingdom, after various disgraces, and narrowly escaping the fury of the Parisians. Schism of the French clergy; the greater part of whom submit to the loss of their pensions, and to expulsion from their pastoral duties, rather than to take the newly-prescribed oaths.*

**N**OTWITHSTANDING the immediate dismay produced by the late act of the king, in approving of all the proceedings of the assembly, and in disclaiming and reprobating all the measures pursued in his favour, the ruined privileged orders soon recollected themselves, and instead of sinking under this unexpected blow, seem-

ed in a little time to acquire fresh activity and new vigour, from a check which had at first impressed them with such visible consternation. For though, in order to strengthen both, they wished to make their own cause common with that of the crown, in every attempt for the recovery of the lost, or the preservation of what remained of their

mutual rights, yet they considered their own distinct interests as being of too great a magnitude, and too immediate an importance, to be sacrificed to the weakness, the caprice, or to the personal terrors, of their wretched, imprisoned sovereign.

In this state they naturally turned their eyes in the first instance to their own refugee princes at the court of Turin, with whom they held a close correspondence, particularly from the southern provinces; but these ruined princes, who were beholden to strangers for shelter and subsistence, could afford no other means of support or assistance than the little which might possibly be derived merely from their names and rank; while this source, weak and confined as it would have been at best, was still farther narrowed, and reduced almost to nothing, by the peculiar unpopularity in which the rashness and imprudence of the count d'Artois, had very unfortunately involved that prince. The alarmed and distressed nobility did not, however, rest here; they are said to have been incessant in their applications to all the neighbouring continental powers for their interference in delivering their king, and in assisting to establish in their wretched country some just and equitable form of government, which, under the sanction of a limited and well-regulated monarchy, might put an end to the present horrid scene of confusion and anarchy, while it afforded liberty of person and security of property to every order and class of the people.

But it happened unfortunately with respect to the cause of the distressed, that Europe seldom has

been, through a long course of years, in a state less capable of affording the succour now demanded, or in which the minds of the people, or the disposition of the sovereigns, were less calculated for undertaking any enterprize, than at the present. The mad ambition of the emperor Joseph, under the influence of the overwhelming power and vast designs of Russia, to which he became so miserable a dupe, besides the ruin and the spirit of revolt which it spread through his own vast dominions, had in no small degree deranged the general policy of Europe; for while several states were watching with apprehension and dismay, the dreaded evils which the farther progress and success of the dangerous combination between these two mighty empires were capable of producing, others, who being more powerful were less apprehensive of danger, were, however, no less occupied in attending to the same objects, in the hope of deriving some benefit to themselves in the issue, from the possibly disastrous events, and from the unforeseen circumstances of disunion, which the course of so doubtful a pursuit, and of so impolitic and unnatural an alliance, might be capable of producing. While all spirit of adventure was thus effectually restrained in the centre and north of Europe, the court of Spain, so closely united in blood and alliance with the king and government of France, was, at this critical season, when the existence of the great and parent stock of the Bourbon line was more than at stake, most industriously involving herself in a ridiculous squabble with England, the object of dispute scarcely bearing or deserving a name; and was wantonly



wantonly and blindly rushing into a contest which she was totally incapable of sustaining. On the other side of the Mediterranean, the king of Sardinia, besides his being by nature a peaceable prince totally indisposed to war, was not, from the state of his finances, of his army, of his fortresses, or of any of the leading requisites essential to such a decision, in any condition to hazard the experiment, even supposing that his own disposition had prompted him ever so strongly to the measure.

Under these circumstances it so happened, that scarcely in any age ancient or modern, whether among refined or half civilized nations, any similar body of men, so suddenly involved in the most pitiable state of degradation and ruin, ever excited to little sympathy, or ever met with so cold and forbidding a reception, as the French nobility experienced upon this occasion in all the neighbouring countries. They were, almost without exception, every where beheld with a prejudiced and malignant, rather than a kind or benevolent eye; and even while they yet possessed money, found it difficult to procure shelter. It would be in vain to attribute this general public dislike (for it was much stronger than mere indifference) to political causes or motives, any more than to the particular disposition of sovereigns. For, although the human mind willingly makes many great sacrifices to laws, to government, and to power, it is by no means disposed to resign its sympathies or antipathies to the will or opinion of others; and perhaps less so to its rulers than to any. In whatever interests the heart it is extremely tenacious; nature seeming

to have implanted that principle in order to afford some shelter or refuge, even in despite of power, to the forlorn victims of oppression and distress. There seems much room then for presuming, unless some more cogent cause can be produced, than the insufferable vanity and arrogance, which had ever marked the character of that people, whether collectively or individually, through all the days of their prosperity, was now, in the hard season of their adversity, too well remembered by those neighbours, whom they had heretofore treated with the most supreme and mortifying contempt.

But the overweening confidence, the rash and imperious language, with the precipitate determinations of the national assembly, were fully competent to the creation of enemies abroad as well as at home, who might otherwise have been friends, or at least indifferent spectators. In their rage for the total overthrow and abolition of the feudal system, they had paid as little regard to the rights and interests of foreigners, as they had done in all cases with respect to those of their own nobility and clergy. The duke of Wirtemberg, the prince of Deuxponts, with many other German princes both secular and ecclesiastical, held great possessions in Alsace, and other provinces, which France had heretofore wrenched from the empire in the days of its troubles and distress, and which these princes held by the same original tenure that they did their other estates more immediately at home. These several districts, with all the ancient rights appertaining to them, were, in the year 1648, after the forcible transfer of paramount dominion by arms had

already

already taken place, farther secured, confirmed, and guaranteed to the possessors, in the strongest manner, by the celebrated treaty of Westphalia, to which France herself was a contracting party, and from which alone she can derive any legal title or claim to the provinces in question; of which these lesser fiefs compose a considerable part. Yet these rights, so authentically confirmed and guaranteed, had been, without the smallest explanation or ceremony, totally set aside and subverted, by the simple decree of a new and unheard-of body of men, who suddenly called themselves a French assembly, while a captive king, in violation of treaties by which he was personally, and his country through him directly bound, and in direct contradiction to his own opinion and advice publicly communicated to that assembly, was compelled, most unwillingly, to give his sanction to this violation and wrong.

We have already seen the indignation excited in the assembly, just before the king's removal from Versailles, upon receiving his letter, in which he had ventured to expostulate, in the gentlest terms, upon the impolicy and danger, as well as the flagrant injustice, of this, and of some others of their acts, which had been then hastily decreed; we have likewise seen, that at ten o'clock at night, in the midst of that dreadful tumult, in which his life apparently hung by a single hair, he was obliged, without comment, explanation, or reserve, to give his sanction to this decree, as well as to that which established and confirmed the revolution, and to all others which were then in readi-

ness. Upon this, as well as upon every other occasion in which the subject was at all mentioned, the national assembly affected to treat the rights and claims, as well as the persons and condition of the foreign princes with the most insufferable contempt; nor did their great bond of right and security, the treaty of Westphalia, which is considered as the Magna Charta of the Germanic empire, and held by that people as little less than sacred, meet with any greater respect.

This occasioned a general outcry against the French, and particularly against the conduct of their assembly, in Germany; while the injured princes, no less irritated perhaps by the injurious treatment which they received, than by their immediate losses, were incessant in their applications, both individually and collectively, to the diet of the empire for protection and redress. The diet took up the business with great spirit; and though the untoward state of public affairs did not yet afford leisure to the great powers of the empire to take such an active share in the business as might give immediate efficacy to its proceedings and intentions, it was by no means the less sensible of the injury and wrong, and of the insult thereby offered to the whole Germanic body. It is not indeed improbable, that the vexatious inability of enforcing its resolutions which the diet now experienced, served much to increase its indignation and resentment. We accordingly find, that the diet became and continued exceedingly adverse, and avowedly disposed to be hostile to the new French government, which they considered as commencing its career by a flagrant violation.

violation of public faith and of the most sacred treaties, of setting the general opinions and laws of mankind at defiance, and of wishing to dissolve or overthrow all those compacts between nations, which had been constructed as moulds for the preservation of their mutual peace and security. In this temper, and with these opinions, the Germanic body, through the medium of its diet, only waited for the arrival of the proper season, and the concurrence of the proper means, to carry the effect of their resentment, and the redress of the injury offered, at once into execution.

Thus from the habit of giving a loose and unbounded scope to haughty, contemptuous, and arrogant language, of turning all matters, however serious, to ridicule, which did not entirely correspond with their own ideas, or directly suit their liking, and by a dictatorial and peremptory mode of proceeding, in all points corresponding with the language and manner, were the seeds of a severe, bitter, and extensive war, capable of events and consequences far beyond all calculation, most industriously sown by the national assembly in that wide and powerful empire. Whereas, if a due attention had been at first paid to propriety of language and conduct, if the semblance of justice and equity had been observed, by duly examining and considering the rights of the princes and the obligations of treaties, and if the result of this enquiry had been, the proposal of a fair compensation to the former for the surrender of their feudal rights, there is not the smallest room for doubting, that this troublesome business would have

been easily accommodated; and if the princes had even in some degree overrated their demands, political prudence would have shewn, that it was more eligible to submit to some small present pecuniary extortion, and thereby get quit of a claim which could never be renewed, than to suffer, particularly in so critical a season as the present, such a bone of endless discord to continue constantly in view.

When it was too late, the assembly seemed in some degree to become sensible of its error, or at least to be alarmed at the effect which it was already producing, and several months after the abolition of the feudal rights, it carelessly voted an indemnification to the German princes. But the season for conciliatory accommodation was now past; the resentment of the injured had risen to its utmost pitch; they perceived that the indignation of their friends, neighbours, and co-states in general, was equally excited with their own; they had been forced to appeal to another source for redress, which they knew would sooner or later be obtained, and that probably accompanied with a pleasing gratification of their vengeance. Under these circumstances, and in this temper, they refused to sell or to barter their birthrights. The assembly shewed a stoical indifference, which they seemed to think consonant with the stern and inflexible dignity of Republicans, upon this refusal. They, however, ordered the offer of indemnification to be repeated, and left the matter after to take its ordinary course.

Nor was the national assembly more fortunate with respect to the government of the French colonies in the West Indies, than it was in

its transactions with foreigners; and these great, and apparently inexhaustible sources of the commerce, wealth, power, and naval force of France, have in the issue been totally ruined, by a series of precipitate measures, of rash and untried schemes, adopted without due consideration, or competent knowledge of the subject, and founded upon the same order of abstract notions, and metaphysical dreams, which had involved the parent country in its present unparalleled situation. It had been early and well observed in the assembly by M. Barnave, an able and eminent leader in the accomplishment of the revolution, and who went all lengths with the ruling party, "that, unfortunately, their rights of men could not apply to the West Indies; that if they endeavoured to make the application, they would lose their colonies, impoverish their trading and manufacturing towns, until the common people, grown desperate by the disappointment of their hopes, would be ready to sell themselves to the enemies of the revolution." Indeed there can be no question, but that considered merely as a subject of state policy, without any reference to philosophy, or to the milder feelings of humanity, that the general declaration of the rights of man, without any distinction of country or colour, by a nation possessing great and extensive colonies cultivated by slaves, and still determined to retain these colonies, under a full intention of reaping all the customary advantages from them, without providing any substitutes for the slaves, or any indemnification for their owners, must ever be deemed a rash, as well as a hasty and improvident

measure; but neither these considerations, nor the eloquence nor warnings of Barnave, were at all capable of resisting that democratical rage for liberty and equality which now prevailed.

A society had for some time subsisted in France under the title of *L'ami de Noir*, or the friends of the negroes, which owed its origin to the societies formed in England upon the same principle; and like them issued several publications in favour of the oppressed Africans, which being industriously circulated in the West India Islands, and well suited to the capacities as well as to the likings of that people, produced such an effect, that they are supposed to have contributed much to the dreadful enormities which afterwards took place in these colonies. Although this society was not much distinguished by the rank, abilities, or even number of its members, nor indeed by any thing, but the humanity of its object, and the private virtues of several of the individuals of which it was composed, yet this being the age of sentiment, as well as of innovation, and the doctrines it held out according with those favourite ones of universal liberty and general equality, they became so fashionable, that some names of considerable eminence were rendered odious, and their possessors marked out, not only as enemies to humanity, but to the new philosophy and the system formed on it in all their parts, for having ventured, on motives of policy, of general safety, and of justice to the planters, to expose what appeared to them, their fallacy, impropriety, and danger.

The planters had made a complaint to the king, long before the

commencement of his troubles; of the dangers to which they were already exposed, and of the greater to which they were liable, through the proceedings of this society; but they were grievously disappointed upon receiving for answer, "That he was glad to hear there was such a society, and that some of his subjects had humanity enough to concern themselves about the fate of the poor negroes." An answer which sufficiently testifies the natural tenderness and goodness which possessed the heart of the sovereign; whatever impression it may make with respect to his political wisdom or knowledge. His ministers, however, held very different sentiments from the king upon this subject. Calonne had decreed considerable bounties to encourage and increase the slave trade; and Neckar, the avowed child of sentiment, philanthropy, and morality, not only continued these bounties, but in a treatise, abounding otherwise with precepts and sentiments of the greatest humanity, laid it down as an incontrovertible axiom, "that the nation which sets the example of abolishing the slave trade, will become the dupe of its own generosity."

The exertions of the friends of the negroes, whether at home or abroad, seemed, however, to have lost all consideration and even remembrance, as soon as an account of the revolution at home reached the islands, and that the doctrines of universal liberty and equality were promulgated among the colonists. The beautiful island of St. Domingo, the finest parts of which were covered with a number of the most flourishing, rich, and happy colonies perhaps in the world, was

the first, the greatest, the most lasting, and the most deplorable victim to the ensuing calamities. Though a contempt of all government and subordination soon became general among all orders and degrees of men, yet the troops seem to have been among the first who afforded a practical example of the enjoyment of their new liberty. This was displayed by the regiment of Port au Prince, in the murder of their colonel, a brave and distinguished officer; who, in open day, was slaughtered at the head of his regiment. Single enormities, however striking in themselves, were soon lost in the general glare of the greater which were to succeed. The colonists, like the people in France, were divided into two great parties, the royalists and the republicans, each of which appeared at different times to predominate; but the pressure of domestic troubles and dangers excited by the new state of things too immediately affected the planters, to admit of their yet cutting each others throats about the politics of Europe.

For the present occasion drew forth and brought into a state of great notoriety a new race of men, who had hitherto been little known or heard of, at least on this side the Atlantic. These were the mulattoes, a numerous, bold, hardy, daring, and profligate race; who being derived from the promiscuous intercourse between white men and negro women, were, by a strange perversion of language, distinguished by the appellation of people of colour. The much greater part of these were by birth in the condition of free men, with respect to person and property, but were secluded by

law from any share in the civil government, and consequently from giving their votes in the election of magistrates or deputies. These now insisted upon a full participation of all the rights and privileges of free citizens, without any regard to the distinctions of birth or colour, which, they said, had been formed in the days of despotism, darkness, and ignorance; and being much more numerous, as well as far exceeding in bodily strength and courage the luxurious and enervated whites, they supported their claims, not only with an apparent sense of their superiority, but with all that prompt intemperance and arrogance, which seems to be peculiarly characteristic of that race.

Both parties sent deputies to the national assembly; jarring, contradictory, and inexplicit decrees were sent out: some of which were said not to be understood, some impracticable, and others would not be obeyed. The colonial assembly was suspected by the national of aiming at independency; and it was said that the planters talked publicly of calling in the English and surrendering the island to them. Some of the decrees were understood by the mulattoes to confer rights on them, which the whites would not allow them to possess, and which the others prepared to wrest from them by force; and until this attempt was made, the animosity, and mutual abhorrence of the parties, was increased to a degree seldom equalled. In process of time, commissioners were repeatedly sent from France; but these carrying out with them the violent political prejudices which they had imbibed at home, and being generally men de-

void of principle, if not of abilities, instead of attempting to heal differences, they, upon their arrival, depending upon the chances which length of time, distance, and the uncertain state of government in the mother country, might produce in their favour, looked only to procure immediate power and consequence, by placing themselves at the head of some of the contending factions; and thus rushing at once as principals, into all the rage and fury of civil discord, increased to its utmost pitch, that confusion and mischief which they were intended to remedy.

It would fill a volume of no inconsiderable size to give only a brief narrative of the troubles which ensued in the French islands; of the continual disputes which arose, and the short intermissions of seeming conciliation which took place between the whites and the mulattoes, the masters and their slaves, the governors and the colonial assemblies, and between the national assembly at home, and the two last: Without taking into the account the political factions which raged, and increased the general confusion and fury; while every arrival from France was pregnant with new sources of discord. In St. Domingo alone, three different colonial assemblies were chosen in three different parts of the island, who all sitting at the same time, were only distinguished by their endless contention.

A curious observation, which may not, perhaps, be entirely unworthy the contemplation of philosophy, arises from a cursory consideration of this subject; which is, that mankind are scarcely more slow in the progress of moral improvement;

than they are in totally shaking off all ideas, natural or acquired, of order and justice. We see in the present instance, misrule and disorder producing a jumble of all the passions, of almost all orders, parties, colours, and degrees of men, which are thrown into a state of the most violent fermentation; and yet we see, that it required some considerable course of practice in the commission of crimes, and no small extent of time, before this chaos of anarchy and confusion could produce its ultimate effect, and plunge, even the most depraved, or most ignorant of mankind, into the last possible degree of atrocity and guilt.

As the series of calamity and ruin which fell upon the French colonies are still scarcely closed, it must suffice for us at the present to observe, that the mulattoes were the first, in St. Domingo, who had recourse to arms; that numbers of negroes were by degrees armed and drawn in as auxiliaries; that after dreadful scenes of devastation, slaughter, and horror, the slaves being trained to lose all respect for, and dread of their masters, rose upon their own account in rebellion, to the number of a hundred thousand or more, with a view of totally exterminating the whites. And that thus, though by slow degrees, the aid of artillery, and the benefit of fortifications long preserving some degree of balance, the final ruin of that fine island was preceded and accompanied by such horrid scenes of cruelty, murder, massacre, conflagration, and general desolation, as have seldom disgraced the page of history, or equally wrung the hearts of mankind in the recital.

While the colonies were thus commencing, or already in the course

of their disastrous career, that plots, conspiracies, and insurrections, were the constant subjects of discourse and apprehension at home, and that the smothering seeds of foreign war were ill covered in Germany, the state of the army, which had in a great measure thrown off all subordination and discipline, was a source of much uneasiness to the national assembly. The troops had been guilty of great outrages in different parts of the kingdom; but tumult and outrage were things now so common, that these might have passed without much notice, if it had not been for the uncertainty from what spirit they proceeded, and of the political sentiments which operated on the soldiers. Proper means were used to found the principles both of officers and private men, and the result of the enquiry was said to be, that the former were very generally aristocrates, and were supposed to have been already corrupted by that party; but that the soldiers were as generally well disposed to the revolution, and might without much difficulty be firmly secured to it. This object being accordingly easily attained, the army became, like the nation, divided into two great parties. But the means thus used for gaining or securing the soldiers, however necessary it might have been on the present occasion, had the ill effect of destroying all remains of subordination and discipline in the army; the soldiers, swelling with the importance which they found they possessed, and thereby secure of support and protection in all cases, now added contempt and party animosity to that dislike, arising only from an aversion to command, which they had before entertained for their officers.

ficers. Such an army was little calculated for public defence, or contention with a foreign enemy, however it might, through the very excess of its faultiness, exceed all others in the peculiar service of overawing and controlling the disaffected at home; especially in a state of things, where the end was generally allowed to justify the means; and acts of violence and outrage were seldom enquired into, if they were committed on the right side of the question, or under the influence, as it was termed, of true patriotism.

A change which now took place, or which had rather been gradually growing in the disposition and sentiments of the people since the commencement of the revolution, however dangerous or fatal it might prove in its future operation or consequences, afforded, for the present, the greatest strength and security to the new system, which it could possibly obtain. This was the violent passion for sovereignty, which easily superseded the weaker desire of liberty, whose possession appeared as nothing, when placed in comparison with the charms of that seducing enchantress. This passion was not confined to any particular order or class of men, but spread like a contagion through all ranks of the populace in every part of the kingdom, and rendered them as zealous patriots, in the common acceptance of that term at the time, that is, as anxious and as violent supporters of the present system, as the national assembly themselves.

It may be easily remembered, that from the beginning of the troubles this supreme authority had been continually exercised without scruple or ceremony, not only by those smaller or greater communi-

ties who carried the appearance of acting in a public capacity, but very generally by mere individuals, or by any accidental collection of them, whether brought together in the pursuit of particular revenge, or prompted by the general desire of plunder. In a word, the exercise of this uncontrolled authority, was held to be not only the criterion but the essence of freedom; and by degrees, its continual practice, led not only the larger districts, but even smaller communities, in a great measure to consider themselves and to act, without any formal assumption of the name, as distinct republics, though connected by some sort of federal union, the nature of which they took no trouble to enquire into. They, however, considered the national assembly as a necessary legislative and executive head, for the purposes of preventing discord among the numberless parts, of conducting the public business, including the management of the revenue, and of concentrating and directing the common force; while with all these high powers, they held that body to be ultimately subject to their general and supreme controul. Upon the same principle, and under the same impression, every active citizen, if not every one at large, now stood high in his own estimation, as being one of the five or six millions of joint sovereigns who ruled a great empire.

This general passion for rule in the people, and opinion of its being a right, so subversive of all government, and not less incompatible with the principles of a republic than a monarchy, having been brought into being and act by circumstance and occasion, was nourished and fostered, not only by the new doc-



trines promulgated by the national assembly, but, perhaps, still more, by the new and strange language which it became fashionable to use in that body; the majesty of the people, their supreme authority, their uncontrollable power, to which all things must bend, and even the principles of law, justice, and right give way, being the usual flowers of speech which adorned every harangue, that pretended to any merit, or that hoped for any praise. The effect of such language continually resounding in the ears of a people already maddened by the very doctrines which it conveyed and confirmed, may be much more easily imagined than expressed. In fact, popularity being the idol to which all the writers and orators, not only in the assembly, but throughout the kingdom, paid their constant and most fervent devotion, all their writings and all their speeches, were directed to flatter the populace, and consequently tended to cherish and increase this dangerous phrenzy.

As the desire of rule and sovereignty is inherent in the human breast, and among the strongest of all the passions that infect it, it cannot be wondered at, that the petty but numerous possessors of new and unexpected power, should determine, at all events, to preserve so invaluable a treasure, and should tremble at every apprehension of its loss. This coalesced the apparent bulk of the nation, or at least the acting part of it, to a man, in one common interest, and bond of union, which, however fragile all other ties might prove, carried in its nature the appearance of indissolubility, as the causes which produced it could never cease to operate. The most uninformed of those, who were thus

suddenly curst, or as they deemed it blest with the possession of power, could scarcely avoid perceiving, that no other system of government upon earth, than the present, could or would have endued them with such an authority; and every man accordingly found himself immediately bound, by the most captivating and irresistible motives, to support and defend at all risques, and in defiance of all perils, that state of things which procured him such unspeakable happiness.

The real or pretended plots and conspiracies, as well as the foreign dangers which were unceasingly held out, along with the real vague and futile industry of the restless and ruined royalists, who were eagerly grasping at every shadow, which seemed to indicate in the weakest degree, the most delusive hopes of recovering their rights, excited the greatest possible alarm among those people, who were now in possession of all the smaller divisions of power and authority, and who were determined to maintain what they possessed. The province of Bretagne was the first that set the example of associating, arming, and forming large bodies of men in military array, with an assumption of the government and appearance of armies, for the defence of the new constitution against all its enemies foreign or domestic. This example was speedily followed by its neighbours, particularly the provinces on the southern side, and in a little time became general throughout the kingdom.

Thus was produced that extraordinary display of the might and greatness of France, the glories of which, even the eloquent historian of the revolution, seems at some loss to find

words

words sufficiently splendid to describe; although he informs us, "that the earth seemed to bring forth armies." That, "nothing was to be seen any where but battalions of citizens, who, assembled in thousands, were swearing to live free, or to perish. The clang of arms, the military music, the banners floating in the wind, the delightful sentiments of brotherhood, which bound so great a multitude to one and the same cause, all awakened in their hearts the enthusiasm of liberty." And that "France beheld four millions of men in arms upon her plains; millions conscious of their strength, and well acquainted with their rights."

And yet, notwithstanding this terrific muster-roll, which seemed to hold out defiance to the united force of mankind, there is every reason to believe that the number of the distressed throughout the kingdom, was at least equal to that of the supporters of the new system; so that the supposed four millions of men in arms must have been a gross exaggeration, as the general population must otherwise have far exceeded any rational estimate that ever was or could be made of it; without observing, what has since evidently appeared, that the kingdom did not possess arms sufficient for one fourth of the assigned number. For besides the two great bodies of the nobility and clergy, whose discontent was avowed, and their enmity scarcely denied, even so far as prudence and safety required, all the late parliaments and magistrates throughout the kingdom, with all the retainers and harbingers of law and of justice, in all their various degrees, (whose numbers in France were so prodigious,

that a true estimate of them, if it could be made, would appear incredible) were to a man, excepting something between one and two hundred village attorneys who sat in the national assembly, totally adverse and hostile to the new government. This body was deemed so formidable, that Rabaut seems to consider, the men of the law, the appellation by which he classed them in the gross, among the most dangerous enemies of the new constitution. To these were to be added the working manufacturers throughout the kingdom, whose number was beyond count, and whose distresses were now great and general; nor was perhaps the number of laborious poor in the provinces much less, whose families could scarcely have existed in any manner, but for the fostering benevolence and bounty of their lords, who were now either ruined or absent, and of the clergy, who were in still a worse state. To all these might be added an immense number of others, under various descriptions, whose losses or disappointments had rendered them unhappy, and consequently dissatisfied with the present state of affairs.

The disorders, tumults, assassinations, and massacres, which were continually taking place in different parts of the kingdom, particularly in the great cities, being in many instances attributed to the bad conduct of the municipalities, and to contentions between themselves, the assembly passed a decree that all municipalities should be answerable for any damage done by rioters in their respective districts. A law which might have produced an excellent effect if it had been properly enforced,

enforced, but from that being neglected answered little or no purpose.

The assembly annexed the island of Corsica inseparably to France, by constituting it a member of the kingdom, and thus, in the language of Rabaut, attaching it by the delightful chains of liberty and equality. That body likewise, looking forward to the future greatness and glory of France, as well as to fan and increase to its utmost height the glowing flame of liberty, in the true spirit of ancient republicanism, decreed mural crowns to be publicly presented to the conquerors of the Bastille.

The unexpected dispute between Spain and England, which was a matter of surprise, as well from its suddenness as the insignificance of the cause, to all Europe, interrupted, in some degree, the proceedings of the national assembly in the regulation of domestic affairs and government. The court of Madrid having upon this occasion claimed the assistance which France was bound by the family compact to afford, in case

of a war, the king sent May 13th, 1790. a message to the assembly, informing them of the dispute, the claim, and of the great naval preparations made by the English; at the same time requiring their assistance, for the equipment of a fleet of 14 sail of the line, to be in readiness to assist in fulfilling the mutual engagements subsisting between the nations. Though the answer to this message was civil enough, but guarded against at all entering into the subject, it immediately brought up a very interesting debate upon a most important subject; this was the grand question, in whose hands the power

of making peace and war, should at the present and in future be lodged? The most violent of the democratic party insisted, that this great authority could be safely lodged in no other hands but those of the assembly; and in supporting this opinion, repeated with great energy all those common-place topics of abuse, and railing accusations, which it was now so fashionable to bring forward, against kings, tyrants, and conquerors; as if no republics had ever entered into wars, and as if none of their factious demagogues, to answer their private purposes or ambition, had ever unjustly and impolitically caused them.

One of the deputies on the other side gave a great turn to the debate by telling the assembly, "that if they took this power to themselves, a battle would soon be fought in the middle of their hall between Spanish piastres and English guineas." This stroke had great effect, and contributed to a sort of compromise between the parties, which at length produced a decree, the main purport of which with respect to the question was, that war should not be made, but by a decree of the national assembly, after the king's formal notification of his opinion of the necessity of war; and that the king should be obliged to make peace if the assembly require it.

In this decree was included that celebrated clause, which was for a time the subject of so much panegyric, and which, in the name of the French nation, renounced for ever, all conquests, and consequently all wars leading to that object. If this excellent resolution had been adhered to, it would have produced a most happy effect, through the favourable impression which it would have made upon

upon the sentiments of mankind, and particularly on the neighbouring states, with respect to the wisdom, moderation, justice, and peaceable disposition which predominated in the new government; which all Europe would then find itself interested in supporting, and which the most remote nations could not avoid regarding with respect and admiration.

But this message from the king threw the city of Paris into a state of the most violent agitation, and led the populace nearly to the point of renewing all the outrages which they had ever before exhibited; for this ever restless and turbulent people thought fit to conceive, that the whole business was the effect of a connected plot, formed by the king and the aristocrates, in order to find a pretence for uniting the naval and military forces of both nations, and thereby accomplishing a counter revolution. Upon this occasion Mirabeau, who had the fortune of being so often alternately, the idol, or the aversion of the mob, became the object of their utmost execration and rage. For having given it as his opinion in the assembly, "that in the present situation of affairs, the power of peace and war must be left to the king:" although he had introduced this opinion by a long prelude aiming at popularity, but which was, however, rather too sublime to be easily understood, it was immediately reported, either by the democratic party in the assembly, or by those in the galleries, that he had been bribed by the court: and this charge being speedily conveyed to the populace, a pamphlet was within a few hours cried and hawked about the streets, entitled, "*The great Treachery of the count Mirabeau.*" In

this dangerous predicament he shewed great stoutness, and braved the democrates; but found means soon after, as usual, to reconcile matters.

The assembly immediately published their decree, which, with other explanations on the subject, and means used to assuage the fever of the people, restored things to a state of quiet. They then appointed a committee to examine into and report upon, all treaties of alliance existing between France and other countries. This enquiry was founded upon a new doctrine at this time held by many of the most violent republicans, that all treaties concluded by kings were in their nature illegal, therefore null, and consequently should not be binding on the nation.

We shall pursue this subject with respect to Spain to its conclusion, though a lapse of several weeks took place before it was again brought forward. It appears from the event, that however other treaties were considered, it was determined to support the connection and alliance with Spain, even at the hazard of a war; a consequence which, in the present convulsed and disjointed state of the nation, must have been attended with the utmost danger. During this interval, the disposition of the people, with respect to England, had undergone a sudden and total change. Violent speeches had been made both in the assembly and the popular clubs, and violent pamphlets published, all calculated to agitate and inflame the public mind, by expatiating upon the ambitious views and dangerous designs attributed to England. Commercial jealousy was roused and brought into play to further this change in the  
national

national disposition. The merchants of the southern provinces, a great, powerful, and numerous order of men, were alarmed by the apprehension, that if Spain should be deserted in this emergency, she would find herself under a necessity of concluding a treaty with England, which, in its consequences, might prove highly prejudicial to the interests of France. The remonstrances and influence of the merchants were seconded and confirmed by the report of the committee of alliances, which was highly favourable to Spain, and consequently adverse to England.

Things were in this train, when M. de Montmorin, in the beginning of August, laid before the national assembly, a recent application from the court of Spain for the expected assistance. The fitting out of a powerful fleet, and a defensive alliance with Spain, were immediately determined upon; the assembly at the same time deprecating any alliance for offensive purposes; a reserve which could operate only in words, as the assistance must from its nature prove offensive. A fleet of above thirty sail was fitted out at Brest with the utmost possible expedition; but the French naval force had by this time shaken off all subordination and discipline, with the same contempt that the army had done, and the seamen were become in all respects as disorderly and licentious as the soldiers. They had already gone to such a length as to refuse to serve under any officers but such as they liked; had instituted committees to report upon the naval qualifications, and the political principles, of their commanders; and had, in some instances, cashiered their captains, and chosen new ones; a measure deducible from, and fully

warranted by, that part of the new doctrines, which held, that kings were liable to be cashiered for misbehaviour like footmen. These mutineers had likewise been guilty of great disorders and excesses in the port and town of Brest; and, it was said, were encouraged and supported in all their enormities by the municipality of that place.

M. Albert de Rioms, was first admiral, and commander in chief of this mutinous fleet, a man of good character, deemed an able officer, and fully competent to discharge the duties of his command in all situations of service that could occur. It was said, and is believed, that whatever the admiral's other qualifications might be, he was suspected of not being so thoroughly democratic in his principles as the violent party in the assembly wished. It was likewise supposed, that they wanted to make the disorders at Brest a pretence, for turning both that admiral and the present ministers out of their offices together; at the latter of whom, we have already seen, they had been long carping, without their being able to bring any one direct charge to the proof against them. Some new penal marine law or code, which had been hastily voted by the assembly, gave such offence to the sailors, that a more violent mutiny than any which had yet taken place, suddenly broke out at Brest.

As every thing was now done by committees, one was immediately appointed, to enquire into and report upon the causes of these disorders. M. Menou, the mouth of the committee, reported, that both the sailors and the municipality were deserving not only of censure but punishment; but he at the same time represented, that the general

dislike to and want of confidence in the ministry, was the latent cause of all the riots, mutinies, and disorders in the kingdom. A motion was immediately made for accusing the ministers, but through some strange chance, not accounted for, it was most unexpectedly lost; a disappointment which excited the highest and most visible degree of rage in the democratic party.

Upon the re-consideration of the report on the following day, the same reporter, who had before acknowledged that both the sailors and the municipality had been guilty of crimes deserving of punishment, had the effrontery to tell the assembly, that since they would not punish the real authors of mischief, they ought not to punish men, who had only erred through an excess of patriotism. This strange doctrine was adopted as soon as delivered; and, in defiance of all regard to military order, subordination, and discipline, the mutinous sailors were only mildly exhorted to return to their duty; something like an apology made to them for the new penal articles, by promising to re-consider them; at the same time that they were flattered by presenting them with a new striped flag, which was to supersede the ancient white military ensign of France. The rage of the democratic party at the defeat which they had met with on the preceding day, was so excessive as to become intolerable; and some of the opposite side having strongly expressed their disapprobation at the measure proposed of changing the national flag, this awakened all the suppressed fury of Mirabeau, who, with his usual intemperance and violence, cried out, "The aristocrats are grown insolent from their

victory of yesterday; a fortnight ago they dared not, for their own safety, to have objected to this proposal." These words being highly resented, brought forth the immediate reply, "That it was language worthy only of a leader of banditti." Thus was instantly produced one of those scenes of disorder, noise, clamour, and heat, which have so often disgraced that body.

The servants or assistants of the executive government being now convinced that their official fate was finally determined, did not hold it to be either prudent or wise to urge the exertions of power to any farther extremity. The marine minister, Luzerne, resigned, and was replaced by Flurieu; but some suspicion or dislike prevailing against him, he met with so many mortifications from the assembly, that he was soon after glad to resign, and was succeeded by M. Thevenard. M. Tour du Pin, the war minister, was succeeded by M. Duportail, who had the fortune to please the assembly, but was loudly reproached by the other side, for totally neglecting the discipline of the army, and suffering the soldiers, already too little disposed to submit to any order or controul, to become entirely independent of all command; at the same time that they grew to be the common accusers of their officers, and constituted themselves judges not only of their actions but of their principles. The other ministers were weeded out one after another; and the admiral, de Rioms, having likewise resigned, he was succeeded in the command of the Brest fleet by Bougainville.

Though the sailors at Brest were pacified, and the preparations carried on with such vigour as to be nearly

nearly if not quite concluded, the court of Spain received such terrible accounts of the incorrigible spirit of disorder and mutiny which prevailed in the French fleet; that it is said to have been impressed with the greatest dread, of engaging, with such consorts, in a doubtful war with a most formidable enemy; the whole fortune and success of which must almost entirely depend upon the joint and great naval exertions of the united nations. This impression was supposed and believed to be the principal operative motive with Spain, in inducing her suddenly to conclude the convention with England, which settled the differences between the two nations. Thus was prevented a war, which might, possibly, in its course and consequences, have greatly changed, if not totally altered, the state of internal affairs in France. It is no great presumption then to suppose, or even conclude, that neither the king, the court, nor the royalists in general, could have been by any means averse to the war's taking place at this juncture.

During these transactions the violent republican party found themselves so much increased in strength and in number, both within and without the assembly, and believing the new system to be so firmly established as to bid defiance to all danger, did not deem it necessary to submit any longer to the restraint of observing any terms with the nobility, but thought they might venture boldly to bring forward their grand and long-concerted scheme for the total extirpation of that body; and even, so far as it was possible to be done, to erase and obliterate the very name, along with all memorials and remembrance of their past existence.

We are to observe, that many of the most eminent of the French nobility; whether with respect to family, fortune, character, or influence, (among whom we shall only mention as instances, the dukes de Rochefoucault and de Liancourt) although they abhorred some of the violent acts of the assembly, were still zealous adherents to the revolution, so far as its originally avowed principles went; for they were no less averse to the ancient despotism of the crown, than the democrates, but then they detested republicanism, perhaps, even more than despotism, as the greater evil of the two. Their object was a rational, moderate, limited monarchy, whose powers should be precisely defined, which, with full security to the persons and property of the people, with all the liberty that was compatible with good government, should at the same time have its own rights as firmly secured, and as well guarded, as theirs. It will be easily drawn from a recollection of past circumstances, that had it not been for the support and influence of such men as these, in different seasons of great difficulty, the business of the revolution could scarcely, if at all, have been accomplished. But they were now no longer deemed necessary, and they experienced, to their grief and cost, that from the beginning they had been made instruments and tools to the designs of that faction, which they abhorred and detested beyond all others.

This occasion obliges us to bring forward an adventurer with a strange name, and of a still stranger character, Anacharsis Clootz, a malcontent Prussian; who wanted to communicate the knowledge of that liberty to the French, which he dared

not to talk about at home. He was one of those men, who, excepting by the commission of some extraordinary enormity, could never have been called into notice, under any other state of things than such as now prevailed in France; but having received so much education in Germany, as was sufficient to exalt his natural extravagance to its utmost pitch, his self-confidence suffered him to miss no opportunity of exhibiting his talents to the public. As declamation, philosophy, and the negative quality of infidelity, were the points in which he supposed himself principally to excel, the confusions of Paris had for several months opened the fairest field to him for the display, at least, of the former of these talents, that he could have wished; but whether it was that the people thought they had orators and philosophers enough of their own, and that infidelity was too common to bear any value, or that the bombast which loaded his eloquence was incomprehensible even to the Parisians, so it was, that all his exertions were unable to push him forward into any degree of particular notice.

The modern Anacharsis, thus foiled in his hopes, that eloquence and philosophy would have opened the way to fame and to fortune, shrewdly conceived, that extravagance might possibly succeed where they failed. Having procured a number of those vagabonds who filled and infested the streets of Paris, and hired all the foreign, ancient, and grotesque dresses, which the opera and play-houses could furnish, in order to disguise them, he masqueraded at the head of this motley crew to the national assembly, where he introduced them as strangers arrived from

all or most of the nations of the globe, being the virtual ambassadors of all those enslaved nations who wished to be free, and were therefore disposed to enter into fraternity with France, for the glorious purpose of establishing liberty throughout the world. The orator, to give a full display to his talents, delivered a speech in the name of his dumb gang of ambassadors, which, for absurdity and bombast, equalled any thing that ever was or can be spoken. In this he represented the ambassadors of all existing governments, as being themselves slaves, the representatives of tyrants, and therefore unfitting to be received in that honourable public character which they assumed; that those citizens by whom he was accompanied were the real representatives and ambassadors of mankind, and had constituted him, in their name, to demand places for them, suitable to their rank and character, at the ensuing grand confederation of the nation.

So barefaced, so impudent, so ridiculous a farce, was never before played off before any public assembly; or before any collection of men supposed to be in possession of their rational faculties. To heighten, if any thing could so do, the ridiculousness of the scene, it was affirmed, that several of the Asiatic ambassadors, stripped of their hired robes and plumes, were seen at the doors of the assembly, in their proper garb and character, humbly soliciting the payment of their wages; a trifling matter, which, it would seem, the sublime ideas of their orator had rendered him inattentive to.

It seems, however, probable, if we judge from the immediate consequences, that this exhibition was  
not



not to be entirely attributed to the extravagance or insanity of Clootz; but was calculated to answer a most serious and important purpose. But to understand this, it may be necessary to observe, that from the bad, and too often shameful effects, which the wine drank at dinner had frequently produced on the debates of the assembly, it had long become a standing rule, though without any particular order for it, that no business of moment should be brought forward at the evening sittings. On this account they were generally very thinly attended, most of the members gladly seizing the opportunity of indulging those pursuits of private business or pleasure, from which they had been withheld by the morning sitting. The exhibition we have described was presented at an evening sitting; when the house was not, indeed, so thin as usual, but, however it happened, so it was, that the most violent of the democratic leaders, and that party in general, were those who principally attended.

When the ambassadors had acted their part, and were withdrawn, it seemed as if the assembly thought it necessary likewise to act theirs. As if they had believed the mockery which they just beheld to be a reality, and that the ambassadors of all mankind were in fact present, and supplicating their protection, they were all at once, as if it had been an electric shock, struck with the most violent fit of enthusiasm for liberty, which it was possible to describe or imagine. The first effusion of this passion was laudable: it was a decree to destroy or remove those figures of chained slaves, intended to represent prostrate and

conquered nations, which surrounded the statue so much celebrated, and so often condemned and ridiculed, of Louis XIV. and which, if it had not been for this decree, might have long continued shameful memorials of the insufferable vanity and arrogance of that monarch.

The succeeding effect of this enthusiasm was not so blameless. The resolution for abolishing hereditary nobility for ever, was, in this same evening's sitting, introduced, debated in a certain manner, and passed into an irrevocable law before their rising. It was to little purpose that the nobility, all the royalists; and many others, who were not absolute republicans, cried out, in the midst of their distress or astonishment, against the unfairness and dishonesty of this proceeding; which they said openly was carried by stratagem and surprize. The law was passed, and there was no remedy! there was no house of lords to check the exorbitance of a house of commons; there was no king, with freedom or power to curb the enormities of either; or both; and, to crown the evil, the assembly itself was unfortunately not bound by any of the wholesome and necessary regulations which so happily prevail in the English parliament; by which previous notice is given of the introduction of a new law; by which every bill must go through a certain number of readings, and a reasonable time is allotted for due consideration, before it can be passed; and by which, in cases of moment, a general call of one or both houses takes place, and all the members are obliged, under penalty, to give their attendance on a day appointed. All these forms, so necessary

cessary to cool and wise deliberation, all these checks and powers of controul, were here wanting.

In this extraordinary decree, not contented with declaring in its preamble that hereditary nobility was incompatible with the liberty of France, they declare, in general terms, with peculiar arrogance, that hereditary nobility is incompatible with a free state; thereby implicating all the rest of Europe, excepting a very few petty democratic republics, to be in a state of slavery. It abolishes for ever all titles existing in France, from the prince to the lowest, equivalent to our esquire; and, with a precision which rather indicated a long and well-concerted design, than a sudden fit of passion, it forbids the application of all terms of distinction or respect, usually paid to certain degrees of rank, office, or authority, such as highness, excellency, &c. from being used to any man or body of men. It likewise abolished all blazonry, coats of arms, and liveries; in a word, every memorial of heraldry and ancestry was obliterated. It abolished all names derived from estates, a custom long and generally established in France, and which produced no small trouble and perplexity in reading and endeavouring to comprehend the history of that country.

The princes of the blood were stripped like others of all titles derived from estates or places, such as Artois, Provence, or Orleans, and of every ceremonial of phrase, address, or mark of respect, which could distinguish them from the common-*maîs* of the people. The decree descended to minutia which appeared ridiculous, such as to some trifling marks of distinction and respect which were usually paid

at church to some of the principal nobility, to men high in office, as the governors of great towns or of provinces, and not unfrequently to the lords of parishes, in their own churches.

This decree excited a height of indignation before unknown in the whole body of gentlemen throughout the kingdom, who sent up repeated protests against it; but there was so little regard paid to them, that they were not even suffered to be inserted in the journals. The nobility and clergy of Alsace were peculiarly enraged; they deriving their honours as well as their emoluments not from France but from the German empire, and both being besides secured to them by the treaty of Westphalia. The democratic writers say, that from that day, the greatest part of the nobles of the kingdom became the unappeasable enemies of the constitution; and that this decree had determined them to excite a civil war, and to perish upon the ruins of France, rather than renounce their claim to honour.

The decree which was passed on the 19th received the king's sanction on the 21st of June; and was signalized by the singular circumstance, that of all his ministers, Neckar alone, a plebeian, a republican, a man born and bred in a democracy, insisted on his not giving it his sanction, but on the contrary to send back his express disapprobation to the assembly. Being over-ruled in his attempt by the joint opposition of the other ministers, he immediately published a pamphlet, containing a number of very judicious observations on the decree, and informing the public of the reasons which operated upon him.

him in advising the king to refuse his sanction.

It would seem idle to offer any comments on the justice or the policy of this decree: it speaks for itself. The language held by the democratic writers, of the absurdity and folly of being angry at the loss of such baubles and trifles as titles and frivolous distinctions, would seem rather to correspond with the ideas which we might suppose beings just dropped from another planet to conceive, than those of men, who, it might be supposed, must of necessity know something of the affairs of this world.

A grand confederation had for some time been announced by the national assembly, which was to take place on the celebrated 14th of July, the anniversary of the memorable taking of the Bastille in the preceding year, and which was now destined to be rendered sacred through all succeeding ages. The objects of this grand national meeting were considerable, and the design well calculated for its purposes. It was in no small degree, by this appearance of the general suffrage of the people, to legalize, as well as to confirm the revolution. It was to bind the king, the assembly, and the people together, by new, solemn, and public oaths. And, what was not the least in consideration, it was hoped that it might be a means of reforming the licentious and mutinous disposition of the troops, which was every day breaking out into acts of the utmost disorder and violence, to the no small uneasiness, and even apprehension of the assembly. Nor were their own favourites, the national guards, much more to be commended for their order. On this account, every

regiment throughout the kingdom was obliged to send a delegation of their soldiers and officers, who were to swear in behalf of the whole regiment; and the battalions of national guards were obliged to conform to the same regulation.

The duke of Orleans, who now found the first fruits of his crooked politics, to be a degradation from the highest rank and title of princes to the humble station of a common citizen, had long felt with impatience and grief, that exile in England, which so painfully withheld him from partaking in the factions and turbulence of the grand scene of action at the Palais Royale and in Paris. He accordingly applied to the assembly for leave to return, in order to assist, and to be sworn at the confederation; this was granted, notwithstanding the jealousy of La Fayette, who used every possible means to prevent his return.

The preparations for this new and extraordinary spectacle were attended with immense labour. No less than 12,000 hired workmen were employed, and the work would not have been finished any thing nearly within the time, if it had not been for the extraordinary exertions of the Parisians, who, with their wives and children, were to be seen from morning to night in the hottest weather, with spades, shovels, pick-axes, and barrows, labouring in digging and removing the mould from the great field of the Champ de Mars, which was destined ever more to be distinguished by the name of the Field of the Confederation. It was necessary to remove several feet of earth from the surface of this field, which was about half an English mile in length, and wide in proportion, in order to sur-

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round it with seats rising in the form of an amphitheatre, for the purpose of accommodating something towards half a million of people, who were expected to behold the spectacle. A vast scaffold was erected in the center, where the king and the national assembly were to be placed, and where, the national altar being likewise erected, they were to take the prescribed oath in the sight of all the people; who, in their several classes, were all to go through the same rite, or ceremonial, whichever it may be called. Nothing was omitted, nor no expense spared, which could afford splendor to this spectacle; music, incense, flags, streamers, military pomp, every thing that could dazzle the eyes or fascinate the imagination of a vain and frivolous people, ever addicted to shows, and captivated by trifles, was here exhibited.

It fortunately happened, though contrary to expectation, that no disorder or mischief attended, or proceeded from, this accumulation of so extraordinary a multitude. The king, the assembly, the army, and the people, were all reciprocally sworn. The purport of the oath was the maintenance of the constitution against all oppugners; to which was added, "to continue free or to perish." The same oath was taken on the same day throughout the whole kingdom; and all the troops of every sort, new and old, were personally sworn at their respective stations, as well as by delegation at Paris.

The troops were, however, too far advanced in licentiousness, to be cured or restrained by oaths; they claimed great merit from their services in redressing the alleged

grievances of the nation; and they presumed that they were well authorized to redress their own. They pretended that their officers cheated them, for in the present state of things it scarcely seems probable that it could have been more than a pretence, and under that colour several regiments plundered their military chests. The aversion and contempt in which they were taught to regard their officers, led to accusations of this nature, as well as to a total contempt of every degree of subordination and discipline. But this was only a small part of the enormities which they were guilty of. The fraternal feasts and intimate connections between the inhabitants and the soldiery, which had been so much encouraged and promoted in the beginning of the revolution, for the purpose of debauching the army from its allegiance, besides producing that effect, produced others which either were not foreseen, or which, if they were, it was determined to submit to for the attainment of the grand object. The soldiers, as might be expected, vain of the new appellation of citizens, proud of their confraternity, and of the new company into which they were admitted, and their heads still farther turned by the share which they expected to hold in that new sovereignty, which was to be shattered into so many divisions, became all at once politicians, caballers, and reformers. They became every where members of those clubs where they were stationed, and naturally embracing their opinions, formed as many political sects, and were as zealous partizans in all the great business of reform and government, as those with whom they lived. By these means they

came to bear a great, and in many places a principal share, in all those dreadful tumults and disorders which were continually breaking out, and spreading every degree of outrage and violence in the greater towns and cities. These were, in general, kindly considered as the genuine marks and effects of patriotism, and if at all regarded as evils, were only deemed to be the necessary appendages of revolutions, in which certain degrees of wrong and violence paved the way for the attainment of the great end.

At Nancy, the capital of Lorraine, these excesses were carried by the troops, and by the ruling party of the townsmen, who seemed jointly to set the assembly at defiance, to fo extraordinary a pitch, that they were deemed, if not declared, to be in a state of absolute rebellion. The marquis de Bouille, (who, we have formerly seen, had been so much distinguished by the honour and humanity, as well as by the ability which he displayed in the West Indies, during the late war with England) then commanded the troops at Metz, and in that quarter; and received an order from the assembly to suppress the insurgents at Nancy by force of arms. This order was repented almost as soon as it was issued; for besides its being contrary to the established practice of never punishing democratic criminals, they suspected Bouille of being an aristocrat, and were apprehensive that he might direct the army which he had thus collected to the purpose of a counter-revolution. Under this impression they were debating about recalling the decree, and sending commissioners to pacify, instead of troops to reduce the insurgents.

But De Bouille was too alert and

active a commander, and knew the duties of his profession too well, to lose any time in the execution of his orders. He, as it were instantly, collected a considerable force, composed partly of national troops, and partly of those of the line; and the officers being particularly attached to him, as were even the common soldiery of the old troops, in no small degree, he appeared before Nancy with an expedition which surprised every body else as well as the insurgents. He found the latter, however, prepared for, and determined on a vigorous defence. A bloody contest took place, in which the insurgents were reduced with considerable slaughter, and with no small loss to the assailants.

The embarrassment of the assembly on Bouille's success seemed rather ridiculous. They could not but apparently approve the conduct of an officer, who had displayed great spirit and extraordinary dispatch in the execution of their orders; at the same time that they were in fact sorry for the event, and not a little uneasy at placing so much power in the hands of a man who they unjustly suspected would apply it to dangerous purposes. But the rage of the Parisians at the shedding of so much patriotic blood was beyond all description. They considered and represented all the insurgents who were slain as martyrs to the cause of liberty, and Bouille with his troops as murdering aristocrats, who were endeavouring to commence a counter-revolution. They surrounded the house of assembly in great bodies, and loudly and peremptorily demanded the head of Bouille, and the heads of all the ministers who had any

concern in the transaction. The ferment was so violent, that nothing less than the resolution and firmness of the national guards, could have prevented their proceeding to the last extremities.

This ferment unexpectedly produced, or at least hastened, the resignation of Mr. Neckar, and his final departure from France. That minister, who had so long been the idol of the people at Paris and Versailles, having, on the night of that tumult, received intelligence that he was destined to be made a victim to the fury of the mob, he fled from his house, and spent many hours under the greatest apprehension and terror in the fields near Paris. He now at once perceived, that he had not only held his place too long for his safety, but for his honour. He had long felt his credit with the assembly declining; but ever since the removal of that body to Paris, he experienced such repeated instances of slight and indifference, as made him feel to the heart, that he was now only considered as the tool of a party, who having done its business was no longer thought necessary, and might be laid by without ceremony. Camus, and several other of their members, seemed to make it a point continually to cavil at his plans, and to bring captious charges and accusations upon trifling or contemptible matters against him; nor was this ungracious and unworthy conduct ever in the smallest degree discountenanced. In return for this treatment, he frequently told the assembly home and blunt truths, which did not by any means tend to conciliate favour.

On this recent affair at Paris, he sent a letter with his resignation to

the national assembly, who having read it, called, with the most careless and contemptuous indifference, for the order of the day, without taking the smallest notice of it. Pierced through and through by this disdainful treatment, this ungrateful return to all his past acknowledged services, which, undoubtedly, was not the less felt from a vexatious recollection of the fulsome flatteries with which they had heretofore so often bedawbed him, the unhappy minister set out directly for Switzerland. But he soon found that the bitter cup of his humiliation was not yet exhausted, and that the dregs were among the most odious parts of the potion. Mr. Neckar was stopped at a little town called Arci-sur-Aube by the national guard, who being now all statesmen, and in a certain degree sovereigns, wisely determined, that it was by no means fitting a financial minister should be permitted to quit the country until he had made a fair settlement, and undergone a strict scrutiny as to his accounts, and they accordingly confined him as a prisoner. He was now to undergo the mortification of a second application to the national assembly, in which he stated, that above 100,000*l.* sterling of his property being lodged in the French funds, and consequently within their cognizance, that sum, which he had deposited there through the patriotic motive of supporting the public credit, would be an ample security for any error or deficiency which could possibly appear in his accounts; and therefore requesting, that his health, in its present precarious state, should no longer be injured, either by confinement, or by detention from the salubrious air of his native country.

country. The assembly returned a dry answer, but ordered his release; and he at length arrived safely in his own country.

Such was the fate of a minister, who had passed through such courses of popularity, as, perhaps, have scarcely been equalled by any foreigner in any country. Yet, so uncertain is the state of public favour, and so rapid the decline of popularity, that he now retired to his native country without the smallest mark of honour, esteem, or regret from that nation, which had in the preceding year, commenced a rebellion against its sovereign on his account. Whatever Mr. Neckar's political faults, or errors might have been as a minister, he possessed such excellent qualities as a man, as must ever entitle him to respect. His integrity was in both characters beyond doubt or suspicion; and his strict attention to the discharge and practice of all the moral duties and virtues was never called in question by his enemies. Happy he may now consider that concurrence of circumstances and causes which obliged him to quit France at so early and timely a period; and his family may console themselves in his present existence for that, now, hopeless property which he left behind.

New contests with the clergy afforded the principal objects of business in which the national assembly were engaged for the remainder of the year. These arose from the various measures adopted, and decrees passed, for, what was called, the organization of the church. One of these was, the rendering every benefice in the kingdom, from a curacy to a bishopric, elective. Another was, the admitting people of

all religions, not excepting Jews, to vote at these elections. And another was, the totally altering the anciently established extent and limits of dioceses.

The clergy became troublesome upon these accounts. They said that whatever right the nation might have to seize their revenues, it neither could have any right or pretence to interfere or to make any alteration in the discipline or spiritual government of the church; they therefore demanded the convocation of a national council to settle these matters, as they could not possibly without that determination submit to the present decrees. As nothing could be more opposite to the ideas or liking of the national assembly than to admit by any means of the calling together such an assembly, they were highly incensed at these objections made by the clergy to their decrees, and in that spirit determined at once to punish their refractoriness, and to cut off the means of all future disputes, by imposing a new oath on them, by which they were bound to observe and submit to the constitution as decreed by the assembly, in all cases whatever.

Vast numbers of the clergy refused to take this oath, and among them many who had in the beginning been firmly attached to the commons, and furthered the revolution by every means in their power. But such aids were not now wanted. Many offered to take the oath if they were allowed, as a salvo, that it did not extend to admit of any spiritual authority in the assembly; but though that body had generally disclaimed all interference in the spiritual part of religion, yet they would not allow of any reserve

in the oath, or admit any explanation of it. All the clergy, without exception or distinction, who refused to take the oath, were immediately ejected from their benefices, and others placed in their room; the bishoprics were filled up by curates. The oath being considered as no less than perjury, being a direct breach of that taken at ordination, it may not be difficult to form some judgment of the character of those men who were now to instruct the people in the duties of religion and morality. It afforded a glorious instance of the integrity of the French clergy, that of 131 bishops, only three were found servile enough to betray their conscience and their honour, in stooping to take the oath for the preservation of their bishoprics.

This measure occasioned a schism among the people as well as the clergy; for the more devout and scrupulous, who were still not a few

in the kingdom, refused to acknowledge these new pastors, and particularly to receive the sacraments at their hands; which, according to their religious persuasion, it was the height of prophanation, if not sacrilege, for them to administer. They were the farther confirmed in this opinion, by the utter disapprobation of the oath which the pope had publicly expressed. Thus did France produce in an instant the most numerous body of nonjuring clergy which ever existed in any country: and such was the despotism which prevailed in a republican assembly, that would compel men's persons, minds, and consciences, to bend in all things, without reserve, to its almighty will. Even the more moderate of the democratical writers, regretted and condemned, as a harsh and imprudent measure, the forcing of such an oath at once upon minds unprepared to receive it.



# CHRONICLE.

## JANUARY.

1st. **T**HIS day there was no court either at Windsor or St. James's, as usual on New Year's day, consequently the Laureat's ode was omitted. The New Year's ode not being performed as usual, has occasioned much speculation—It may not be unacceptable to our readers to give them the following passage from Mr. Gibbon's last volume of the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire: "The title of Poet Laureat, which custom rather than vanity perpetuates in the English court, was first invented by the Cæsars of Germany. From Augustus to Louis, the muse has been too often false and venal; but I much doubt whether any age or court can produce a similar establishment of a stipendiary poet, who in every reign, and at all events, is bound to furnish, twice a year, a measure of praise and verse, such as may be sung in the chapel, and, I believe, in the presence of the sovereign. I speak the more freely, as the best time for abolishing this ridiculous custom is while the prince is a man of virtue, and the poet a man of genius."

2d. The Oxford Canal was this day opened by the arrival of

upwards of 200 tons of coals, besides corn and other effects. The first boat entered the basin a few minutes before twelve o'clock, displaying the union flag, and having on board the band belonging to the Oxfordshire militia.

At a meeting, lately held, of the trustees of John Stock, esq. late of Hampstead, who bequeathed 200*l.* a year to be divided among ten curates of the church of England, whose incomes did not exceed 40*l.* per ann. *thirty-eight* petitions were presented and received from poor curates to partake of this benevolence, many of whose stipends were not more than 25*l.* a year, with which they had to support large families.

The prisoners, convicted at the Admiralty Sessions, were 4<sup>th</sup>. executed at Execution Dock pursuant to their several sentences, viz. John Clark and Edward Hobbins, for stealing off the Land's End a boat, several sails, and a wooden compass, the property of Mess. Hurry and Co.; John Williams and Hugh Wilson, for a mutiny on board the Gregson of Liverpool; at Duke's Cove, off the coast of Africa; and Thomas Brett, for stealing from a Dutch hoy, at Dungeness Roads, three casks of Geneva, 16 bales, and other merchandize, the property of persons un-

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known. They are all ordered to be hung in chains.

The bankrupts in 1788 were 709; in 1752 were 116. These were the most and least numerous since 1740; in 1789 there were 584.

16th. The Severn flooded a few days ago higher than has been known for these twenty years. At Shrewsbury and its environs, particularly at the Abbey Forgate, Frankwell, and cotton-mill, there was no passing without a boat.

On the lakes and high mountainous land of Cumberland and Westmoreland, there has been scarcely any snow, and not any ice two inches thick. The wind and rain have exceeded, as much as the snow and ice fall short of, the usual proportions. Both are unexampled in the memory of man.

19th. The sessions ended at the Old Bailey, when sentence of death was passed upon 13 convicts; one was sentenced to be transported for 14 years, 29 to be transported for seven years, seven to be imprisoned in Newgate, 18 in Clerkenwell Bridewell, 21 to be publicly whipped, and 16 were delivered by proclamation.

21st. As his majesty was going in state to the house of peers, on passing the corner opposite Carleton House, in St. James's Park, a stone was thrown at the coach by a tall man dressed in a scarlet coat, black breeches, a striped waistcoat, a cocked hat, with an orange-coloured cockade; he was immediately apprehended and taken to Mr. Grenville's office, in the treasury, Whitehall, where he underwent an examination by the attorney general and sir Sampson Wright, before Mr. Pitt, Mr. Grenville, the duke of Leeds, Earl of Chatham,

&c. which lasted four hours, when he was committed to prison for further examination. He proves to be the same person who wrote a libel against his majesty, and stuck it on the whalebone in the courtyard, St. James's, about a fortnight since, and signed his name John Frith, lieutenant of the second battalion of royals. After undergoing several other examinations, he was committed to Newgate for trial on a charge of high treason.

The accounts relative to the early appearance of 31st. spring this year are too numerous to be particularized. Almost every production that the month of April usually exhibits in the garden, and in the field, were to be seen at the close of this month in various parts of the kingdom.

DIED, at Horfeley, county of Derby, at the age of 107, Mrs. Frances Barton. It is said she well remembered the revolution in 1688, and that she danced at a merry-making on that glorious occasion. Her husband had been sexton of the parish church 70 years; and this antient pair frequently boasted that she had brought into the world, and he had buried, the parish twice over.

At Miles-court, Bath, aged 79, Mrs. Burr, grand-niece of sir Isaac Newton, by a daughter of his mother, who married, for her second husband, the Rev. Mr. Smith. She had a perfect recollection of that great philosopher, and remembered passing much time at his house in St Martin's-lane; and that, when a child, she had spent whole evenings in his study, as he was remarkably fond of children. She remembered, also, the strength of his sight, his examining old coins, and reading the smallest print without spectacles;

cles; the strict economy of his expences, with the regularity of his domestic arrangements, and that he seldom dined without company, with whom he was remarkably pleasant and chearful.

A Portuguese woman, who, some days before her death, had attained the age of 109.

Lately, at Rome, aged 43, Brother Barnabas, of St. Nicholas, a religious questor, of the order of the barefooted Augustines. A great multitude of people visited the convent where his body was exposed for four days. A number of miracles are said to have been performed by him both before and after his death.

Aged 128, John Jacob, the celebrated patriarch of Mount Jura, who came to pay his compliments to the national assembly last year.

Aged 104, at Cropton near Pickering, Mrs. Mary Jackson.

At Lean Cadwallader, in the 115th year of his age, the celebrated Hugh Llewellyn, well known in the neighbouring counties for his musical skill, particularly on the Welsh-harp, which he played until within a fortnight of his death.

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FEBRUARY.

The two annual premiums of 25 *l.* each, bequeathed by the late Dr. Smith, of Cambridge, to the two junior bachelors of arts, who shall appear to be the best proficient in mathematics and natural philosophy, were, on Friday the 29th, adjudged to Mr. Bridge, of Peterhouse College, and Mr. Wingham, of Trinity-Hall.

3d. The printer of *The Times* was brought up from Newgate

to the king's bench to receive judgment for two libels of which he had been convicted. He was sentenced for the first, which was on the prince of Wales and the duke of York (charging their royal highnesses with having so demeaned themselves as to incur the just disapprobation of his majesty) to pay a fine of 100 *l.* and be imprisoned in Newgate one year after the expiration of his present confinement;—and for the second, which was on the duke of Clarence, he was fined 100 *l.*

The libel against the duke of Clarence asserted that his royal highness returned from his station without authority from the admiralty or the commanding officer.

His royal highness the prince of Wales had a state levee, for the first time, at his palace of Carlton-house.

Sir Joshua Reynolds, who has honourably filled for 22 years the chair of the royal academy, formally notified to the council his resignation as president.

A man of the name of Edward Derick, who either is, or affects to be, a maniack, went to St. James's this evening, and desired the marshalsmen to introduce him to his majesty; he was of course informed that his request could not be complied with. He then said, that he had letters of the utmost importance for the queen, and *must* be admitted. The marshalsmen stopped him; and his behaviour in consequence was so riotous, that they were under the necessity of taking him into custody. He says he was born at Caldecot in Cheshire, and that he slept on Tuesday near Rumford in Essex. He is about 24 years

of age, very mean in his appearance, and discourses in the stile of a quaker. He was committed to Tothill-fields Bridewell.

Lately a case was argued and determined in the court of king's bench, of some importance to the mercantile world. The question was, "Whether a payment made in bank notes can legally be deemed a payment made in money?" The court said, that the judges had not yet gone to the extent of deciding that the tender of a debt in bank notes was a good tender, unless the party accepted them as cash. A payment, however, made in bank notes might certainly be deemed a payment made in money, and might be so styled in a deed or other instrument by which any sum is stated to be given or paid. Bank notes were unquestionably called money, and so considered by the world.

A young woman, of the name of Finch, took the fatal resolution of putting an end to her present existence, by swallowing a quantity of arsenic. What renders this most remarkable is, she prevailed upon the servant maid of Mr. Huddy, a pastry-cook, to accompany her in the fatal resolution. They took to the amount of two ounces between them; in consequence of which, Miss Grace Finch struggled with the drug in violent convulsions about three hours, and then expired. The maid servant continued in a most miserable state till the next morning, when she expired also.

The celebrated *Phillidor* played three games at chess *blindfolded*, with three different persons at once: two with Dr. Rolet, and Capt. Smith, he gained; and the third

with count Bruhl was a drawn game.

DIED, at Sutton, near Bingham, in the 103d year of her age, Hannah Jenk, a widow of that village, who remained her faculties in the most perfect manner till a very short time previous to her death.

At Edinburgh, aged upwards of 80, the celebrated William Cullen, M.D. first physician to his majesty for Scotland.—Notwithstanding the number of years he read lectures there, he has not left property enough to support his daughters. His mistaken notions of farming contributed not a little to reduce his income.

At Islington, aged 68, John Hyacinth de Magelhaens, 7th. F.R.S. member of many foreign academies, formerly an Augustine monk at Lisbon, and great grandson of the celebrated navigator, Ferdinando M. who gave his name to the straight discovered by him in 1519. He was also related to the jesuit M. who travelled over China from 1640 to 1648, till he was carried to the court at Pekin, where he resided 29 years, and died in 1677. He was a studious, ingenious, and learned man, particularly distinguished among the literati in this and other enlightened countries for his intimate acquaintance with most branches of natural philosophy, and no less ingenious in his experiments therein, particularly in mechanics.

At his house in Hereford, 10th. Rev. William Davies, who took his degree of M.A. at Christ Church, Oxford, in 1715. He retained his faculties in a great degree till within a few years of his death.

M A R C H .

1st. A bill of indictment was found by the grand jury against John Frith, for high treason, in compassing the life of the king, by throwing a stone against his coach, as he went to the parliament house.

2d. The following convicts received sentence of death at the Old Bailey, viz. James East, William Wilson, James Betts, Samuel Dring, Joseph Phillips, Thomas Alexander, and Henry Jones, alias Denton. Three were sentenced to be transported for 14 years, 21 for seven years, seven fined and imprisoned, seven publicly whipped, and 24 discharged by proclamation.

3d. This afternoon another maniac went to St. James's, where he seized the colours belonging to the first regiment, who were on guard, which were placed in the court yard as usual. The sentry who guarded the colours not observing him, he made his escape to the whalebone, where he was seized by another sentry, who secured him till he got other assistance; the maniac immediately threw down the standard, when he was taken into custody by two of the marshals, who conveyed him in a hackney coach to the public office, Bow Street, where he underwent an examination before sir Sampson Wright. On sir Sampson's asking him his reason for taking away the colours, he said he was a native of the Isle of Man; that his name was Thomas Cannon; that he went yesterday morning to Kensington Palace in expectation of seeing his majesty pass to Windsor, and on his return he had completed his point, which

he had in view for some time back, by throwing down the royal standard of England. His reason, he said; he would not give, unless he was introduced to the king, the prince of Wales, and Mr. Pitt. He was committed to Covent Garden watch-house.

The disagreeable intelligence was received of the loss of the 4th company's ship *Vansittart*, in the streights of Billoton, in November last. No lives were lost either among the officers or ship's company; the assistance they received from two country ships enabled them to save great part of the silver on board, and some other part of the cargo.

The two gold medals, value fifteen guineas each, given annually by his grace the duke of Grafton, chancellor of the university of Cambridge, for the encouragement of classical learning, are this year adjudged to Mr. Francis Wrangham, B.A. of Trinity Hall, and Mr. John Tweddell, B.A. of Trinity College.

*Somerset House*.—The estimates, as delivered to the house of commons, are as follow: Expended 334,703*l.*; to be expended; 33,500*l.*

A grant to earl Stanhope, for his new-invented method of conducting vessels without sails against wind, waves, current, and tide, has passed the great seal.

On Sunday the 14th instant, four men were seen on the other side Staines, walking towards that town. They had the appearance of foreigners, were dressed as sailors, and one rather better than the rest. In the evening of the same day, they went to the shop of a barber at Staines, and were shaved, and the man who was best dressed paid for

the rest. He had a large bag of money; but whether of gold or silver, is not known. From this shop they went to the White Lion, supped, and slept; and at four on Sunday morning rose, had each a glass of brandy, for which the best-dressed man still paid for his companions, and having drunk it, they all set out together on the road to London.

On Monday morning, as a man was driving his cows in a field near Belfont-lane, about thirteen miles from London, he discovered in a ditch a number of brambles with a quantity of new-raised earth thrown over them, which curiosity led him to examine, when, to his surprize, he discovered the dead body of a man, mangled in a most inhuman manner, the throat cut, the skull fractured, one arm broke, and one hand almost cut in pieces. At this time the duke of Cumberland being out with his hounds, the dogs took the scent, and traced the blood from the road to the spot where the body was found, which by his royal highness's order was removed to the Black Dog at Belfont, where the coroner's inquest was afterwards summoned to sit; and at which place the barber by whom the four men were shaved, and the people at the White Lion, where they slept, were summoned to appear, and all agree that the deceased is one of those four men, and the identical person who paid for all the rest. These particulars were communicated to sir Sampson Wright by his royal highness the duke of Cumberland, who has taken uncommon pains to bring the murderers to justice.

On Friday night the 19th they were found on board a Portuguese

vessel, where, after some resistance, they were hand-cuffed, and committed to different prisons till the 20th, when, at the desire of the duke of Cumberland, they were examined at the public office in Bow Street, where the officer who took them gave a particular account of the articles found at their lodgings, consisting, among other things, of a relick which the deceased used to wear about his neck, and a coat.

The first evidence called was Frederico Solaro, a Genoese. He deposed, that the name of the deceased was Joseph, but could not tell his other name; that he, this deponent, Antonio Murina, a Venetian; Jachin-Pharao, a Genoese; and Stephan-Apologie, a Russian; came none in the ship Crown Prince, captain Nicondia, from the island of Sardinia; that they all left the ship at the same time at Portsmouth; that they received their pay before they set off for London. He walked with them about three miles farther than Gosport, and wanting to get to London as soon as he could, he turned back and came by the coach. He heard nothing more of them till Wednesday last, when, hearing of the murder, he had some strong suspicion of the prisoners; and accordingly came to this office, and gave what description of them he could; that, on sir Sampson Wright sending him to Staines to examine the deceased, he knew him. The officers then produced the relick mounted with silver, and the other articles they had taken from the prisoners. He had seen them on board of the ship, and likewise saw the deceased with the relick. He certainly would have parted with his

his life rather than the relic. The prisoners were examined apart, and all denied committing the murder.

They were committed to different gaols, in order for re-examination.

A very curious discovery has lately taken place at Blackwall, near the river Thames, where Mr. Perry, the ship-builder, had appropriated about seven acres of land for the purpose of making a wet dock. In digging the ground, regular strata of sand, clay, &c. have been found, proper for making bricks; and, 12 feet below the surface, hazle-trees, with the nuts upon them.

DIED, in the isle of Sky, Mrs. Flora Macdonald, famed in the annals of the late pretender.

In the 19th year of his age Geo. Hastings, esq. only son of Mr. Hastings of Folkestone, to whom the title of earl of Huntingdon is supposed to have lately devolved.

At Ipswich, in his 100th year, Alexander Dean, esq.

In her 108th year, and in full possession of all her faculties, Mrs. Bridget Scaver, late of Treay, county of Armagh.

first, without effect; whereupon major Hobart said, "He hoped Mr. Corran was satisfied." Mr. Egan then called out to major Hobart that he had not fired, as did Mr. Corran. The major, advancing a step or two towards Mr. Corran, repeated what he had said before. Mr. Corran replied, "I am sorry, sir, you have taken this advantage; but you have made it impossible for me not to be satisfied."

On the 14th inst. advice was received at Edinburgh, from William Pulteney, esq. who has instituted a professorship for agriculture in the university there, that he had fixed upon Dr. Andrew Coventry to fill that office.

Lectures are to be delivered annually.—The subjects are, respecting the nature of soils and manures, the construction of implements of husbandry, the best and most successful known practices, the manner of instituting experiments to ascertain the effect of a practice in any given soil or climate, and the best manner of introducing or training skilful labourers and country artificers, where these may be wanting.

The patronage of this institution, after the decease of the founder, is vested jointly in, 1. The judges of the courts of session and exchequer; 2. The magistrates and town council of Edinburgh. 3. The university of Edinburgh. One delegate from each of these bodies is to meet in a hall in the university; and a majority determine the election, in case of a vacancy.

A duel was fought at Musselborough Links, near Edinburgh, on the 14th inst. between sir George Ramsay, and captain Macrae; the

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A P R I L.

1st. A duel was lately fought in Luttrellstown between Mr. Corran, M.P. and major Hobart, secretary to the lord lieutenant, occasioned by some words spoken in parliament. The meeting was at the Hermitage, one of lord Carhampton's seats; Mr. Corran was attended by Mr. Egan; major Hobart by lord Carhampton. Being put to their ground, and agreed to fire as they chose, Mr. Corran fired

circumstances stated are precisely as follows :

A servant of sir George, keeping a chair at the door of the Edinburgh theatre, was ordered by capt. Macrae to remove it; on his objecting, some words ensued, and the fracas concluded in captain Macrae's chastising the servant very severely. Meeting the next day with sir George Ramsay, he insisted on his dismissing the man from his service. This was refused, on the ground, that whatever was the misconduct of the servant, he had already received a sufficient punishment.

A challenge was the immediate consequence of this refusal. The parties met on Muffelborough Links; sir George Ramsay accompanied by sir William Maxwell of Moncrief; and capt. Macrae by Mr. Hay. The former fired first, but without effect. Capt. Macrae returned the fire, and lodged his ball so near the heart of his antagonist, that every art to extract it was fruitless. Sir George languished in much agony until Friday morning, when he expired.

The deceased was a gentleman of the most amiable character and disposition, and had but lately married a beautiful young lady, the sister of lord Saltoun.

The lord chancellor committed the rev. Mr. Stevens to the fleet prison, for carrying a young lady of the name of Jefferies to Gretna-Green, where he was married to her, she being a ward of the court of chancery. The mother, aunt, and other relations and friends of the lady, all bore honourable testimony, by their affidavits, to the character of Mr. Stevens, and deposed that they approved of the marriage, although it was contract-

ed without their privity. The lord chancellor said, there could be no excuse for a clergyman of the established church carrying a ward of the court to Scotland, and there being married by a blacksmith. The protection of the wards of that court was of great importance. His lordship, however, paid due attention to the affidavits, which he said might become a subject of future consideration.

Stephano Apologi, Antonio Marini, and Jacintha Farari, 19th, for the murder of their companion near Belfont; and Thomas Hewet Masters, for the murder of his mistress's daughter, Mary Loveden, near Whitechapel, were executed before the debtor's door at Newgate, pursuant to their sentence. The three former having received the Sacrament according to the ceremonies of the Romish church, about six o'clock they made a full confession of the horrid deed. Antonio Marini (who professed himself to be the son of one of the Venetian noblese, and spoke Latin, Spanish, French, and Italian very elegantly and fluently) declared to the priest who attended them, that they had all agreed to kill their comrade as he slept in his bed two nights before the murder was committed; but that he, Marini, was so shocked at the idea of it on reflection, that he determined to abandon it, and from that time never failed to pray some hours each day, that the deity would strengthen him in this resolution. That at the time the murder was perpetrated, he was walking more than a hundred yards before them, when he heard the deceased cry aloud, "Antonio—Oh Antonio!" That he ran back and found him lifeless, with one arm broken,



broken, and his skull fractured, which he learnt was done by Apologi in knocking him down; and that his throat was cut in two places by Farari with a knife which he had borrowed of him that morning. That he was in great horror at the sight of such a spectacle! but assisted in burying the body, for fear of a discovery, and that he should be deemed an accessory in the murder.

—Apologi and Farari acknowledged all he thus said was strictly true. On ascending the scaffold, Apologi and Farari discovered great perturbation of mind, and wept abundantly. Marini deputed himself with more fortitude, and yet with becoming decency. Thomas Hewet Masters likewise shewed a becoming contrition. After a few minutes spent in devotion with their respective ministers, the drop fell, when they expiated (it is hoped) their offences, in the presence of an incredible number of spectators. After hanging the usual time, their bodies were cut down, and sent to surgeons' hall for dissection.

At Warwick affizes a person was indicted for stealing a horse. It was proved, that he hired the horse at London, to go a short journey; that he rode him to Birmingham, and there sold him, and converted the money to his own use. These circumstances were submitted to the consideration of the jury; who brought in their verdict, "guilty of selling the horse." The judge told them, he knew no law that made the selling a horse a capital crime; and referred back to the charge in the indictment. They then laid their heads together again, and, after mature consideration, brought in their final verdict, "not guilty."

Mr. Erskine on the part of sir James Marriot, judge of 25th. the high court of admiralty, moved the court of king's bench for a criminal information against David Parry, esq; governor of the island of Barbadoes, for an insult offered to sir James in his character as a judge. A cause had been tried in the court of admiralty, in which the governor was concerned, and, in giving judgment in that cause, sir James made several observations on the conduct of the governor, which the governor resented, and called upon sir James *in the character of a gentleman*. The rule was granted.

But on the 8th of May, the governor, by his counsel, signified his desire of apologizing to sir James for his warmth. The apology was accepted; the rule discharged.

DIED, 16th, at the house of a relation near Paris, in the diocese of Bayonne, M. Bourgelais, author of some very curious remarks on metaphysical and historical chronology. He was born a cripple, and spent his life in study. The various systems of sacred chronology he treated upon with great ability. He was well versed in most of the European languages. With all his abilities, however, he existed in the shade of poverty.

At Philadelphia, aged 84 17th. years and 3 months, Benjamin Franklin, esq. LL.D. and F.R.S. He was born in 1706, and brought up in the profession of a printer; in which capacity he worked some years as a journeyman with the late Mr. Watts.

His love of science can be traced from an early period. A letter of his to Sir Hans Sloane, dated June 2, 1725, is printed in vol. L. p. 459, of the Gentleman's Magazine.

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He appeared here in the line of his business; but had procured letters to, and was well received by, Martin Folkes, esq. afterwards President of the Royal Society, and, through him, was known to Dr. Clarke. In 1735, Mr. Franklin had a severe pleurisy, which terminated in an abscess on the left lobe of his lungs, and he was then almost suffocated with the quantity and suddenness of the discharge. A second attack of a similar nature happened some years after this, from which he soon recovered, and did not appear to suffer any inconvenience in his respiration from these diseases.

In 1759, he published "An Historical Review of the Government of Pennsylvania;" and in 1760, "The interests of Great Britain considered, with regard to her colonies." In 1773 he attracted the public notice by a letter on the duel between Mr. Whateley and Mr. Temple.— On the 29th of January, 1774, he was heard before the privy council, on a petition he had long before presented, as agent for Massachusetts Bay, against their governor, Mr. Hutchinson; when the petition was abruptly dismissed, and Mr. Franklin removed from the office of deputy postmaster-general for the Colonies. Previous to this period, it is a testimony to truth, and bare justice to his memory, to observe, that he used his utmost endeavours to prevent a breach between Great Britain and America; and it is perhaps to be lamented that his counsels were disregarded. He from this time entertained so ardent a resentment, that neither politeness nor moderation could restrain the most pointed and bitter sarcasms against the conduct of England in mixed companies. In the summer

of 1775, he returned to Philadelphia, and was immediately elected one of their delegates to the Continental Congress. In December that year, being now near 70 years of age, he arrived at Paris, and soon after took the house which Lord Stormont had occupied.

In February, 1777, he had the regular appointment of plenipotentiary from the Congress to the French court; but obtained leave of dismissal in 1780. His passport to Capt. Cook bears date March 10th, 1779. In 1783 he caused a medal to be struck to commemorate the independence of America. July 24th, 1785, he embarked at Havre, and on the same day landed at Southampton; whence, after a slight refreshment, he sailed for Cowes, where a vessel was ready to convey him to Philadelphia. He was received there, Sept. 15th, with universal acclamation. The memories of the aged are not supposed to be retentive. Franklin was an exception to this rule; he acquired French after seventy; he spoke fluently, and even scientifically, in that language. In his French embassy Dr. Franklin became the *ton*, the fashionable topic of modish conversation; the ladies had hats *à-la-Franklin*; and crowds of belles and beaux often fluttered after him in the garden of the Thuilleries.

The stone, with which Dr. Franklin had been afflicted for several years, had for the last 12 months confined him chiefly to his bed; and during the extreme painful paroxysms he was obliged to take laudanum, to mitigate his tortures; still, in the intervals of pain, he not only amused himself with reading, and conversing cheerfully with his family, and a few friends who visited him, but was often employed in  
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doing business of a public as well as private nature; and in every instance displayed, not only a readiness and disposition of doing good, but the fullest and clearest possession of his mental abilities. About sixteen days before his death, he was seized with a feverish indisposition, without any particular symptoms attending it till the third or fourth day, when he complained of a pain in his left breast, which increased until it became extremely acute, with a cough, and laborious breathing. In this frame of body and mind he continued till five days before his death, when his pain and difficulty of breathing entirely left him, and his family were flattering themselves with the hopes of his recovery; but an imposthumation, which had formed itself in his lungs, suddenly burst, and discharged a great quantity of matter, which he continued to throw up while he had sufficient strength to do it, but as that failed, the organs of respiration became gradually oppressed, a calm lethargic state succeeded, and on the 17th of April, about eleven o'clock at night, he quietly closed a long and useful life. He has left issue one son, Governor William Franklin, who was a zealous and active loyalist during the late revolution, and now resides in London; and a daughter married to Mr. Richard Bache, a merchant in Philadelphia. To the two latter he has bequeathed the chief part of his estate, during their respective lives, and afterwards to be divided equally among their children. To his grandson, William Temple Franklin, esq. he leaves a grant of some lands in the state of Georgia, the greatest part of his library, and all his papers,

besides something additional in case of his marriage. He has also made various bequests and donations to cities, public bodies, and individuals; and has requested that the following epitaph, which he composed for himself some years ago, may be inscribed on his tombstone:

“ The body of  
 BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, Printer,  
 (like the cover of an old book,  
 its contents torn out,  
 and stript of its lettering and gilding)  
 lies here food for worms :  
 yet the work itself shall not be lost,  
 but will (as he believed) appear  
 once more in a new  
 and more beautiful edition,  
 corrected and amended  
 by  
 THE AUTHOR.”

Philadelphia never displayed a scene of greater grandeur than was exhibited at his funeral. His remains were interred on the 21st; and the concourse of people assembled on the occasion was immense. The body was attended to the grave by thirty clergymen, and men of all ranks and professions, arranged in the greatest order. All the bells in the city were tolled muffled, and there was a discharge of artillery. Nothing was omitted that could shew the respect and veneration of his fellow-citizens for so exalted a character. The Congress have ordered a general mourning for one month throughout the United States; and the national assembly of France have also decreed a general mourning of *three days*.

The principles and qualities of electricity were scarcely known in the last age. The electric fluid was barely mentioned at the end of Newton's Optics. It was reserved for

for Franklin to investigate its properties; and of that branch of science he may be considered as the father. Theory was advanced to practice and utility by the invention of the conductor. Nor were his observations confined to this science. There were few subjects of common utility upon which he did not comment, none were touched by him which he did not improve and illustrate; of this, his Advice to Servants—to Tradesmen—to Settlers in America—on the Cure of Smoky Chimnies—Rules for Clubs and for Conversation—Maxims to convert a great into a small Empire, written with the caustic spirit of Swift, are abundant proofs.

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### M A Y.

1st. The Marshal of the King's Bench Prison having complained to the court of certain irregularities, which he had not power to repress, that court, in order to prevent these irregularities, has made the following orders:

*First*—That no prisoner, after the first day of next Trinity term, shall have any rule for being absent from his confinement, for a longer space than *three days* during each term.

*Secondly*—That the New Prison shall be within the rules of the King's Bench.

*Thirdly*—That the rules shall be circumscribed according to the limits mentioned in the order; and particularly, that every *public house* locally situated within the rules, shall be considered as without the rules; so that every prisoner who is seen at any public house within the rules, will render the marshal liable to an action for an escape.—The

Dog and Duck, the Circus, and the other places of public entertainment in that neighbourhood, will in consequence be *without the rules*.

George Franklin, a lieutenant in the marines, received judgment of the court of king's bench, for sending a challenge to his superior officer.—He was sentenced to a twelve-month's imprisonment in the king's bench prison, and to find security for keeping the peace for two years, himself in 100l. and two securities in 50l. each.

James Chapman was brought from Newgate to the court of 5th King's Bench, to receive judgment for the conspiracy in carrying-off the countess of Strathmore. He was sentenced to be imprisoned in Newgate for the term of two years, and during that time to stand once in the pillory at Charing-cross.

The recorder made his report to the king in council of 14th. the prisoners under sentence of death in Newgate, convicted at the last sessions, when the following were ordered for execution on the 19th, viz. Thomas Parker and Sophia Girton, for coining and counterfeiting the silver coin of this realm called a shilling; Edward Humphreys, for robbing James Cumberland Bentley, in the Strand, of a cambrick handkerchief; and Guinard Villoni, for stealing, in the house of James Daubigny, an iron chest containing about 2000l. in cash and notes.—The three men were executed accordingly; but the woman has been respited.

Frith was this morning 21st. tried at the Old Bailey for high treason, in throwing a stone at the king, when in his coach, going to the parliament house.—The jury acquitted him, being satisfied, by  
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the proof produced, that he is a *lunatic*. He was tried in the most solemn manner; and the attorney and solicitor general behaved on the occasion with becoming humanity.

Great riots happened about this time in several parts of the kingdom of Ireland, in consequence of the election of members to the new parliament. Colonel Massey being returned for the county of Limerick, the mob instantly attacked him and his friends, and it was with difficulty they escaped with their lives. They afterwards razed to the ground the houses of many gentlemen who voted for him; among others, the beautiful seat of sir D. Burgh, although lady Burgh, on her knees, prayed them to spare it.

Mr. Power, son to Richard Power, esq. one of the candidates for the county of Waterford, in consequence of an election dispute with captain Grumbleton of the 13th regiment of dragoons, went out with that gentleman on the 4th instant, and was shot dead on the field.

We learn from New York, that in the representative house of the united states, the report of the secretary of the treasury was read in full assembly; when it appeared that the whole debt of the states amounted, with the interest due thereon, to 25,750,000*l.* sterling; the annual interest to 1,320,075*l.* which will be provided for by the proposed new duties on spirits, wines, tea, coffee, &c. The report recommended an inland excise, which it was judged would fully establish the national credit.

DIED, at Epsom, after a short illness, aged 64, the Rev. Martin Madan, M. A. author of "The-lyphthora," of a late literal translation of Juvenal and Persius, and of several other publications.

At his apartments in the British Museum, the Rev. Charles Godfrey Woide, D. D. F. R. and A. SS. reader and chaplain at the Dutch chapel in the Savoy, and one of the assistant librarians of the British Museum; who published, in 1779, a grammar and lexicon of the Egyptian language, both in quarto, and in 1786 the famous Alexandrian New Testament, in folio.

At Norwich, in his 64th year, Ph. Lloyd, D. D. 25 years dean of that cathedral.

At Trinity college, Oxford, aged 62, the Rev. Thomas Warton, B. D. senior fellow of that college, Camden's reader of antient history, poet laureat (in which he succeeded the late Mr. Whitehead in 1785), and formerly professor of poetry in that university. His social qualities had long endeared him to the members of his own society, among whom he constantly resided. The brilliancy of his wit, the solidity of his judgment, and the affability of his temper, give to all who had the happiness of his acquaintance the most poignant regret for his irreparable loss. His literary productions have rendered him peculiarly eminent as an annotator, a biographer, an antiquary, and a poet; and he may be deservedly considered as the ornament, not only of the university, but of the literary world at large. Such, indeed, was the vigour of his mind, the classical purity of his taste, the extent and the variety of his learning, that his memory will be for ever revered as a profound scholar, and a man of true genius. Learning must deplore him as one of her best and most valuable ornaments. The fame which his "History of English Poetry" has obtained will remain an immortal ornament

ornament of his industry, the correctness of his judgment, and the penetration of his understanding; and whoever reads the odes which loyalty dictated at two periods of the year, will shed a tear when he finds that the benevolence and philanthropy of the monarch are no longer to receive their merited panegyrics from the pen of a lover of the muses, who scorned to flatter, and who detested mercenary adulation.

Anthony Warton, vicar of Godalming, Surrey, from 1682 to 1715, and buried in the chancel there, with a monument, 'was son of Anthony, vicar of Breamore, Hants, (younger brother of the family of Michael W. esq. of Beverley, but originally of Warton-hall, in the county of Lancaster) and was admitted of Trinity college, Oxford, afterwards became gentleman-commoner of Magdalen college, where he took the degree of LL.B. 1673. He was the father of Thomas Warton, B.D. fellow of Magdalen college, Oxford, and afterwards professor of poetry in that university, and vicar of Basingstoke, Hants, and of Cobham, Surrey, who, by Elizabeth, daughter of the Rev. Joseph Richardson, rector of Dunsfold, had two sons, John, the present able and worthy master of Winchester school, and Thomas, the subject of this article, and one daughter, Jane. Thomas proceeded M. A. 1750; B. D. 1767; was elected poetry professor on the death of Hawkins, 1756, which he resigned before 1771, when he was elected F. A. S. and Camdenian professor, 1785, on the resignation of Dr. Scott. In 1768 he was presented to the vicarage of Shalfield, Wilts; and, 1782, to the donative of Hill Farrance, Somerset.

The professor's writings are, "A Companion to the Guide, and a Guide to the Companion; being a complete supplement to all the accounts of Oxford hitherto published, 1760.

"The Triumph of Isis, 1753," in answer to Mr. Mason's "Isis, an Elegy, 1748."

"The Life and Literary Remains of Ralph Bathurst, M. D. dean of Wells, and president of Trinity college, Oxford, 1761," 8vo.

"The life of sir Thomas Pope, founder of Trinity college, Oxford, 1772," 8vo.

"A Description of the city, college, and cathedral of Winchester," without date or name.

"Newmarket, a Satire," 1751. 4to.

In Doddsley's collection we have by him, vol. IV. p. 253, "The Progress of Discontent;" VI. 258, "A Panegyric on Ale;" *ibid.* "The Pleasures of Melancholy."

His other poetical effusions were all collected together in a small octavo volume, 1777. To these should now be added the odes written in the years 1785, 6, 7, and 8, since his appointment to the place of poet laureat, 1785. These were only the lighter productions of Mr. Warton's genius. In 1754, he published "Observations on the Faerie Queene of Spenser," which, after he was elected professor of poetry in the university of Oxford, he corrected and enlarged, in 2 vols. 12mo. 1760. He communicated many excellent notes to the *variorum* edition of Shakespeare, 1786. But his *chief d'œuvre* was, "The History of English Poetry, from the close of the eleventh to the commencement of the eighteenth century. To which are prefixed, Two Dissertations,

Dissertations, on the Origin of Romantic Fiction in Europe, and on the Introduction of Learning into England."

Mr. W. engaged, as might naturally be expected, in the Rowleian controversy; and his "Enquiry into the Authenticity of the Poems attributed to Thomas Rowley, 1782," carries conviction with every unprejudiced mind.

His last publication was, "Poems on several Occasions, English, Latin, and Italian, with Translations, by John Milton; with notes critical and explanatory, and other illustrations, 1785," 8vo.

Mr. Warton's "History of Kidlington Parish," to the rectory of which he was presented in 1771, by the earl of Litchfield, printed for private use, 1781, and afterwards made public, is an admirable specimen of parochial history, and of his general idea of such history, which serves but to make us regret that he had not opportunity to execute more of such a plan.

In the afternoon of May 27th, his remains were interred in the ante-chapel of Trinity college, near those of Dr. Huddesford, their late president, with the highest academical honours. The vice chancellor, the heads of houses, the professors, and the proctors, had previously requested permission of the president and fellows, to attend the funeral.

In digging Mr. Warton's grave, at the depth of about six feet, were found some few remains of a body, which appeared to have been interred with his boots and other apparel, though they had been evidently inclosed in a coffin. A girdle-buckle, about the bigness of a crown-piece, was also dug up; and

there were found about the middle of the body some fine silver thread, which might probably have belonged to the fringe of the girdle; but no conjectures can be formed either as to the date or personage.

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J U N E.

Yesterday the sessions at the Old Bailey ended, when the following convicts received sentence of death, viz. Thomas Hopkins, Richard Turner. Elizabeth Aker, Henry White, William Read, and William Jenkinson; two were sentenced to be transported for fourteen years; thirty-eight for seven years; five were fined, and to be imprisoned in Newgate; one in Wood-street Compter; four in Clerkenwell Bridewell; ten to be publicly whipped; and thirteen were discharged by proclamation.

This being the king's birth day, when his majesty entered the 53d year of his age, there was a very numerous and brilliant drawing-room at St. James's palace.

A duel was lately fought at Bridlington, between Mr. Macduff, captain's clerk of the Racehorse sloop of war, and Mr. Prince, midshipman, in which the latter was killed.

This day the parliament was dissolved by proclamation.

During the course of the two last and of the present months, the streets of the metropolis were infested by a villain of a species that has hitherto been undescrip't. It was his practice to follow some well-dressed lady, whom he found unaccompanied by a man, and sometimes after using gross language, sometimes without saying a

word, to give her a cut with a sharp instrument he held concealed in his hand, either through her stays or through her petticoats behind.—Several ladies were attacked by him in this manner, and several wounded, and the wretch had always the address to escape undetected. At length, on the 13th inst. in the afternoon, as Miss Porter was walking in the park, accompanied by Mr. Colman, she saw a man whom she informed Mr. Colman was the person who had assaulted her in the manner so often mentioned in the news-papers.

Mr. Colman immediately followed him, in order, if possible, to find out his place of abode; and insisted upon his going to Miss Porter's house, where all the Miss Porters declared they perfectly well recollected him to be the person who had assaulted them. He was confined in St. James's watch-house that night, and yesterday was brought up to the public office in Bow-street.

The four Miss Porters, Miss Ann Frost, and the two Miss Vaughans, swore positively to the prisoner having assaulted them on two different days, namely, the lord mayor's day, and the queen's birthday.

The prisoner's name is Renwick Williams; he was originally educated for a dancing-master, but has for some time followed the business of artificial flower-making; he was committed to New Prison, Clerkenwell, for further examination. [See his trial in the Appendix to the Chronicle.]

The high bailiff, constables, &c. of Westminster, proceeded to the hustings before the portico of St. Paul's, Covent Gar-

den, for the purpose of commencing the election of members to serve in the ensuing parliament; when the right hon. lord Hood, and the right hon. Charles James Fox, soon appeared, with a numerous retinue, and were nominated as candidates; the former, by captain Berkeley; the latter, by Mr. Serjeant Adair. And presently, totally unexpected, Mr. Horne Tooke stood up, and after a short speech, nominated himself as a candidate for their choice; to give, he said, the electors of Westminster an opportunity to assert their independence, and not to be bartered away by ministerial influence, or the man of transcendent abilities; pledging himself, at the same time, to pay all honourable expences attending the election.

Both the candidates embraced the opportunity of vindicating their characters from any sinister views, and protesting to stand each on his own particular merit.

Being severally heard, about twelve at noon the poll commenced, and was not finally closed till the 2d of July; when the numbers were,

For Mr. Fox - 3516

For Lord Hood - 3217

For Mr. Horne Tooke 1697

The poll being declared, Mr. Fox, in a short speech, returned his thanks to the electors for their support.

Capt. Hood next addressed the electors; and, for his father, lord Hood, expressed a strong sense of gratitude for the return of his lordship to represent them in parliament.

Mr. Horne Tooke also attracted the attention of the populace by a very patriotic harangue, in which he complimented those worthy independent



dependent electors, who had generously supported his cause, the cause of the people, which he should ever maintain whilst he had a shilling left.

22d. The heat of the weather was more intense than is commonly felt in the West Indies. In Fahrenheit's thermometer the mercury rose to 80°, and was succeeded in many places by storms of thunder and lightning that were very destructive, particularly in its course to the south-westward. At Yeovil a man was torn to pieces by the lightning. At Upway, in Dorsetshire, a dairy-house was burned down. And at Wincanton, Frome, and Bradford, the storm was very alarming.

25th. A duel was fought between capt. Harvey Aston and lieut. Fitzgerald of the 60th regiment of foot. The cause of the dispute happened at Ranelagh, but so long before the challenge, that it was imagined all idea of hostility had ceased. A field belonging to Chalk-lodge farm, near Hampstead, was the chosen spot, and break of day the time appointed. Lord Charles Fitzroy was second to capt. Aston; and Mr. Wood was second to lieut. Fitzgerald. Ten yards was the ground measured; and Mr. Fitzgerald had the first fire. He rested his pistol on his left arm, and took aim accordingly. The ball took a direction so as to glance on Mr. Aston's wrist, and passed from thence under his right cheek-bone, and through the neck. On receiving this wound, capt. Aston called to his antagonist, "Are you satisfied?" the answer returned was, "I am satisfied." Mr. Aston then retired from the ground, and was assisted to his carriage. Happily

the wound is not likely to prove mortal.

DIED, at Kingwood near Bath, aged 101, Mary Rose.

At Fintry Mill, Edinburgh, aged 113, John Buchanan. He retained all his faculties.

At Dundee, aged 107, James Peters, a travelling packman.

J U L Y.

In consequence of a dispute which happened during the 3d. election at Guildford, Mr. John Alcock (nephew to sir Joseph Mawbey) called upon Mr. Sewell; and they met, at seven o'clock this morning, in a field behind Kilburn Wells; the former attended by capt. Burnell, and the latter by capt. Newgell. As soon as they had taken their ground, they both fired together, without effect. Mr. Sewell's second pistol went off accidentally, and the ball lodged in his own foot. Mr. Alcock then fired, and his ball passed through the skirt of Mr. Sewell's coat.—The seconds interposed, and the affair terminated to mutual satisfaction.

A young whale, of the Greenland species, was found this evening among the rocks near Liverpool. It measured 18 feet 6 inches in length, and 10 feet 4 inches in circumference in the largest part. It had been left on shore by the tide, and was nearly dead when discovered.

6th. Was commencement day at Cambridge. On the preceding evening his royal highness the duke of Gloucester arrived at Trinity Lodge; and the next morning was waited upon by the vice-chancellor, noblemen, heads of houses,

doctors, professors, &c. in their respective robes, who conducted him to the senate-house, where his royal highness prince William Frederick, being introduced by Mr. Mansel, the public orator, was admitted to the degree of master of arts.

The company assembled upon the occasion was exceedingly numerous: among others present were Mr. Pitt, the marquis of Huntley, earl of Euston, earl of Hardwicke, lord George Thynne, bishop of Ely, master of the rolls, &c.

The junction of the Birmingham and Coventry canals being completed, boats are preparing to pass twice a week between London and Birmingham. The establishment of water-carriage between places that have such an extensive trade, must greatly assist the commercial interests of the kingdom.

In a peat-bog at Donnadea, near the seat of sir Fitzgerald Aylmer, bart. was lately discovered the sepulchre of some Irish chieftain, at the depth of seventeen feet below the surface of the ground.—In it they found a coffin, 10 feet 4 inches in length, containing a skeleton 8 feet  $2\frac{1}{2}$  in length, with a spear 7 feet long by the side of it; but the handle mouldered away, when exposed to the air, and touched. There were besides in the coffin two small urns of brass, on which were engraven the figures of the sun and moon, of exquisite workmanship, though very antique. This sepulchre is supposed to have been built, and the coffin deposited in it, before the introduction of Christianity into Ireland.

Two duels have lately been fought near Dublin; one between two lieutenants of the 56th regiment of foot; and the other between

a gentleman of Rathfarnham and his attorney. No life was lost in either; but one of the parties in each rencontre was severely wounded.

This day the sessions at the Old Bailey ended, when one capital convict, viz. John Dyer, for forgery, received sentence of death. At this session, John Stymack was indicted, upon the prosecution of his own father, for felony.—Adam Stymack, the father, said, his son had often robbed him, and he felt himself under the painful necessity of bringing him before the court, to save him, if he could, from the gallows.

At this session was tried also Robert Jaques, for a misdemeanor, in having entered into a conspiracy, with one Stanley and others, against the warden of the Fleet prison, by having the said Stanley arrested for a fictitious debt of 800 *l.* and afterwards assisting him to make his escape. He was convicted on the clearest evidence; and the crime appeared so heinous, that the judge pronounced sentence upon him with peculiar energy: “Robert Jaques, you have been convicted of the blackest crime that ever came before a court of justice under the denomination of a misdemeanor, &c. &c.: therefore the sentence of the court is, That you be imprisoned in his majesty’s gaol of Newgate for three years, and that, during that time, you do stand in and on the pillory for one hour, between twelve and three in the day-time, at the Royal Exchange.”

This evening, two young gentlemen, having engaged 11th. a boat at Vauxhall to take them to London Bridge; about twelve at night, when they entered the boat, they

they found another man in it besides the waterman, who, pretending only to want to cross the water, was permitted to remain: but, after a short time, he, with the assistance of the waterman, dragged the young gentlemen ashore, and robbed them of their watches and money.

22d. The election of a common serjeant came on; and Mr. Sylvester being the only candidate, after some conversation concerning the duties of his office, was unanimously chosen *during pleasure*. But this being thought inconsistent with the nature of his office, part of which is to act as a judge in the first criminal court in the kingdom, it was rescinded next court-day.

The following cases were lately decided in the court of king's-bench.

*Case 1.* Brown against Allen.— This action was brought to recover a large sum for the board, lodging, and maintenance of the defendant's wife.

On the part of the plaintiff it was proved, that the defendant's wife had lodged and boarded three years in the house of the plaintiff, during which time he had provided her with money to buy clothes; that she came to his house, as he understood, in consequence of the ill treatment she had received from her husband, who had forcibly turned her out of doors.

The counsel for the defendant gave a quite different account. This case, he said, was marked with the greatest enormity that ever disgraced a court; that the defendant's wife, without any cause, eloped from his house, and deserted her three infant children, and ever since lived in adultery, and had even at times gone by the plaintiff's name.

If causes like this were successful, the condition of a husband would be miserable indeed; for every incontinent wife, after deserting her husband, would call upon him to defray the expences of a life of infamy and prostitution. The plaintiff was non-suited. The judge said, the law was clear on this subject. If a man turned his wife out of doors, whoever received her into his house might bring an action, and recover the sum expended for her necessary maintenance; but if she elopes, he is not liable to any debts she may contract.

*Case 2.* An indictment preferred by the relations of the late earl Cowper against Edward Topham, esq. proprietor of "The World," for a libel, which appeared in that paper on the 17th of February last, against the late earl Cowper.

Mr. Erskine, on the part of the prosecution, admitted that the defendant was only responsible in his relative situation as proprietor of the paper; in which character, however, he must be answerable for every thing inserted in it, even though it was without his knowledge; and, he said, this libel was the more unjustifiable, as it slandered the character of a person deceased, and therefore incapable of protecting his own reputation.

Mr. Topham's property in the paper was proved beyond a doubt; and the charge supposed to be libellous was contained under the title of "Memoirs of Earl Cowper;" in which it was said, that, while at Venice, and in Italy, he led a very dissipated life.

Mr. Mingay, counsel for the defendant, observed, that, however honourable the motives might be of the relations of earl Cowper, who

preferred the indictment, yet he thought there ought to be some measure to their vengeance. They had first prosecuted the printer, who had let judgment go by default; the author was then offered to them, and yet they were not satisfied: but the defendant, though totally ignorant of the business, must be dragged forward to be made a sacrifice at the immaculate tomb of earl Cowper. The jury, after some consideration, found the defendant guilty.

The counsel for the defendant took two exceptions: 1. That the charge could not be a libel, because it defamed no one person *living*. 2. That the defendant, as proprietor, could not be answerable; unless it was proved that he knew of the insertion.

DIED, at his house in Argyle-Street, after two hours illness, major-general William Roy, deputy quarter-master-general, colonel of the 30th regiment of foot, surveyor-general of the coasts, F.R. and A.S.S. He was transacting business at the war-office till eight o'clock the preceding evening. While colonel of artillery, he and his engineers, under colonel Watson, in the winter of 1746, made an actual survey of Scotland, which goes under the name of the Duke of Cumberland's Map, on a very large scale, most accurately pointing out every the smallest spot, with the Roman camps, &c. the original of which is in the ordnance-office. He reduced it, and engraved a few for presents, under the title of "*Mappa Britannæ Septentrionalis facies Romana secundum fidem monumentorum perveterum depicta ex Ricardo Corinensi, monacho Westmonasterii, emendata, & recentioribus geome-*

*tricus atque astronomicis observationibus accommodata.* J. Cheevers, sc." a single sheet, 18 inches by 23 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; drawn by colonels Watson and Roy, and called the King's Map. It has many camps, a good number of Roman names, a few modern ones of towns, and all the rivers and hills properly laid down. His experiments to obtain a rule for measuring heights with barometers may be seen in the "*Philosophical Transactions*," vol. lxxvii.; his curious account of the measurement of a base on Hounslow Heath, in vol. lxxv. for which he was complimented with the Copley medal; his account of the mode proposed to be followed in determining the relative situations of the royal observatories of Greenwich and Paris, in vol. lxxviii. By command of his majesty, he had lately undertaken, and had just completed, a most curious, accurate, and elaborate set of trigonometrical experiments and observations to determine the true and exact latitude and longitude of the two royal observatories of Greenwich and Paris; an account of which, illustrated by tables computed from actual measurements (to take which, his majesty had furnished him with some very expensive trigonometrical instruments), he had drawn up and presented to the royal society, and was superintending the printing of it in their "*Transactions*" at the time of his death.

At Edinburgh, Adam Smith, esq. LL.D. and F.R.S. of London and Edinburgh, one of the commissioners of the customs in Scotland, and formerly professor of moral philosophy in the university of Glasgow, which he gave up to travel with the present duke of Buccleugh. In 1759 he published "*The Theory*"  
of

of Moral Sentiments," 8vo; and in 1776, "The Wealth of Nations," 2 vols. 4to.

In Newgate, the Rev. Mr. Withers, confined there ever since November last, for a libel on Mrs. Fitzherbert.

AUGUST.

An uncommonly dreadful and destructive storm has fallen, on the 30th of July, at Monymuck, the seat of Sir Archibald Grant, and its neighbourhood. About ten o'clock in the morning the sky was overcast, and a thick, dark cloud settled to the eastward. Some flashes of lightning soon appeared, which were followed by a dreadful clap of thunder, that seemed to burst just overhead, and then to roll along for some minutes in a direction from north to south. This affrighting clap was succeeded by several others, before the clouds rent, and let fall such showers of ice and hail, as no man in that part of the country was ever witness to before. The hail was of the size of a musket-ball, with an angular point generally, and cut, or rather crushed, every thing they fell upon. The potatoes, turneps, and greens of every kind growing in the gardens, were laid flat and covered with its weight, which in some places lay three feet deep. On that day Sir Archibald Grant filled his ice-house; though, what is remarkable, during the whole course of the winter, he was unable to collect a quantity of snow sufficient for the purpose. It is not easy to conceive the general consternation of the country people on this occasion. Some feared for their sheep and cattle; some for themselves and children, lest they

should all be smothered together in the ruins of their houses; while others trembled, thinking the great day come, when all things were to be at an end, and the world destroyed by fire.

The important event of opening the Forth and Clyde navigation from sea to sea took place, on the 28th of the last month, by the sailing of a track-barge from the basin of the canal near Glasgow to the river Clyde at Bowling Bay, descending thereby 150 feet. In the course of her voyage she passed along that stupendous aqueduct over the Kelvin, a new object to passengers below, exhibiting a vessel navigating 70 feet over their heads.

The following are the sums bought by the commissioners for reducing the national debt.

Consol. 3 per cent.	£.2,509,800
Reduced ditto	- 1,540,700
Old South Sea	- 994,900
New ditto	- 725,500
South Sea, 1751	- 227,000
	<hr/>
	5,997,900

Francis Fonton, one of the clerks in the 3 per cent. bank annuity office at the bank of England, was brought before William Addington, esq. at the public office in Bow Street, and underwent a long examination. He was charged on the oaths of William Edwards, esq. accomptant-general of the bank, John Beard, and Robert Hands, for knowingly and wilfully uttering, forging, and counterfeiting the name of William Baker, as the proprietor of a sum of 550*l.* in the 3 per cent. annuity, and thereby transferring the said sum of 550*l.* and receiving, or endeavouring to receive, the same, as his own property, with an intent to cheat and defraud the governor and company

of the bank of England. The fact being clearly proved, he was fully committed to New Prison, Clerkenwell, for trial, and the parties bound over to prosecute. He has been a clerk in the bank near twenty years, and bore the best of characters.

Same morning, at half past seven o'clock, John Dyer, for forgery, was brought out of Newgate, and, after the usual solemnities, was executed before the debtors gate in the Old Bailey, pursuant to his sentence. He was only 22 years of age, and was brought up at Westminster-school.

Parliament met, and was 10th. prorogued to the 12th of October.

28th. Mr. Powell, the celebrated pedestrian, arrived in London from York. He set out on the 22d from the monument in London to walk to York and back again in five days and eighteen hours, which is the same time he performed this journey in the year 1773; the wager 10 guineas to 13. On Monday night he reached Stamford, where he slept; on Tuesday night, at twelve, he reached Doncaster, and arrived in York at 25 minutes after one on Wednesday noon; set out on his return a quarter after four in the afternoon, reached Ferrybridge that evening, passed through Doncaster at eight o'clock on Thursday morning, and arrived at Grantham in the evening, where he slept; at five o'clock on Friday morning he pursued his journey, and arrived at Biggleswade that evening, where he also slept; set out at half past four o'clock on Saturday morning, and arrived at the monument at ten minutes past four in the afternoon (being one hour and fifty minutes

within the time), amidst the acclamations of a vast concourse of people.

Mr. Spellard, for many years quarter-master in the 16th (or queen's) regiment of light dragoons, known by the name of Burgoyne's, and who was captured with that general and lord Cornwallis in America, has lately arrived at Boston from Gibraltar; and is an instance of the good effects that walking has upon the health. This gentleman is considered as one of the first walkers in Europe—he has lately walked through every county in England and Ireland, through France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and a great part of the Barbary States, particularly from Tangiers to Mequinez and Fez in Morocco, and through the Arabs country; he has also walked about 790 miles since he arrived in America.

DIED, in Russia, aged 31, James Trevenen, esq. a lieutenant in the British navy, and a post-captain in the Russian service. In the action with the Swedish fleet off Wyburg, on the 4th of July, he carried a commodore's pendant, and, after having gallantly distinguished himself, was mortally wounded by the last shot fired by the enemy, and died on the 9th. He was a native of Cornwall, and of a very respectable family in that county. He received his education at the royal academy of Portsmouth; and in the year 1776 embarked as a midshipman with capt. Cook, on his last voyage to the South Seas. In taking astronomical observations, and surveying the various coasts, he proved an able assistant to that great navigator, who justly considered him as a young gentleman of ample promise to do honour to the service and to his

his country. On his return from that expedition, in 1780, he was promoted by the earl of Sandwich to the rank of lieutenant; in which capacity he failed, till the conclusion of the war, with capt. King, who had the highest esteem and friendship for him. Being impatient of an inactive life, in the year 1787 he solicited employment of lord Howe, then at the head of the admiralty; but, unfortunately for the naval service of this country, his application proved ineffectual. This refusal induced him to draw up a plan of discovery, and a proposal for opening an intercourse by sea between Kamtschatka and Japan, and the northern parts of China; which was laid before the empress of Russia, and so well approved of by her, that she immediately sent an officer express to invite him over to carry it into execution. He arrived at Petersburg the latter end of 1787; but the war with the Turks breaking out, put a stop to the intended expedition, and he was prevailed upon to accept the command of a ship of the line. In the various engagements that have taken place in the Baltic, since the commencement of hostilities between Russia and Sweden, he has borne a very active part, and has been honoured with repeated marks of the empress's favour; and doubtless, had he lived, would soon have arrived at the first rank in her service. He was a man of strong natural abilities, greatly improved by cultivation; and possessed a high sense of honour, and a liberal enlightened mind. To the manly courage, and the open generosity of a British sailor, he united, in an eminent degree, the education and the manners of a gentleman. To those who

had the pleasure of knowing him, his death is deeply distressing; and to his country the loss of so accomplished an officer will not easily be repaired.

At his head-quarters in Moravia, of a fever, in consequence of an operation he underwent for an obstruction in the urethra, Field-marshal Laudohn, commander in chief of the Austrian forces. His impatience under the medical applications, the impetuous ardour of his character, and the knowledge, above all, of his importance in the war, contributed to irritate his mind, and promote the violence of the fever. He resisted the application of cataplasms, before and after the incisions were made, with a fatal obstinacy, which raised the inflammation to such an height, that he expired under the accession of the fever.—He was born in 1716; was a native of Livonia; and descended from a Scottish family.

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S E P T E M B E R.

*Warsaw,* We have at length had, in the person of Prince *Sept. 1.* Poninski, Grand Treasurer of the Crown, a striking instance of the instability of fortune, or more properly speaking, of the certain retribution which sooner or later awaits those who build their own greatness at the expence of the reputation of their country. It is unnecessary to recount either the unlimited power he possessed at the famous Diet of Delegation, of which he was Marshall, and of the Division of Poland, or the criminal process instituted against him, after an interval of sixteen years, for having

at the above period betrayed (owing to personal views) the dearest interests of the state. The business, it was thought, would by degrees have died away, but was on a sudden resumed again; and on the resumption of it at the session of the Diet of the 10th ult. very strong debates took place. The Grand Treasurer, foreseeing the result of them, resolved to avoid the consequences of it by a second flight; and though released for the first offence on his parole, he secretly quitted Warsaw on Sunday the 29th of last month, but was met on the road by the same Captain who guarded him the first time he made his escape, and who was near paying so very dear for it. This officer met him fifteen leagues from this place, seized him, and brought him back to Warsaw. This day the delinquent was brought before the tribunal of the Diet, which was assembled on Saturday and Sunday last, from the morning till late at night. The sentence, which was read to him, declares him "*a traitor to his country*," of course divested of his nobility, dignities, functions, and employments; condemns him to be stripped of the orders with which he has been decorated; that he shall quit Warsaw within twenty-four hours, and the country within four weeks; after which, any Judge or Jurisdiction, who finds him on the territory of the Republic may arrest him, and punish him with death. Prince Poniński, who heard the judgment pronounced at the bar of the tribunal, must further submit to the degrading mortification of assisting at its publication before all the people assembled on the square before the Town-hall, where the insignia of the orders with which he has been

decorated are to be torn from him, and from whence he is afterwards to be conducted through the principal streets, accompanied by a crier, who is to proclaim, "Such is the fate of traitors to their country." However, the punishment of the culprit will be personal, and will not affect his consort, children, brothers, or any of his family or posterity.

At the Old Bailey, Barrington was put to the bar, indicted 17th. for stealing a gold watch, the property of H. H. Townsend, esq. at Enfield races. He was very genteelly dressed. He challenged one of the jury, a Mr. Milt, peremptorily, which was allowed. Mr. Townsend gave a very clear and decisive evidence of his losing the watch from his waistcoat pocket—that as he was leading his horse to the post, some person pushed by him in a violent manner, twice. That on being shewn him, by a Mr. Bades, as Barrington, he recognized him as the person who had pushed by him, and immediately secured and carried him to a booth. Here it was proved by several witnesses that Barrington dropt a watch behind him, which was taken up immediately, and proved to be Mr. Townsend's. Some of the witnesses saw the watch falling from him, and were positive it could come from no other quarter.

Before he pleaded in his defence, he requested to be heard; which being granted, he addressed the court as follows:

"My lords! At the time of my apprehension I had in my pocket a silk purse, containing twenty-two guineas and silver. This property was forcibly taken from me, and although I have applied to have it returned,



returned, it is still detained; under what pretext, I am totally at a loss to know. Perhaps I share, in common with other miserable men in my situation, this hardship, I had almost said cruelty; because, to deprive prisoners of their property, is tantamount to withholding the means of their defence, and the chance of proving their innocence. I am advised, my lord, that such proceedings are illegal, and directly contrary to a positive act of parliament (11th Henry VII). I therefore leave it to your lordships, who, I am convinced, will give such directions as are consistent with sacred law and strict justice."

The judges ordered the money to be returned; which was accordingly done, in open court.

Being now called upon for his defence, he said, "I am placed in a very distressing situation; if I am silent, it may lead to an opinion of my guilt; if I speak too boldly, it may occasion the jury to distrust any thing which I may advance; on either side I am likely to be involved in some danger. I hope, however, that the gentlemen of the jury, advertng only to the present affair, will indulge me with some favour, and credit that which wears the semblance of truth.

"The evidence adduced against me is, in many parts, defective and inconsistent; and that of Mary Danby I am inclined to think rather unfair, as it never was heard of until this day." When Mr. Townsend came up to me at Enfield races, he said my name was Barington, and that I had robbed him of his watch. I answered him, that in the first he was right, but that as to the robbery he was perfectly wrong. I was then, amidst a great

tumult, conveyed to the booth; and a very great misfortune it is for me that you have not seen that booth, and might thereby be enabled to judge how probable it is that another person might drop the watch over the rails.

"I was standing close to the rails when the watch was claimed, and am sorry that this material part should be varied by the evidence.—The coachman said before justice Hubbard, that he did not see it fall, and the probability that he would have called out if he had, tended very much to invalidate his evidence. He was asked before Mr. Hubbard, whether he could swear to the watch; and although he at that time declined it, yet he now comes forward, and positively affirms what he had before doubted.

"From Mr. Townsend's situation, who was anxious, amid a crowd, to carefs a winning horse, it is more than probable that in the squeezing his watch might either have tumbled out of his pocket, or might have been taken by some person, who, feeling for my situation when forcibly detained in the booth, might have thrown it at my feet, to save an innocent man.

"I am sensible that common report has injured my character, and it may well be expected that the assertions in newspapers have considerably hurt my reputation for integrity: of this I am conscious that many now present are convinced; but I can, however, trust my fate to the noble nature of a British court. Life is the gift of God—liberty the greatest blessing; and they cannot rest more secure than in the breast of an English jury, who delight not in blood, but whose only failing is—Humanity."

"It

“ It is probably expected that I shall make an appeal to the passions—and if I can be thought with justice to appeal to them, I will think myself fortunate; for to the passions we owe benevolence, the best of virtues.

“ I am now just thirty-two years of age, and from the enjoyments of my past life I am not very impatient about the other thirty-two years which I may reasonably suppose to come:—the uncertainty of human happiness I have often remarked, and have always considered a tranquil heart as the greatest blessing:—the thought of death may appal the rich, but it is not so hideous in my eyes, who have been continually involved in misery.

“ I have an affectionate companion, and an infant offspring, whose countenances have cheered me through all my misfortunes; my good name is lost in this land; but should I be so happy as to overcome the present accusation, I will retire to some far distant land, where simplicity of manners will not render me a subject of suspicion, and rather starve upon the pavement than be brought into this predicament again.

“ If the gentlemen of the jury think me innocent of the present accusation, I pledge myself to endeavour to recover my lost character; and I hope, that by my conduct my future life will as largely deserve applause, as my past has been subject to censure and suspicion.”

Baron Eyre then proceeded (no evidence whatever being offered on behalf of the prisoner) to recapitulate the evidence, which he did with the utmost precision and impartiality; and the jury, with little

or no hesitation, brought in their verdict—*Guilty!*

The lord chief Baron then addressed Barrington in a manner that reflected the highest honour upon him. He observed to him, that during the whole of his trial he had behaved to him with the same impartiality as if he had never before seen him at that bar. The event, however, being over, and there being no danger of prejudicing him in the minds of those who heard him, he could not help reminding him that, he had just escaped, by the lenity of his prosecutor, that fate which the offended laws of his country had richly demanded. He was sorry to see talents such as he possessed so basely and so shamefully prostituted; and he could not help expressing his fears, that from the many ineffectual warnings he had had, both in his own person, and a thousand other instances, he would, notwithstanding, persist in his evil courses, till he should meet with a shameful and ignominious termination of his existence.

Barrington bowed, and retired.

On the 22d, upon receiving his sentence, he called the attention of the court to the following speech:

“ My Lord,

“ I have much to say in extenuation of the crime for which I stand convicted; but, upon consideration, I will not arrest the attention of the court too long. Amongst the extraordinary vicissitudes incident to human nature, it is the peculiar and unfortunate lot of some persons to have their best wishes and most earnest endeavours to deserve the good opinion of society entirely frustrated; whatever they say or do, every action and its motive is misinterpreted and twisted from the real

real intention. That this has been my fate, does not stand in need of any confirmation. Every effort to deserve well of mankind, that my heart bore witness to its rectitude, has been constantly thwarted, and rendered abortive. Many of the circumstances of my life have therefore happened in spite of myself.

“ The world has given me credit for abilities, indeed much more than I deserved: but I have found no kind hand to foster those abilities. I might ask, Where was the generous and powerful hand that was stretched forth to rescue George Barrington from infamy? In an age like this, which in many respects is so justly famed for liberal sentiments, it was my hard lot that no noble-minded gentleman stepped forward and said, “ You are possessed of abilities which may be useful to society. I feel for your situation, and as long as you act the part of a good citizen I will be your protector; you will then have time and opportunity to rescue yourself from the obloquy of your former conduct.” Alas! my lord! George Barrington had never the supreme felicity of having such comfort administered to his wounded spirit.

“ As it is, the die is cast, and I bend to my fate without one murmur or complaint.”

On the 20th inst. another duel was fought at Margate, between Mr. Stephens, a young gentleman of twenty years of age, only surviving son of Philip Stephens, esq. of the Admiralty; and Mr. Anderson, an attorney. The parties met at Kingsgate, and, after exchanging shots without effect, the seconds interposed. Mr. Stephens insisted

on an apology: Mr. Anderson said, he could not apologize for words he had never used. They again took their ground, and, firing together, Mr. Anderson's ball entered the head of Mr. Stephens, and killed him on the spot. Mr. Anderson was apprehended; and, as the offence was committed within the jurisdiction of the Cinque Ports, he will, by a law peculiar to that port, be immediately tried, without waiting for the assizes. The coroner's inquest have brought it in “ Man-  
“ slaughter.”

Being Michaelmas-day, a Common Hall was convened 29th, at Guildhall, as usual, for the choice of a Lord Mayor for the year ensuing; when alderman John Boydell was chosen without opposition.

DIED, 10th. at his apartments in Greenwich hospital, sincerely regretted by all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance, Capt. John Gore, one of the captains of Greenwich hospital, a most experienced seaman, and an honour to his profession. He had sailed four times round the world; 1st, with Comm. Byron; 2dly, with Capt. Wallace; and the two last times with Capt. James Cook.

At Richmond, in the county of York, aged 105, Mrs. Todd.

Near Havant, Hants, aged 102 years, 6 months, and 8 days, Mr. John Coomer.

At Imley hall, the seat of lord Dudley and Ward, Charles Norris, Mus. Bac. whose name will hold a respectable rank in the annals of English music, while his mild virtues and inoffensive disposition will be remembered with regret by all who knew him.

David Ross, Esq; late patentee  
of

of the theatre-royal at Edinburgh, and well known over the three kingdoms for his merit as an actor.

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OCTOBER.

A letter has been received from Samuel Burt, the person convicted of forgery, but pardoned on condition of going to New South Wales; dated from on board the Scarborough transport, False Bay, which contains the following account:

“ On the 12th of February, our ship having separated from the Surprise transport, the Neptune being a great way a-head, and the sea perfectly calm, the convicts began to whisper from one to the other their mutinous intentions; the plot being communicated to myself, I readily agreed to the scheme, assenting to every proposal of plunder and murder, until such time as I became completely master of the conspiracy, and the ringleaders of it. I then apprised the captain of the ship, and the military officers, of the danger they were likely to encounter; and so thoroughly did my information prepare them for the business, that with little or no trouble the ringleaders were secured, and the scheme entirely frustrated. The particulars being enquired into, they made such confessions that human nature would almost shudder at the thoughts of. Several of them have been flogged with the greatest severity, and others of more dangerous description are at this time chained to the deck, and it is supposed will be tried and executed immediately, on their arrival in New South Wales.”

The circumstances of Burt's case were rather remarkable. Being re-

jected by a woman whom he wished to marry, he committed a forgery, and immediately afterwards surrendered himself at Bow-street, for the purpose of getting hanged. Being considered as an object of compassion, he was offered his majesty's most gracious pardon, which he twice or thrice refused. The lady at length consented to marry him, and he then became as solicitous to live, as he had before been anxious for death: but, during her repeated visits to him in Newgate, she caught the gaol fever, and died.

Macleod, the Scotchman, aged 102, walked ten miles on 9th the Hammer-smith road, for a wager of 100 guineas. Two hours and a half was the time given, but he covered the ground in two hours and twenty-three minutes.

A Spaniard, calling himself Jose Seylink, was apprehended at Plymouth by two boatmen, on suspicion of being a spy. He was carried before admiral Greaves, who sent him to the mayor of that town for examination.—His papers being inspected, it appeared he came from London on the 1st of October, and went to Oxford, Bath, Bristol, and Exeter, and from thence to Plymouth, and wished to go to Falmouth. He was anxious to know how many ships were there, wished to view the dock, magazine, &c. He seems an intelligent, sensible man, and had many shrewd remarks on the government and police of Great Britain in his journal, which was written in French.

Jose Seylink, the Spaniard, 10th. underwent another examination—but nothing material came out against him. He says he came hither to view the arsenal, fleet, citadel,

magazines, &c. as he had at Portsmouth. He said he was *une Citoyen du Monde*; that his passport was *Pargent* (shewing some silver), and that his companions were his books. On being questioned why he came by way of Oxford, &c. he said to see the country, and that he came here to go to Falmouth to embark for Lisbon—said he knew none of his own nation in London—that he wished not to be recognized by them, and that he was a man of no note in his own country.

He had a good map of the coast with him: but persisted that he had no other object than curiosity—to gratify his wish to know the manners and customs of England.

It is somewhat remarkable that he was averse to write to the Spanish ambassador in London, which occasions a conjecture that he is not a Spaniard, but a Frenchman.

On Tuesday the 12th inst. the people of Dartford and its neighbourhood were terribly alarmed by the blowing-up of the powder-mills within a short mile of that town.

No certain account can be given of the manner by which the fatal spark was communicated to the gunpowder in the corning-house, which was the first building that blew up. No work was carrying on in that place at the time the fatal accident happened: it is therefore supposed that some electric fire had entered the building, and ignited the loose gunpowder. From hence the explosion instantly communicated itself to the stoves, to five powder-mills, and to a close magazine containing 25 barrels of gunpowder, which from their confined state, spread dreadful devastation around. The stoves, corning-house and magazines, were instantly levelled with the earth; the

strong beams were shivered in pieces, and thrown every where around to a considerable distance; and broken bricks, tiles, and pieces of wood, showered ruin on the neighbouring fields.

The doors of a magazine which stands at a small distance from the works, to the S.W. up the river, and which contains near 200 barrels of gunpowder, were forced open by the explosion; but the wind blowing with great violence from that quarter, providentially prevented the flash from reaching it: for had it communicated with this last, the whole town of Dartford would probably have been laid in ruins.

Six men were destroyed in the dreadful havock, most of whom have left wives and families behind them. The foreman of the works has left a wife and seven children.

A cause came on in the sheriff's court at Guildhall, in <sup>21st</sup> which John Wilkes, esq. as chamberlain of the city of London, was plaintiff, and John Pardoe, esq. defendant. The action was brought to recover the sum of 600*l.* being the penalty which is ordained by a bye-law of the court of Common Council, to be paid for declining to serve the office of sheriff of London, to which office the defendant had been elected in the year 1783; but refused to serve, on the ground of his being incapacitated. It appeared that Mr. Pardoe, when he was chosen sheriff, was sixty-nine years of age, in an infirm state of health, and totally unfit to serve the office of sheriff. The jury, which was special, gave a verdict for the defendant.

*Canterbury, Oct. 28.* Yesterday morning, at ten o'clock, Mr. Foster Powell, the celebrated pedestrian, set off from the Talbot inn, in this city,

to walk to St. George's church, Southwark, and back again, which he had engaged to perform in 24 hours, for a wager of 60 guineas. At ten o'clock this morning he reached Canterbury within two miles, and consequently lost his wager. His failure was occasioned by mistaking the road through the darkness of the night, and going round by Greenwich, where he fell down several times. He was brought the remainder of the way in a carriage, very much exhausted.

30th. On Monday last, two troops of the Oxford blues, from Peterborough, marched into Nottingham, intimation having been given of an intended riot among the framework knitters there.

On Tuesday an outrageous mob collected, and proceeded to such acts of violence, that the military were under the necessity of firing upon them; by which many were wounded, and upwards of forty of the rioters were seized and sent to prison.

The disturbance had not subsided on Wednesday, on which day one of the officers was much hurt by some glass bottles thrown at him.

Intelligence is arrived that Mr. M'Kendrie, who undertook, between two and three years ago, to penetrate from Montreal to the ocean, has performed his enterprize. He took a course north-westward from Montreal, and he reached the ocean, according to his observation, about the 69th degree of northern latitude. In his track he found the country very unpromising for trade, and very uninviting otherways.

30th. This day is made memorable in the annals of London, by the trial of two incendiaries (the most dangerous set of villains that ever entered into combination for the de-

vastation of a great and populous city), namely Edward Lowe, and William Jobbins; the first in the 23d year of his age; the other only in his 19th year. These miscreants, in concert with James Flindall, an old offender, and Catherine the wife of Lowe, conceived the horrid design of setting fire to the houses of their opulent neighbours, not from malice to their persons, or any dislike of their characters, but merely for the sake of plunder.

Fortunately, they were detected while they were yet but young in this villainy. Had they lived to become proficient, it is not easy to say to what an extent of devastation they might have carried their mischievous machinations. At their outset, it appeared upon this trial, that they had destroyed property to the value of *forty thousand pounds*, though all the plunder they had been able to realize, at the risque of their lives, did not exceed *half so many pence*.

Flindall, being asked by the prisoners' counsel how he had maintained himself before this affair happened, made answer, with astonishing assurance in the face of the whole court, *by robbery and thieving*. This fellow being further asked, by the same counsel, Did you not fear that the plan of burning houses might be fatal to the lives of many people? plainly shewed by his answer, that it was the very principle he went upon, that, when men were waked from their sleep with their houses on fire, they would have little concern about their property, while under the terror of perishing in the flames; so that the incendiaries might enrich themselves with the plunder before the owners had recovered their consternation.

DIED,

DIED, at Bourn, in the county of Lincoln, aged 102, James Quantborough.

At Battyready, near Ross, Ireland, aged 107, William Butler.

At the Hague, in the 84th year of his age, and 60th of his ministry, Henry Fagel, greffier to the States General. He is succeeded in his office by his grandson.

Mr. John Edwin, the Comedian.

NOVEMBER.

Advices have been received at Madrid, that the city of Oran, on the coast of Africa, has been almost entirely demolished by a violent earthquake; that twenty successive shocks were felt at short intervals. The whole city is destroyed, and a great part of the inhabitants and of the garrison are buried under the ruins. Almost all the forts which cover that place and its district are open or destroyed, so as not to be in a situation to resist an attack. The interior part of the garrison is in ruins in many places, and the considerable number of people, who were wounded and not actually killed by this disaster, remained without assistance.

Accounts have also been received from Carthage, of a fire which happened a short time ago in that dockyard, and which, besides doing other damage, has entirely consumed a new ship of the line.

15th. A violent storm blew from the south-west. Amongst the many accidents by falls of chimnies in the metropolis, the most remarkable happened at the house of J. Angerstein, esq. in Pall-Mall. A stack in the center of the house broke

through the roof, and carried before it the floors of all the stories, leaving the hall open to the roof. Mrs. Angerstein, who was at breakfast in her dressing-room, was left behind on the remains of its floor, with her maid: the men-servants had just before quitted the hall.

At Serjeant's-inn-hall, eleven of the Judges consulted upon the case reserved at the Old-Bailey session, respecting the indictment against Renwick Williams, the supposed *Monster*.

The questions were, first, Whether his having an intention to cut the person of Miss Porter, and in carrying that intention into execution, cutting the garments of that lady, is an offence, within the statute of 6 Geo. I. c. 23. s. 11. on which he was convicted; the jury giving in their verdict, found, that in cutting her person he had thereby an intention to cut her garments? Secondly, Whether the statute being in the *conjunctive*, "That if any person shall assault another with an intent to cut the garment of such person, and shall cut the garment of such person, then the offender shall be guilty of felony;" and the indictment, in stating the intention, not having connected it with the act, by inserting the words that he "*then and there*" did cut her garment, could be supported in point of form?

Nine of the eleven judges were of opinion, that the offence, notwithstanding the finding of the jury, was not within the statute, and that the indictment was bad in point of form. This determination declares the offence to be only a misdemeanor, for which, in all probability, Williams will be indicted at the next sessions at Hicks's-hall.

18th. The Recorder of London made his report of the convicts in Newgate, at the two last sessions, when Edward Lowe and William Jobbins, the two incendiaries, were ordered for execution in Aldersgate-street, which has since taken place, over-against the ruins of Mr. Gilding's house. At the same time the following were ordered for execution, at the usual place, viz. Francis Fonton, and Thomas Tyler, for forgeries; and James Royer, James Smith, and Edward Ivory, for counterfeiting the current coin of the kingdom; these have likewise been executed. But William Slaughter, James Sullivan, William Burbridge, and Thomas Durkin, for burglaries, were ordered for transportation; as was Thomas Brown, for privately stealing. Jane Norton, for shoplifting, was ordered to be imprisoned for twelve months. And Joseph Biggs, George Storey, and Thomas Dunken, for breaking a house with intent to rob, were respited during pleasure.

21st. A very severe storm of thunder, lightning, and rain, came on at London, but nothing like that which took place in the southern parts of Hampshire and Wilts. The Elephant, of 74 guns, was struck in Portsmouth harbour, in a manner scarcely to be described. The lightning seemed first to have struck the heel of the main top-mast, and from thence to have descended down the body of the mast, which, though a stick of immense size, is shivered to splinters. The iron hoops that surrounded it, and the woldings, were every one broke in small pieces, and parts thereof driven to the extreme parts of the ship; both fore and aft; the sulphurous smell, when the ship was first struck, was so very powerful, that it was difficult the people

below could breathe. This caused an alarm that the ship was on fire, than which nothing can be more dreadful on board a man-of-war. In this fearful moment of suspense, an immense shower of the largest hail ever seen, added to the terrors of the night. But the greatest part of the officers and crew being in bed (it being near eleven o'clock at night) or under cover, the direful effects that might have been expected from this disaster were hardly felt by many on board.

Was solemnly argued and determined, in the court of <sup>26th.</sup> King's Bench, a question of considerable importance to the mercantile world. It came before the court upon a motion for a new trial, in a cause, in which a Mr. Mead was plaintiff, and Mess. Young and Co. defendants. The action was brought against the defendants, and the acceptors of a bill of exchange, under the following circumstances. The bill was drawn by a Mr. Christian, who is resident at Dunkirk, and dated from that place. It was sent to the defendants, who live in London, and made payable to a Mr. Henry Davis. The defendants, knowing it to be a bill of their correspondent, accordingly accepted it. The bill afterwards surreptitiously got into the hands of another Henry Davis, who fraudulently put his name on the back, and carried it to the plaintiff, who, finding the acceptors were men of responsibility, gave him the value of it, not entertaining the least doubt but that he was the same Henry Davis to whom it was payable.

After hearing the counsel on both sides, lord Kenyon said, he was then of the same opinion as he entertained when he directed the jury to find a verdict for the plaintiff, upon the trials



trial. His lordship conceived that, no fraud having been imputed to the plaintiff, there was no legal ground to preclude him from the right of recovering upon this bill; and he was of opinion, that if any man took a bill payable to a certain name, and it is indorsed by the person of that name, such indorsement was a legal transfer, although it might afterwards turn out that the indorser was not the same person to whom it was made payable. Unless this doctrine were admitted, an insuperable clog would be introduced to the negotiation of bills of exchange, which must destroy the whole of that species of paper credit.

Justices Ashurst, Buller, and Grose, totally differed from the Lord Chief Justice, and stated their reasons with great deference in opposition to so high an authority. All these learned judges said, that the indorsement of the bill in question was unquestionably a capital forgery, and that no legal right could be derived under forgery or fraud. It were better that a clog should be put to bills of exchange, than they should be negotiated by means of forgery; but they conceived that no inconvenience to trade would accrue to mercantile transactions by depriving the plaintiff.

*Salisbury, Nov. 27.* The inhabitants of this city were visited last Sunday evening with a very tremendous storm of lightning and thunder, accompanied with a very heavy fall of rain. The high impending clouds were so highly charged with the electric matter, that the lightning, which was unusually vivid and strong, appeared to roll along the ground like a body of liquid fire, and its frequent flashes

were so instantaneously succeeded by such terrible bursts of thunder, that many persons were exceedingly alarmed, and almost every house felt an instantaneous shock from its powerful effects. At the Three Swans inn a stack of chimnies was thrown down with great violence, and much damage was done to two rooms within the house, the windows of which were broken, and much of the furniture destroyed. By accounts from different parts of the country, we learn, that this storm, which began at Portsmouth, continued from Saturday noon, the 21st, to Monday night, and that its effects were equally awful and destructive in many places.

It has been laid down as a law in the court of King's Bench this term, that a wager, in itself *legal*, is not recoverable if laid on an *illegal* object; for instance, no winnings can be recovered on the event of a boxing-match, because the object of a bet in the case is a *breach of the peace*; and so it will operate with a wager laid on a horse-race, provided the sum raced for is below what the act of parliament stipulates.

It has likewise been laid down as law this term, that the keeper of a livery-stable cannot detain a horse for his keep, though an inn-keeper can. The livery-stable keeper is supposed to know the person from whom he receives a horse, and to make a bargain for his keep; but an inn-keeper is from necessity obliged to receive all that come; and without such a remedy, he would be subject to many impositions, which the prudent livery-stable-keeper may avoid if he pleases; at least so says Lord Kenyon.

DIED, The Rev. Michael Lort,  
[P] D.D.

D. D. F. R. S. and F. A. S. well known to the literati of this and other countries, as a man of learning, and a collector of curious and valuable books.

At Vagg farm (near Yeovil, in the county of Somersfet), which he had rented 60 years, Thomas Beer, aged 101.

Hannah Wilkinson, aged 108.

In Jamaica, aged 100, Mrs. E. Gibbon, a native of Port Royal.

At Maryport, Cumberland, aged 107, Joseph Peale.

At Aberdeen, aged 105, Ann Bannerman.

At Crumlin, Ireland, aged 100, Mrs. Mary Tench.

At Athely, Lancashire, aged 102 years 15 months, Isaac Hyde.

Mr. Kendal, the celebrated constructor of time-keepers.

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## D E C E M B E R.

1st. The wrecked vessels on the French and Flemish coasts exhibit at this time too many melancholy effects of the late hurricane. No less than twenty-five sail of vessels were lost between Holland and Cherbourg; and more than 400 bodies have been picked up on the sands between Ostend and Boulogne.

3d. On Friday last lord viscount Falkland attended the court of king's bench, to receive his sentence, for an assault on Mr. Henry Seymour, an ironmonger at Maidenhead. Mr. justice Ashhurst observed to his lordship, that the law, much to its honour, regarded the meanest subjects as much as those of the highest rank, and that no elevation could place a man beyond the reach of justice. He then sentenced the

right hon. lord to pay a fine of 20*l*.

Francis Fonton and Thomas Tyler, for forgery; James 8th. Royer, James Smith, and Edward Ivory, for coining; were executed in the Old Bailey, pursuant to their sentences.

At ten o'clock this morning the session at the Old Bailey was opened by the lord mayor, judges Buller and Ashhurst, and the aldermen Newnham and Newman.

Newrick Williams was put to the bar.

Judge Ashhurst spoke nearly to the following purport:

Prisoner, You have been capitally indicted upon the statute of the 6th of Geo. I. for that you did on the 18th of January last, in the parish of St. James's, wilfully and maliciously assault Ann Porter, and that you did, with force and arms, tear, spoil, cut, and deface her garment, namely, a silk gown, and other apparel; and the jury have found you guilty; but your counsel have arrested the judgment upon two grounds; *first*, to the form of the indictment; *secondly*, to the applicability of the act of parliament to your particular offence. A majority of the judges have, after solemn consideration, determined that both the objections in arrest of judgment are well founded. The objection to the words of the indictment, that you did *then and there* make an assault, and cut and tear Ann Porter's garment, being stated to be done both at one and the same time, is bad in law, for the assault might be made at one time and place, and the cutting and tearing at another. In framing indictments upon acts of parliament which affect life, the law requires that the utmost

utmost precision should be observed. With respect to the second objection, namely, that your crime is not within the intent of the act, it is considered that the act is made for a particular purpose, that of wantonly cutting, tearing, &c. for the mere sake of mischief, and not with any previous malicious intention. Now an assault, cutting, &c. must have such a premeditated intention, and therefore the indictment is not within the purview of the act. But although the lenity of the law has so far judged favourably of your case, yet God forbid that the common law of the land should not reach such an enormity as you have committed, and that you should not be punished for your temerity: you are therefore to be remanded, to take your trial for the misdemeanour at common law."

13th. Renwick Williams was brought from Newgate to the sessions house on Clerkenwell Green, and put on his trial.

Mr. Pigott opened on behalf of the crown, and told the jury that the indictment was for an *assault* and *battery* only.

The evidence of Miss Ann Porter and her sister was then given. It was in substance the same as that delivered on the former trial. All the other evidence was in the same state.

At half past one next morning the cause ended; and the jury, after consulting ten minutes, found him *Guilty*.

He was convicted on two other indictments, and has been sentenced to six years imprisonment.

14th. A chapter of the most noble order of the garter was held after the levee broke up, at which were present the king, prince of Wales, dukes of York and Gloucester, and marquis of Stafford, when his

serene highness the duke of Saxe Gotha, his grace the duke of Leeds, and the earl of Chatham, were chosen to fill up the vacant stalls. The duke of Leeds and earl Chatham were severally introduced, and, after being knighted, were invested with the blue ribbon, with the usual ceremonies.

Sunday morning last the inhabitants of Banbury were alarmed by the sudden falling in of the principal aisle of the church, for the taking down and rebuilding of which an act had passed in the last parliament. Providentially several persons had just left church; and had it not fallen, it was intended that the workmen should have begun taking it down on the morrow, in which case many lives would probably have been lost. The crash was heard near two miles from the spot. On the following day the tower likewise fell.

The adjourned session at 18th. the Old Bailey ended, when 35 men and 4 women, capitally convicted, received his majesty's pardon on condition of being transported during their natural lives; three were pardoned on condition of being transported for 14 years; and two for 7 years. Mary Talbot refused to accept his majesty's pardon. She said her return from transportation was on account of three dear infants, and that as she could not take them with her, she had rather die. The recorder pointed out the dreadful precipice on which she stood; as it was most likely, when her refusal was reported to his majesty, she would be ordered for execution. She still persisted, and was taken from the bar in strong convulsions. The behaviour of some of the convicts upon the above occasion was extremely riotous, insolent, and noisy.

20th. At Dover, the indictment preferred against Mr. Anderson, for killing Mr. Stephens, in a duel at Margate, was returned by the grand jury, *Not found*.

21st. Lieut. King, of his majesty's navy, arrived yesterday from Harwich at the admiralty, with dispatches from Governor Phillip, dated at Sydney Cove, the 13th of April last. The colony had very much extended its agriculture, and in particular the spots laid out for garden ground; but the produce had been rather scanty. Very tolerable harmony had been preserved among the settlers.

*Dublin, Dec. 22.* It is with a very sensible concern we are obliged to announce to our readers the loss of the *Charlemont* packet. This vessel sailed on Wednesday, and had reached the bay of Dublin, when she was driven back by a violent gale of wind; not long after a large West Indiaman went to the bottom with her crew at the entrance of that harbour. On Friday the weather became favourable, and the captain again proceeded to sea, having, during this interval, increased his passengers to the number of about 120. He again had nearly made the port of Dublin, when a second time he was forced to put back. By this time the uneasiness of the people became general, and the cabin passengers were very importunate with the master to land them at Holyhead, although he declared himself imperfectly acquainted with the coast, and exhorted them to relinquish their intentions. His mate, however, confident of his own intimate knowledge, succeeded in carrying the favourite point of the passengers, and they accordingly steered thi-

ther; the consequences were fatal, the mate, deceived by some lights, mistook his course; the vessel struck on one of the rocks which skirt the Welch coast, soon after went to pieces, and sixteen persons only escaped the merciless element.

Among those providentially saved is the hon. capt. Jones, son to lord Ranelagh, who, when the vessel struck, sprang from her on the rock, and received no injury; through the intrepidity of this gentleman, and at an imminent hazard to himself, a person belonging to Mr. Atley's company was rescued from a most perilous situation, being caught by capt. Jones on the return of the wave which washed him from the same rock, on which he had also leaped from the packet.

About twelve ladies were on board, some of whom, in expectation of assistance, and under the horrors of death impending over them in so terrible a form, clung round the steward of the ship, who, thus prevented from the possibility of making any efforts for his own preservation, perished in their embraces.—Among other passengers were two Romish clergymen, one of whom escaped. The captain, by ascending the shrouds, was landed in a place of safety on the heeling of the vessel; and the mate has also escaped, but, we are informed, is imprisoned, for some negligence of information, fatal, as is said, to many who might have been saved on an earlier knowledge of the state of the vessel.

The circumstances of those who survived this dreadful event (every article but what remained on their backs being lost) were considerably alleviated by the generous and humane attention of capt. Jones, whose  
bounty

bounty and benevolence were as conspicuous in the hour of distress, as his fortitude was apparent in the moment of danger.

23d. Between four and five o'clock in the morning, a violent storm blew from the south-west, attended with successive flashes of lightning, and continued rolls of loud thunder, succeeded by heavy showers of hail and rain. Part of the copper roofing of the new stone buildings in Lincoln's-inn was blown over the Six Clerks' office into Chancery-lane, and some part of it over the roofs of the opposite houses in the lane, into a yard, and part passed through a garret window of one of those houses, inhabited by Mr. White; so that it must have been raised near a hundred feet into the air. Thirteen trees were blown down in Lincoln's-inn gardens. A maid-servant of counsellor Graham's was killed in her bed, by the falling of a stack of chimnies, at his chambers on the south side of Lincoln's-inn New-square: his man-servant fortunately escaped, by quitting his bed on the first alarm. Several trees were blown down in Moorfields.

Many houses were unroofed, and others suffered considerably.

The high piles of wood in most of the timber-yards round the metropolis were blown down.

At Walthamstow, a large barn, several stacks of chimnies, and several trees were blown down.

At Windsor, the storm was very dreadful; the sentinels on guard upon the terrace describe the air to have been so luminous, that they could for a minute see at very great distances; and instantly after it became dark in the extreme, with a

smell resembling the fresh discharge of cannon.

The drivers on the road from Salisbury, and the passengers, corroborate the testimony, that the lightning was rather like a stream of fluid from a glass-house furnace; and the horses were so generally terrified, that with difficulty they got on.

At Purfleet and Erith, which are on the opposite sides of the river, a few miles above Gravesend, the inhabitants were in one continued alarm the greater part of the night, for fear of the gunpowder magazine taking fire by the continued lightning.

At Harrow-on-the-Hill and St. Alban's, both elevated situations, the electrical shock was very sensibly felt, but no mischief done; though at the latter the fire was seen to play through and about the abbey steeple in a singular manner.

As a proof that the storm was as wide and extensive as awefully dreadful, at Springfield near Colchester, the hail-stones were very heavy, the lightning continual, and, with the thunder, resembled the besieging of a fortress by the most formidable enemy.

At the Nore, a sloop, that cast anchor during the tempest, had her sails torn from the masts, but nobody hurt.

The steeple of Beckenham church in Kent, a spire built of shingles, was fired, and a part destroyed.

The shingles of the spire of Horsham church, in Sussex, were set on fire, but were extinguished by the rain.

A hovel belonging to Mr. Grant, of Towcester, was blown down by the violence of the wind, by which

accident, four cows that were under it at the time were killed. A barn at Blisworth was likewise blown down. Trees were blown up by the roots, the thatch stripped off cottages, and many chimnies blown down, in different parts of the country.

A very large elm tree, by the side of the road about a mile from Brentwood, was struck down by the lightning, about two yards from the bottom, and fell across the road, about five yards before the leaders of the Ipswich mail coach. All the horses turned round, snapped the pole, overset the coach, and tore the harness to pieces. By the construction of the mail coach, the passengers escaped unhurt; but the guard received a bruise in his leg.

The driver of the Liverpool stage-coach was terribly scorched by the lightning; and the drivers of the different mails had the utmost difficulty to make their horses keep the road.

At Whitehaven, in the night it became tempestuous; the wind raged dreadfully; there was much thunder and lightning, and a great deal of hail and sleet fell. The tide in the harbour flowed much earlier than the usual time, and rose to an astonishing height. Several of the ships (there were a great number in port) broke adrift in the course of the night, and many of them were damaged, but none materially. The prospect of the sea, with the coming tide, was alarming beyond description; the huge billows, chasing each other, broke with irresistible fury over the outer works of the harbour, and all was whitened with the foam.

Accounts from North Wales are full of melancholy events. Trees in

several parts were torn up by the roots; and in one place a cottage was blown down, by which a man, his wife, and four boys, were killed in their beds. In another place the wind quite unroofed the house of a gentleman, and blew the bell, &c. which stood on his coach-house, several yards, shattered the gable end of the stables, in which were six fine coach-horses and five hunters: they all, however, escaped unhurt, except two hunters that were in the stalls nearest the west end, one of which was killed on the spot, the other maimed so much, that it was necessary to shoot it immediately. A very fine large hot-house, built the last summer, was also entirely levelled with the ground; and the gardener, who lived close to it, suffered very much, some bricks, tiles, &c. falling through the roof and top of the bed, which broke his left arm, and bruised his thigh exceedingly.

The storm was severely felt in many parts of France. Several houses at Dunkirk were thrown down, and much damage done among the shipping.

DIED, near Blarney, in the county of Cork, in Ireland, aged 84, Owen M<sup>c</sup>Carthy, esq. commonly called Master-na-moran, or lord or master of the principality of Moran. He has left an only son, now governor of Miranda, and colonel of a regiment of horse in the Portuguese service. The deceased had 15 brothers, 13 of whom emigrated for bread, after losing their estates in that kingdom, and were promoted to high ranks in the different armies of France, Spain, Portugal, and Germany.

At Arlescote-house, near Edgehill, in the county of Warwick, Mr. Thicknesse, many years high master

of St. Paul's school, from which employment he had retired near twenty years. He died in the 77th year of his age. The mercers company had so great an opinion of his worth, and so much gratitude for his services, that they would not consent to his resignation, until he had named his successor; and they settled upon him, during his life, one hundred guineas a year. The late Mr. Holbeach, a bachelor of large fortune in Warwickshire, had been Mr. Thicknesse's friend from the time he was upon the foundation at Winchester; and, when he resigned St. Paul's school, the good old man desired him to retire to a wing of his old mansion-house, which he had left standing for that purpose more than fifty years before. When Mr. Thicknesse arrived at this pleasant remnant of hospitality and goodness, situated in the midst of a noble park, he found a good fire burning upon all the hearths in the house; his binns filled with wines, and an annuity upon his table, the donation of the generous owner: but alas! before the revolution of one year, while Mr. Thicknesse and he were at dinner together, the good old man threw his head back in his chair, and died without a groan.

At Alderwasley, Derbyshire, aged 102, Dorothy Fletcher.

At Carlmywark, Galloway, aged 108, Jane Walker.

At Limerick, aged 102, Mrs. Magee.

Near Donaghadee, aged 107, Mr. James Cree.

At Uttoxeter, in Staffordshire, a person of the name of Raulin, aged 32, nearly equal in weight to the celebrated Mr. Bright, of Essex, viz. 34 stone. Though but 5 feet 6 inches and an half high, he mea-

fured 6 feet 4 inches round the waist.

BIRTHS for the Year 1790.

- Jan. 1. Lady Compton, a son and heir.  
 21. Lady of Sir Tho. Whichcote, bart: a son.
- Feb. 9. Lady of Reg. Pole Carew, esq. M. P. a daughter.  
 13. Lady Warren, of Stapleford-hall, a daughter.  
 24. Right hon. lady Charlotte Dundas, a daughter.  
 Lady Herbert, a daughter.  
 Lady Apsley, a son and heir.
- March 16. Lady of sir John Frederick, bart. a daughter.  
 19. Hon. Mrs. Finch Hatton, a daughter.
- April 5. Lady of the bishop of Lincoln, a son.  
 11. Lady viscount Falmouth, a son.  
 23. Lady of W. Baker, esq. M. P. a daughter.  
 Lady Louvaine, a son.  
 Lady Willoughby of Eresby, a daughter.  
 28. Lady of hon. colonel Fane, a son.
- May 8. Rt. hon. lady John Ruffel, a son.  
 10. Lady of sir John Rous, bart. a daughter.  
 21. At Paris, the duchess of Devonshire, a son and heir.  
 Hon. Mrs. Clifford, of New Park, a son and heir.  
 28. Lady of sir Wm. Foulis, bart. a son.
- June 14. Lady Haddo, a son.  
 24. Lady of sir Alex. Jarvis, bart. a son.

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28. Lady of sir Geo. Rumbold, bart. a son. Nov. 18. Countess of Carysfort, a son.
- July 2. Her Sicilian majesty, a prince. Dec. 5. Lady of Geo. Summer, esq. M. P. a daughter.
7. Rt. hon. lady Louisa Macdonald, a daughter, Countess of Glasgow, a daughter. 6. Rt. hon. lady Stourton, a son.
19. Lady of the right hon. Thomas Steele, M. P. a daughter. 29. Lady of J. Blackburne, esq. M. P. a son, Right hon. lady Compton, a son.

Aug. 3. Countess of Harrington, a son.

4. Lady of hon. Lewis Watson, a daughter.
15. Rt. hon. lady Charlotte Lenox, a daughter.
16. Lady of J. Cox Hippiſley, esq. M. P. a son and heir.
20. Lady of col. North, a son. Right hon. lady Arden, a daughter. Lady of Sam. Smith, esq. M. P. a daughter.

Sept. 18. Lady of sir David Carnegie, bart. a daughter.

- Lady of sir John Ingilby, bart. a daughter.
25. Lady of John Anſtruther, esq. M. P. a son.
30. Lady of hon. col. Rodney, a son.
- Oct. 4. Countess of Lauderdale, a daughter.
6. Lady of sir Geo. A. W. Shuckburgh, baronet, a daughter.
8. Lady of sir Wm. Cunningham, bart. a son.
9. Lady Grace Douglas, of Cavers, a son.
15. Lady of sir James Colquhoun, bart. a daughter. Rt. hon. lady Charles Somerset, a daughter.
31. Lady of sir Henry Dashwood, bart. a daughter.

MARRIAGES for the Year 1790,

- Jan. 4. Duke of Dorset to Miss Cope, eldest daughter of lady Hawkesbury.
- Hon. Hen. Fitzroy to Rt. hon. lady Ann Westley.
- Hon. Mr. Digby to Miss Gunning, one of her majesty's maids of honour.
- Thomas Langford Brooke, esq. of More, to Miss Boughton, eldest daughter of sir Th. Boughton, bart.
- Rev. J. Jones, D. D. to the dowager viscountess Ashbrook.
- Earl of Errol to Miss Blake, eldest daughter of J. Blake, of Ardfry, county of Galway, esq.
- Owen Wynne, esq. M. P. to lady Sarah Cole.
- Edw. Jeron Ricketts, esq. to the hon. Miss Twisleton.
- Feb. Hon. John Spencer to lady Eliz. Spencer.
- Miles Sandys, Esq. to Miss Dalrymple, daughter of sir J. Dalrymple, bart.
24. Hen. Otway, esq. to Miss Cave, sister of sir Thomas Cave.
- March 3. Hon. Mr. Montagu, son of viscount



- viscount Hinchinbrook, to Miss Buckingham.
5. John Calcraft, esq. M. P. to Miss Hales, daughter of sir Pym Hales, bart.
22. Hon. Ed. Foley to Miss Hodgetts.
27. Col. Freemantle to the hon. Miss Ongley.  
In Italy, earl of Home to Miss Coutts.
- April. Rev. J. Eyre to Miss Charlotte Armytage, daughter of the late sir George Armytage, bart.
13. Hon. Mr. Townshend to the hon. Miss Southwell.  
William Elliott, eldest son of sir Francis Elliott, bart, of Stobbo, to Miss Russell.
24. Hon. Henry Dillon to Miss Grant.
- May. Col. Loftus to the right hon. lady Eliz. Townshend.  
Ch. Hoare, esq. to Miss Robinson, daughter of sir Geo. Robinson, bart.  
Edw. Hay, esq. to the hon. Miss Maria Murray, daughter of lord Elibank.  
Col. Hotham to Miss Dyke, daughter of sir J. Dixon Dyke, bart.
- June. Hon. and Rev. Arch. Ham. Cathcart to Miss Fr. Henry Freemantle.  
Eben. Oliphant, esq. to Miss Mary Stirling, daughter of sir W. Stirling, of Ardock, bart.  
Wyndham Knatchbull, esq. to Miss Knatchbull, sister of sir Edward Knatchbull, bart.  
Edw. Southwood Percival, esq. to Miss Sutton, daughter of the late lord Geo. Manners Sutton,
- Wm. Hen. Beauchamp, esq. son of sir W. Beauchamp Proctor, bart. to Miss Frances Davis.
- Hen. Methold, esq. to Miss Eden, daughter of sir J. Eden, bart.
- July. Ch. Yorke, esq. M. P. to Miss Harriet Manningham.  
Humph. Prideaux, esq. to Miss St. Aubyn, daughter of the late sir J. St. Aubyn, bart.  
Marquis of Graham to lady Caroline Montagu, sister of the duke of Manchester.  
W. P. Hamond, esq. to Miss Carr, daughter of sir Rob. Carr, bart.  
Sir Wm. Wake, bart. to Miss Sitwell.
- Aug. Hon. capt. Townshend to Miss Gladwyn.  
Wm. Trenchard, esq. to lady Hester Amelia de Burgh, sister of the marquis of Clanricarde.  
Sir Griffith Boyntun, bart. to Miss Parkhurst.  
Hon. Spencer Perrival to Miss Jane Wilson, daughter of sir Tho. Spencer Wilson, bart.  
Benj. Jennings, esq. to the dow. viscountess Dudley and Ward.  
Cap. Ch. Irvine to Miss Diana Gordon, daughter of the late sir Alexander Gordon of Lessmoor, bart.  
Sir Ch. Apgill, bart. to Miss Jemima Sophia Ogle, daughter of sir Chaloner Ogle, bart.  
Rev. Str. Master to Miss Eliz.

- Eliz. Mosley, daughter of  
 fir John Parker Mosley,  
 bart.
- Rev. Mr. Palmer to Miss  
 Eliz. Payne, daughter of  
 fir Gillies Payne, bart.
- Sept. 4. James Lowther, esq. to lady  
 Eliz. Fane, sister of the  
 earl of Westmorland.
5. Hon. Geo. Annesley, son  
 of viscount Valentia to  
 the hon. Miss Anne Court-  
 nay.
- Sir Edward Hales, bart. to  
 Miss Palmer.
9. Hon. John Eliot to Miss  
 York, sister of the earl of  
 Hardwicke.
- Dr. Stewart, of Southamp-  
 ton, to lady Shelley.
27. Jac. Bofanquet, esq. to  
 Mrs. Grady, sister of fir  
 Geo. Armytage, bart.
- Peter Godfrey, esq. to Miss  
 Rowley, daughter of the  
 late fir Joshua Rowley,  
 bart.
- Andrew Stuart, esq. M. P.  
 to Miss Stirling, daugh-  
 ter of fir W. Stirling, of  
 Ardock, bart.
- Rowland Bateman, esq. to  
 Miss Arabella Denny,  
 daughter of fir Barry  
 Denny, bart.
- Oct. 6. John Wigsten, esq. to Miss  
 Lake, daughter of fir James  
 Winter Lake, bart.
- Christ. Musgrave, esq. se-  
 cond son of fir Philip Mus-  
 grave, to the hon. Miss  
 Archer.
12. Earl of Donegall to Miss  
 Barbara Godfrey.
- John Wharton, esq. M. P.  
 to Miss Susan Lambton,  
 daughter of gen. Lamb-  
 ton.
- Geo. Vesey, esq. to Miss La-  
 touch, daughter of the  
 right hon. dow. Latouch.
- Hon. John Colvill, eldest  
 son of lord Colvill, to  
 Miss Ford.
- Nov. Tho. Bligh, esq. to lady  
 Theodosia Bligh.
13. Col. Coussmaker to the  
 hon. Miss Southwell.
23. Nich. Ridley, esq. brother  
 of fir Matthew White  
 Ridley, bart. to Miss Le-  
 titia Atkins.
- Dec. 5. Capt. Clive to the hon. Miss  
 Archer.
- Sir Edw. Wm. Crosbie to  
 Mrs. Dodd, daughter of  
 lady Hester Westenra.
- Wm. Mansel, esq. eldest son  
 of fir Wm. Mansel, bart.  
 to Miss Bell.
- Barry Denny, esq. son of  
 fir B. Denny, bart. to  
 Miss Morgell.

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PROMOTIONS for the  
 Year 1790.

January. Alan Gardner, esq. ap-  
 pointed one of the commissioners  
 for executing the office of high ad-  
 miral of Great Britain and Ireland,  
 vice Gower, resigned.

Hon. Miss Julia Digby, appointed  
 one of the maids of honour to her  
 majesty, vice Gunning, resigned.

Wm. Bellingham, esq. appointed  
 one of the commissioners in quality  
 of a principal officer of his majesty's  
 navy, vice Campbell, deceased.

Francis Stephens, esq. appointed  
 a commissioner for victualling his  
 majesty's navy, vice Bellingham  
 resigned.

Henry Hamilton, esq. appointed  
 governor

governor and commander in chief of the Bermuda or Somers Islands, vice Browne.

Febr. Major-general Thomas Stirling to be colonel of the 41st regiment of foot, vice major-general M<sup>c</sup>Nab, deceased.

The earl of Chesterfield to be joint postmaster-general, vice the earl of Westmoreland, lord lieut. of Ireland.

The right hon. John Charles Villiers to be chief justice in Eyre North of Trent.

The hon. Dudley Ryder to be comptroller of his majesty's household, in the room of the right hon. John Charles Villiers, resigned.

George Aust, esq. to be joint under secretary of state with Mr. Burges, vice the hon. Mr. Ryder.

March. The earl of Leicester to be master of the mint, vice the earl of Chesterfield; and viscount Falmouth to be captain of the band of gentlemen pensioners, vice the earl of Leicester.

Earl Harcourt to be master of the horse to her majesty, vice the earl of Waldegrave, deceased.

Doctor William Black to be first physician to his majesty in Scotland.

John Hunter, esq. to be surgeon-general of his majesty's forces, and inspector of the regimental hospitals, vice Robert Adair, deceased.

Surgeon Thomas Keate, of the 1st reg. of foot guards, to be surgeon of Chelsea hospital.

Sir William Scott, to be master of the faculties, in the room of the late bishop of St. Asaph.

Commissioner Martin, of the dock-yard at Portsmouth, to be comptroller of the navy, vice fir Charles Middleton, resigned.

The right hon. Dudley Ryder, to be one of his majesty's commissioners for the affairs of India.

Mr. Nicholas, member for Cricklade, and Mr. Buller, to be commissioners of excise.

April. The right hon. lord Henry John Spencer, his majesty's secretary of embassy to the states-general of the United Provinces, to the character of his majesty's minister plenipotentiary to their high mightinesses.

James Duff, esq. to be his majesty's consul at Cadiz.

Sir Alexander Hood, to be rear admiral of Great Britain, in the room of admiral Darby, deceased.

George Hammond, esq. to be secretary of legation at the court of Copenhagen.

Charles Henry Talbot, of Belfast, esq. to the dignity of a baronet of Ireland.

The right Rev. Father in God Lewis lord bishop of Norwich translated to the see of St. Asaph.

June. Colonel George Hotham, David Dundas, Adam Williamson, Robert Abercromby, Gerard Lake, Thomas Musgrave, Joseph Goreham, Gustavus Guydickens, John Mansell, George Morgan, Alexander Stewart, James Coates, Ralph Dundas, Richard Whyte, Alured Clarke, and James Hugonin, to be major-generals in the army.

Right hon. John James earl of Abercorn, to be governor of the counties of Donegal and Tyrone, in Ireland.

The Rev. Charles Morgan, A. M. to the deanry of his majesty's cathedral church of St. Patrick, in the diocese of Ardagh, in Ireland.

The Rev. John Horne, D. D. dean of Canterbury, to the bishoprick

rick of Norwich, vice Dr. Bagot, translated to St. Asaph.

Earl Gower to be his majesty's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the most christian king.

Right hon. George Granville Leveson Earl Gower, to be one of his majesty's most hon. privy council.

Charles Oakeley, of Shrewsbury, esq. to be a baronet of the kingdom of Great Britain, and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten.

Archibald Cockburn, esq. to be one of the barons of his majesty's exchequer in Scotland, vice the late David Stewart Moncrieffe, esq. deceased.

George Buchan Hepburn, esq. to be judge of the admiralty court of Scotland, on the resignation of Archibald Cockburn, esq. late judge thereof.

The right hon. George Henry earl of Euston to be lord lieutenant of the county of Suffolk.

The right hon. James marquis of Graham to be lord lieutenant of the county of Huntingdon.

The right hon. Philip earl of Hardwicke to be lord lieutenant of the county of Cambridge.

The Rev. William Buller to be dean of Canterbury, vice Dr. John Horne, promoted to the bishopric of Norwich.

Rev. Ch. Harward, D. D. to be dean of Exeter, vice Dr. William Buller, promoted.

The Rev. Joseph Turner, D. D. to be dean of Norwich, vice the Rev. Dr. Philip Lloyd, deceased.

The dignity of a Baron of the Kingdom of Ireland to the following persons and their heirs male, by the names, styles, and titles under mentioned, viz.

The Right Rev. William Cecil

Pery, D. D. bishop of Limerick, Ardfert, and Aghdadoe, baron Glentworth, of Mallow, in Cork.

Mrs. Margaretta Foster, wife of the right hon. John Foster, baroness Oriel, of Collon, in Louth; and to the heirs male of her body lawfully begotten by the said John Foster, the dignity of baron Oriel, of Collon aforesaid.

Right hon. George Agar, baron Callan, of Callan, in Kilkenny.

Robert Dillon, of Clonbrock, in Galway, esq. baron Clonbrock, of Clonbrock aforesaid.

James Alexander, of Caledon, in Tyrone, esq. baron Caledon, of Caledon aforesaid.

The dignity of a Baron of the Kingdom of Great Britain to the several Noblemen and Gentlemen following, and the heirs male of their respective bodies lawfully begotten, by the names, styles, and titles under mentioned, viz.

The right hon. Arthur earl of Donegall, of the kingdom of Ireland, baron Fisherwick, of Fisherwick, in Staffordshire.

The right hon. James earl of Fife, of the kingdom of Ireland, baron of Fife, in the county of Fife.

The right hon. James Bucknall Grimston, viscount Grimston, of the kingdom of Ireland, baron Verulam, of Gorhambury, in the county of Hertford.

The right hon. Constantine John lord Mulgrave, of the kingdom of Ireland, baron Mulgrave, of Mulgrave, in Yorkshire.

Archibald Douglas, esq. baron Douglas, of Douglas, in the county of Lanerk; and

Edwin Lascelles, esq. baron Harewood, of Harewood, in Yorkshire.

Rt. rev. Dr. George Lewis Jones, bishop of Kilmore, translated to the bishoprick of Kildare, and to hold the deanry of Christ Church, Dublin, *in commendam*, vice Jackson, deceased.

Rt. rev. William Foster, bishop of Cork and Ross, translated to Kilmore, vice Jones.

Rev. William Bennet, D. D. promoted to the bishoprick of Cork and Ross.

Right hon. William Pitt, elected high steward of the university of Cambridge, vice earl Hardwicke, deceased.

July. Rev. Combe Miller, M. A. appointed dean of the cathedral church of Chichester, vice Harward, resigned.

John Orde, esq. governor of the island of Dominica, and captain in the royal navy, created a baronet.

Henry James Pye, esq. appointed poet laureat to his majesty, vice Warton, deceased.

Paul Deugenan, esq. LL. D. to be king's advocate in the court of admiralty in Ireland.

John Sylvester, esq. to be common serjeant of the city of London.

August. Rev. Mr. Winstanley, of Hertford College, Oxford, appointed Camden professor of ancient history; vice Warton, deceased.

64th regiment of foot. Major-general John Leland to be colonel, vice lieut. gen. Pomeroy, deceased.

Lieut. col. Oliver De Lancey, of the 17th regiment of (light) dragoons, to be deputy adjutant-gen. of the forces in South Britain, vice major-general Williamson, promoted to the command of the 47th regiment.

47th regiment of foot. Major-general Adam Williamson to be colonel, vice Guy lord Dorchester.

Lieut. col. James Moncrief, of the corps of royal engineers, to be deputy quarter-master-general of his majesty's forces, vice major-general William Roy, deceased.

Charles Henry Frazer, esq. to be his majesty's minister plenipotentiary to the circle of Lower Saxony, and resident with the Hanse Towns, vice Emanuel Mathias, esq. deceased.

William Hanbury, esq. to be his majesty's agent consul in the circle of Lower Saxony, and the free cities of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lubeck.

*Admiralty Office, Sept. 21.*

This day, in pursuance of the king's pleasure, the following flag-officers of his majesty's fleet were promoted, viz.

Sir Edward Hughes, K. B. John Evans, and Mark Milbanke, esqrs. vice admirals of the white, to be vice admirals of the red.

Thomas Graves, Robert Digby, and Benjamin Marlow, esqrs. and sir Alexander Hood, K. B. vice-admirals of the blue, to be vice-admirals of the white.

Sir Richard Hughes, knt. John Elliott, and William Hotham, esqrs. rear-admirals of the red, and Joseph Peyton, esq. rear-admiral of the white, to be vice-admirals of the blue.

John Carter Allen, esq. sir Charles Middleton, and sir John Laforey, barts. John Dalrymple, esq. Herbert Sawyer, esq. sir Rich. King, knt. and Jonathan Faulkner, esq. rear-admirals of the white, to be rear-admirals of the red.

Phillip Atleck, esq. sir Richard Bickerton, bart. the hon. J. Leveson Gower, sir John Jervis, K. B. and Adam Duncan, esq. rear-admirals of the blue, to be rear-admirals of the white.

The following captains were also appointed

appointed flag-officers of his majesty's fleet, viz.

Richard Braithwaite, and Phillips Cosby, esqrs. to be rear-admirals of the white.

Thomas Fitzherbert, Samuel Cornish, John Brisbane, John Houlton, Charles Woolfeley, Charles Inglis, and Sam. Cranston Goodall, esqrs. to be rear-admirals of the blue.

And the following further promotions of sea-officers have also been made, viz.

Twenty masters and commanders, taken from the list of those who were made before the end of 1782, to be post-captains.

Twenty lieutenants, taken from the list of those who were made before the end of 1780, to be masters and commanders.

Twenty midshipmen, formerly appointed lieutenants by commanders in chief, which appointment, from particular circumstances, could not be confirmed, to be lieutenants.

October. The dignity of a marquis of the kingdom of Great Britain, to the right hon. John James Hamilton, earl of Abercorn, and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, by the name, style, and title of marquis of Abercorn.

The hon. capt. Keith Stewart to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue squadron of his majesty's fleet.

John Cowflade, esq. to be gentleman usher of the privy chamber to her majesty, vice the late general Wynyard; John Smith, esq. to be gentleman usher daily waiter, vice John Cowflade, esq.; and ——— Moleworth, esq. to be gentleman usher quarter waiter, vice John Smith, esq.

The right hon. John Charles Villiers to be warden and chief justice in eyre of all his majesty's forests, parks, chaces, and warrens beyond

Trent, vice the right hon. George Evelyn, viscount Falmouth.

Lieutenant-general sir Robert Boyd, K. B. to be governor of Gibraltar, vice right hon. general lord Heathfield, deceased; and major-general sir Henry Calder, bart. to be lieut. governor of Gibraltar, vice lieut. gen. sir Robert Boyd.

The right hon. Dudley Ryder to be president of the committee of privy council appointed for the consideration of all matters relating to trade and foreign plantations, in the absence of the right hon. Charles lord Hawkesbury.

Lord viscount Wentworth to be one of the lords of his majesty's bed-chamber.

Joshua Johnson, esq. to be consul for the united states of America at the port of London, and the places adjacent.

Novem. Right hon. Henry baron Digby, created viscount Colehill, county of Warwick, and earl of Digby, county of Lincoln.

Right hon. Algernon Percy, lord Louvaine and baron of Alnwick, created earl of Beverley, in the county of York.

Right hon. William Hall Gage, viscount Gage of the kingdom of Ireland, and baron Gage of Fife, in the kingdom of Great Britain, created baron Gage of Highmeadows, county of Gloucester; with remainder to his nephew, Henry Gage, esq.

Right hon. William Wyndham Grenville, created baron Grenville, of Wotton under Bernewood, in the county of Buckingham.

His grace the duke of Montrose, appointed master of the horse to the king, vice the duke of Montagu, deceased.

Decem. Geo. Hammond, esq. appointed secretary of embassy at the court of Madrid.

Francis Drake, esq. appointed secretary of legation at the court of Copenhagen.

George Augustus Frederick Lake, esq. appointed one of the pages of honour to the prince of Wales.

Alex. Shaw, esq. appointed lieutenant-governor of the Isle of Man, vice Dawson, resigned.

His royal highness prince William Henry duke of Clarence, promoted to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue.

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DEATHS for the Year 1790.

Jan. At Lyons, sir Wm. Meredith, bart. He was elected a representative in parliament for Wigan in 1755, and for Liverpool in 1762. In 1764 he was appointed a lord commissioner of the admiralty, which he resigned the year following, on the dismissal of the marquis of Roekingham. In 1768, he was again elected for Liverpool, and was afterwards appointed comptroller of the household, from which office he was dismissed several years before his death.

At his seat at Killrudery, county of Wicklow, the right hon. Anthony Brabazon, earl of Meath. He was born in February, 1721; married, 1758, Grace, daughter of Jn. Leigh, esq. of Ross Garland, county of Wexford, and had issue four sons and six daughters. His third surviving son, William, lord Ardee, born 1769, lately elected knight of the shire for the county of Dublin, succeeds him in his honours and estates.

Feb. In her 32d year, lady Horkyns, wife of sir Hungerford Horkyns, bart. only daughter of Edwin

Francis Stanhope, esq. groom of the chambers to her majesty.

Geo. Darby, esq. rear-admiral of England, and an elder brother of the Trinity-house, in which he is succeeded by the right hon. William Pitt.

March. Aged near 60, of a fever and stone in his bladder, Dr. Samuel Hallifax, bishop and archdeacon of St. Asaph, to which see he was translated from Gloucester, in March, 1789.—He was a prelate of great knowledge, and of great ability; an incomparable civilian, and an extremely acute public speaker. His sermons at bishop Warburton's lectures and other writings are much esteemed, and are written with great elegance of style, as well as with much profundity of thinking.

Sir John Coghill, bart. of Coghill-hall, in the county of York.

In his 19th year, Mr. Richard Green, of Minsterley.

At Cambro, in Scotland, sir Charles Erskine, bart.

At Leinster-house, Dublin, lady Augusta Fitzgerald, youngest daughter of the duke of Leinster.

Right Rev. Dr. Ch. Jackson, lord bishop of Kildare.

April. Charlotte Countess of Fauconberg. She was daughter of the late sir Matthew Lambe, bart. and sister of the present lord Melbourne; and was married, May 29, 1766, to Henry earl Fauconberg, by whom she had four daughters.

Sidi Mahomet, emperor of Morocco. Whilst taking the air on horseback, he was seized with a pain near his heart; and a storm suddenly arising, he called, with some exertion, for his coach; was placed in it, and instantly expired.

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His remains have been deposited in one of the towers of Rabat. His son Muli el Zezid was, on the 15th, proclaimed emperor in his room; and, as it is said, began his reign with wreaking his vengeance on the Spanish consul, to whom he has behaved with unexampled severity.

The hon. Mrs. Walsingham, relict of the late hon. commodore Robert Boyle Walsingham, who was lost in the Thunderer man of war, some years ago. She was the daughter and coheirefs of sir Charles Hanbury Williams, K. B. and of the lady Frances, daughter of the late earl Coningsby.

At Munich, in her 68th year, after two days illness, her serene highness the duchess dowager of Bavaria, widow of duke Clement.

Right hon. Hugh lord Massey, son of Hugh, created lord Massey 1776. He married Catherine, eldest daughter of Edw. Taylor, esq. of Ballynort, 1760, by whom he had issue three sons and four daughters, and succeeded his father in 1788.

At Rostellan, county of Corke, the countess of Orkney and Inchiquin. She was the grand-daughter of George the first earl, who was the fifth son of William and Anne duke and duchess of Hamilton, and field-marshal of his majesty's forces. Both this lady and her mother married earls of Inchiquin. Neither of them having male issue, the titles of Orkney have ever gone to females. The present countess is married to Mr. Fitzmaurice (brother to the marquis of Lansdowne), who has a son, now viscount Kirkwall, and the first heir male of the family.

At Bristol, the hon. Miss Elizab. Hewitt, youngest daughter of the late lord chancellor of Ireland.

May. At his house in St. James's square, the right hon. Philip Yorke, earl of Hardwicke, viscount Royston, and lord Hardwicke, one of the tellers of his majesty's exchequer, lord lieutenant and custos rotulorum of the county of Cambridge, and high steward of that university, a trustee of the British Museum, LL. D. F. R. S. London, and F. S. A. of Scotland. His lordship was born Dec. 20, N. S. 1720, and succeeded his father, the late lord chancellor Hardwicke, in March 1764. The titles, and such parts of the estate as descended from the chancellor, are devolved on Philip Yorke, esq. eldest son of the late Mr. Charles Yorke. During his residence in Bennet college, a work was undertaken by his lordship, assisted by some of his contemporaries, intitled, "The Athenian Letters;" and though it has not hitherto been printed with a view to publication, yet it has been circulated amongst so many of his lordship's friends and acquaintance, that it is well known as a work of considerable merit. He published the Correspondence of Sir Dudley Carleton, ambassador to the states general during the reign of James I. and prefixed to it an historical preface, containing an account of the many important negotiations that were carried on during that interesting period. In 1779 he published two volumes of state papers, selected from the collections at the Paper-office and the British Museum, as well as from his own valuable collection.—His lordship was married, in May 1741, to Jemima, daughter of the late earl of Breadalbane, who inherited from her grandfather, the late duke of Kent, estates in the counties of Bedford, Essex, and Wiltshire, and the antient baronies of



of Lucas and Crudwell. The title of marquis of Grey, which was conferred upon the duke of Kent, with remainder to his eldest grand-daughter, and her heirs-male, will now become extinct; but the barony of Lucas (being limited to heirs general) will descend, upon the death of the marchioness Grey, to her eldest daughter, lady Amabell Polwarth, widow of lord Polwarth. His lordship's personal property, and the estates of the duke of Kent, will devolve upon his immediate descendants.

Lately, the right hon. Stephen Moore, earl and viscount Mountcashell, baron Kilworth, and one of his majesty's most honourable privy council. His lordship married, in the month of June, 1769, lady Helen Rawdon, second daughter of the earl of Moira, by whom he had issue Stephen lord Kilworth (now earl of Mountcashell), born March 9, 1770, at present on his travels; as also two other sons, John and William, born in 1772 and 1775, and a daughter, lady Helen, born in 1773.

At his house in privy-gardens, George Montagu duke of Montagu, marquis Monthermer, earl of Cardigan, baron Brudenell of Stanton Wivil, and baron Montagu of Boughton, master of the horse to the king, governor and captain of Windsor Castle, lord lieutenant of the county of Huntingdon, president of St. Luke's Hospital, vice-president of St. George's Hospital, and president of the society for the encouragement of arts, F. R. S. baronet, and knight of the most noble orders of the garter and bath. Dying without male issue, the dukedom and marquissate become extinct. The earldom of Cardigan descends to his brother, lord Brudenell.

The barony of Montagu of Boughton comes to lord Henry Montagu Scott, second son of the duke of Buccleugh, who is married to the late duke's only daughter.— His grace was born July 26, 1712, and succeeded his father, the late earl of Cardigan, in 1723. He was created duke of Montagu, and marquis Monthermer, in 1760. On July 7, 1730, he married a daughter of the late duke of Montagu, who died in 1775, by whom he had issue John marquis of Monthermer, who was created baron Montagu of Boughton in 1762, and died April 11, 1770, unmarried; and Elizabeth, the present duchess of Buccleugh.

June. In his 66th year, right hon. J. Pomeroy, lieutenant-general of his majesty's forces, colonel of the 64th regiment of foot, of which he was commander 24 years, M. P. in the present Irish parliament for the borough of Trim, and one of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

At his house in Portman-square, of a pleurisy in his side, his excellency the count de Lucchesi, envoy extraordinary from the king of Naples to our court, which office he had filled some years. His remains were interred in the burying-ground at Pancras, with the usual Roman Catholic ceremonies. All the foreign ambassadors, ministers, and envoys, went in procession; the duke of Leeds's coach and servants followed the hearse, the former in their full livery; but his grace was not there, on account of public business.

Maria Theresa, countess of Ilchester.

July. At Calcutta, the son of sir Ed. Astley, bart.

In Dublin, Mrs. Molyneux, sister  
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of the right hon. sir Capel Molyneux, bart.

Hon. Miss Fitzgibbon, eldest daughter of the lord chancellor.

At his chateau at Aix-la-Chapelle, of a second stroke of the palsy, in his 73d year, the right hon. Geo. Augustus Elliott, lord Heathfield, K. B. governor of Gibraltar, and colonel of the 15th regiment of light dragoons.—He was born in 1718; and received the first rudiments of his education under a private tutor, and at an early time of life was sent to the university of Leyden, where he made considerable progress in classical learning, and spoke with fluency and elegance the German and French languages. Being designed for a military life, he was sent from thence to the celebrated Ecole Royale du Genie Militaire, at La Fere in Picardy, where he laid the foundation of what he so conspicuously exhibited at the defence of Gibraltar. In 1735, he became a volunteer in the 23d regiment of foot, or Royal Welch Fusiliers; and soon after was admitted into the engineer corps at Woolwich; from whence he purchased the adjutancy of the 2d troop of horse-grenadiers, in which he became a captain and major, as well as lieutenant-colonel, when he resigned his commission as an engineer. In 1759 he quitted the horse-guards; and was selected to raise, form, and discipline the 1st regiment of light-horse, which bore his name. Having gone through various departments in different services with the greatest marks of bravery and military knowledge, in 1775 he was appointed commander in chief in Ireland, which he soon relinquished, and was appointed to the command of Gibraltar, in a fortunate hour for the safety of that im-

portant fortress; where he, by a cool and temperate demeanour, maintained his station for three years of constant investment, in which all the powers of Spain were employed, and where he never spent his ammunition in useless parade, but seized on the proper moment, with the keenest perspection, to make his attack with success, which ever crowned his endeavours. All the eyes of Europe were on this garrison; and his conduct as justly exalted him to the most elevated rank in the military annals of the day. On his return to England, the gratitude of the British senate was as forward as the public voice in giving him that distinguished mark his merit deserved, to which his majesty was pleased to add that of the peerage, by the title of lord Heathfield, baron Gibraltar, on June 14, 1787, and permitting his lordship to take also the arms of the fortress he had so bravely defended, to perpetuate to futurity his noble conduct.—He married Anne, daughter of sir Francis Drake, of Devonshire, and had by her (who died in 1769) Francis Augustus, now lord Heathfield, lieutenant-colonel of the 6th regiment of horse.

Lady Anne Paterfon, relict of sir John Paterfon, bart. of Eccles, near Kelso, and daughter of the earl of Marchmont.

Sir Tho. Geo. Shipwith, bart. the title is supposed to descend to a relation in Virginia.

Sir Peter Heyman, bart. of Somerfield, Kent. He was formerly in the navy; and at the age of 17 married Miss Kempe, daughter and sole heiress of ——— Kempe, esq. of Plymouth, by whom he had three children, who, as well as his lady, are long since dead; and he leaving no issue, the title devolves to the

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Rev.

Rev. Henry Pixe Heyman, M. A. of Canterbury, fellow of Emanuel college, Cambridge, grandson of his father's second brother.

August 4. In the 87th year of his age, the right honourable Francis North, earl of Guildford, lord North and Guildford, treasurer to the queen's household, high steward of Banbury, and a vice-president of St. George's hospital. His lordship was born April 13th, 1704, and succeeded his father in 1729, as lord Guildford: October 31st, 1734, he succeeded to the title of lord North, by the death of William lord North and Grey; and on March 8th, 1752, was created earl of Guildford. His lordship married, June 16th, 1728, Lucy, daughter of George earl of Halifax, by which lady, who died May 7th, 1734, he had issue Frederick, the present lord North (now earl of Guildford), who was born April 13th, 1732. By his second lady, relict of George lord viscount Lewisham, and only daughter of sir Arthur Kaye, of Woodsome in Yorkshire, bart. he had three daughters, whom he survived, and a son, Brownlow, born in July, 1741, the present bishop of Winchester. His second lady died April 21st, 1745; and in June, 1751, his lordship married Anne, relict of Lewis Watson, earl of Rockingham, who died without issue in December, 1776.

Katherine, countess dowager of Plymouth, relict of Other Lewis, 4th earl, to whom she was married in 1750. She was eldest daughter of Thomas lord Archer, by whom she had twelve children.

13. At Kirklees, the seat of sir George Armitage, bart. his lady, eldest daughter of lord Suffield.

Lady Mawbey, wife of sir Joseph

Mawbey, bart. She was the daughter, and (on the death of her brother, Joseph Pratt, esq. in 1766) heiress of Richard Pratt, esq. of Vauxhall, in the county of Surrey.

In Dublin, lady Blaney, mother of the countess of Clermont.

Sept. The countess of Clarendon.

Archibald lord viscount Gosford, baron Gosford, of Market-hill, baronet of Nova Scotia, and one of his majesty's most honourable privy council. His lordship was born in the year 1718, and chosen M. P. for the university of Dublin in 1741. He succeeded his father, the late sir Arthur Acheson, in title and estate in 1748. In 1761, he was chosen to represent the county of Armagh; and in 1770, during the administration of lord Townshend, he was made a privy counsellor. On July 20, 1776, he was advanced to the peerage, by the title of baron Gosford, of Market-hill; and in the year 1785 was created viscount Gosford. — In 1740 he married Mary, youngest daughter of John Richardson, esq. of Richill, county of Armagh; and by her ladyship, who is still living, he has left the following surviving issue: one son, the hon. Arthur Acheson, member in the present parliament for the borough of Old Leighlin, and now lord viscount Gosford; and six daughters: Anna-Maria, married to the Rev. Henry Maxwell; Nicola; to Michael Obins, esq. of Portadown; Julia-Henrietta, to Alex. Mac Aulay, esq. of Glenville; Lucinda, to Jeremiah French, esq.; Mary, to Hugh Montgomery, esq. of Castle Hume; and Sophia, unmarried.

The lady of sir John Orde, bart.

Hon. lieut. gen. Philip Sherard. He commanded as major-general in the campaign of 1762, and acquired great credit in the affair of Brucker Muhl, where he was at the head of the 1st regiment of British guards.

At his house in Pall-mall, his royal highness prince Henry-Frederick, duke of Cumberland and Strathern, earl of Dublin, in Ireland, knight of the most honourable order of the garter, one of his majesty's most honourable privy council, an admiral of the white, and ranger of Windsor Great Park. His royal highness was born Nov. 7th, 1745; and was created an admiral in 1788. He married the honourable Anne Horton, widow of Christopher Horton, esq. daughter of the late, and sister of the present earl of Carhampton, by whom he has left no issue.—After laying in state two days, the body was deposited, with great solemnity and pomp, in the vault of the chapel of Henry the VIIth, in Westminster-abbey, on the 28th instant, at ten o'clock at night.

23. At his seat at Twickenham, after a long and painful illness, the most noble William Graham, duke, marquis, and earl of Montrose, marquis and baron Graham, Dundaff, Kincarn, Mindock, and Kinabor, in Scotland, and earl and baron Graham of Belford, county of Northumberland, in England.—His grace married, in October, 1742, Lucy Manners, daughter of John second duke of Rutland, by whom (who died June 18th, 1780) he had issue, one, James, marquis Graham, born February 8th, 1755 (married, first, March 5th, 1785, Jenima Elizabeth, daughter of the earl of Ashburnham, by whom he had issue 2

son, born September 4th, 1786: the marchioness died fourteen days after she was delivered, and the child died April 23d, 1787; and the marquis married, secondly, July, 1790, lady Caroline Maria Montagu, eldest daughter of the late, and sister to the present duke of Manchester);—2. Lucy, born July, 1751, and married June, 1771, to Archibald Douglas, esq. now lord Douglas of Douglas, and heir to the late duke of Douglas, by whom she has issue. His grace had lost his eyesight many years before his death. He is succeeded in his titles and estates by his only son James, marquis Graham.

Sir John Moore, bart. He is succeeded in title and estate by his only brother, now sir Thomas Moore, bart.

Honourable Mrs. Eliza Granville, daughter of the late celebrated viscount Lansdowne, aunt to the marquis of Bath.

October. In his 65th year, Edward Harley earl of Oxford and earl Mortimer, lord Harley, a lord of the bed-chamber to his majesty, lord-lieutenant of the county of Radnor, one of the curators of the British Museum, LL.D. and F.R.S. He was born September 2d, 1726; and was married, in 1751, to Miss Susannah Archer, who is now living. Not having any issue, his lordship will be succeeded in titles and estates by his nephew Edward Harley, esq. eldest son of his lordship's late brother, the bishop of Hereford.

Sir James Wemyss, bart. of Bogie.

Sir Tho. Barnwell, bart.

The right honourable dowager viscountess Wallingford, aunt to the present earl of Banbury, and daughter

ter of John Law, esq. (who was comptroller-general of the finances of France in 1719) by lady Catherine Knollys, daughter of Nicholas earl of Banbury. Her late husband William viscount Wallingford, was her cousin-german, being the eldest son of Charles the fourth earl of Banbury, and major in the first troop of horse-guards, M. P. for the borough of Banbury, and at the time of his decease a patent was making out to call him up to the house of peers, his father, the earl of Banbury, being then living. She survived her husband (by whom she had no issue) fifty years.

Novemb. In his 71st year, right honourable lord James Manners, youngest brother to the late John duke of Rutland, uncle to the celebrated marquis of Granby, and great uncle to the last duke.

Sir Hildebrand Jacob, bart.

Aged 90, Mrs. Barbara Slingsby, a maiden lady, aunt to sir Thomas Turner Slingsby, bart.

The honourable John George Montagu, eldest son of lord viscount Hinchinbrook, and M. P. for the borough of Huntingdon.

Dorothy viscountess Lisburne, relict of John second viscount, by whose death a large property in that county devolves to his nephew Wilmot, the present viscount. She was daughter of Richard Hill, esq. of Henblas, county of Montgomery; married 1725, and had one daughter, born 1727, and since deceased.

Decemb. In his 91st year, right honourable John Bourke, earl of Mayo. He was son of Richard Bourke, LL. D. who died in 1727, and was created baron Naas, of Naas, county of Kildare, 1776, viscount Mayo, 1781, and earl of the county of Mayo, 1785. He mar-

ried Mary, daughter of the right honourable Joseph Deane, lord chief baron of the exchequer, and by her, who died in 1774, had seven daughters, now all deceased, and three sons; the eldest and three youngest daughters died young; the second, John, viscount Naas, succeeds to his title and estate; and the third, Joseph Deane, bishop of Leighlin and Ferns, 1772, was translated to the archbishoprick of Tuam, 1782.

The most noble Jane duchess of Athol. She was sister to lord Cathcart, and married to the duke of Athol Dec. 26th, 1774, by whom she has had issue four sons and four daughters.

The lady of sir Nigel Bowyer Gresley, bart. of Drakelow, county of Derby. She was the only daughter and heiress of the late sir Thomas Gresley, bart. of that place, and was married to his nephew, the present baronet, about the year 1776.

Sir Samuel Hannay, bart. M. P. in the last and present parliaments for Camelford, Wilts. He was formerly an eminent chemist in London, and succeeded to the baronetage on the death of the last baronet, of Mochrum, in Scotland, so created in 1630.

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S H E R I F F S appointed by his Majesty in Council, for the Year 1790; viz.

*Berks.* Al. Cobham, of Shinfield Place, esq.

*Bucks.* John Hicks, of Braddenham, esq.

*Cambridge and Huntingdon.* T. Ground, of Wittlesea, esq.

*Cumberl.* W. Browne, of Tal-lentire-hall, esq.

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*Cheshire.*

*Cheshire.* John Arden, of Arden, esq.

*Devonsh.* Peter Perring, of Halberton, esq.

*Dorsetsh.* H. W. Fitch, of High Hall, esq.

*Derbysh.* T. Wilson, of Derby, esq.

*Essex.* T. Nottage, of Bocking, esq.

*Gloucestersh.* J. Blagdon Hale, of Alderley, esq.

*Herts.* S. R. Gaussen, of North Mims, esq.

*Herefordshire.* John Cotterell, of Garnons, esq.

*Kent.* Leo. Bartholomew, of Ad-dington, esq.

*Leicestersh.* E. Hartop Wigley, of Little Dalby, esq.

*Lincolnsh.* Sir T. Whichcote, of Afwarby, bart.

*Monmouthshire.* W. Dinwoody, of Abergavenny, esq.

*Northumberland.* J. Lowes, of Ridley-hall, esq.

*Northamptonsh.* J. Ereke Willes, of Aistrop, esq.

*Norfolk.* James Pell, of Snare-hill, esq.

*Nottinghamsh.* G. Chaworth, of Annesley, esq.

*Oxford.* David Fell, of Caver-sham, esq.

*Rutlandsh.* H. O'Brien, of Tix-over, esq.

*Salop.* St. J. Charlton, of Charl-ton, esq.

*Somersetsh.* J. Stephenson, of Bay-ford, esq.

*Staffordsh.* J. Sparrow, of Bish-ton, esq.

*Suffolk.* Miles Barne, of Satter-ley, esq.

*Co. Southampton.* G. Dacre, jun. of Marwell, esq.

*Surrey.* S. Long, of Carshalton, esq.

*Suffex.* H. Manning, of South-over, esq.

*Warwickshire.* H. Clay, of Bir-mingham, esq.

*Worcestersh.* Ph. Gresley, of Sal-warpe Court, esq.

*Wiltshire.* Gifford Warrener, of Conock, esq.

## SOUTH WALES.

*Caerm.* W. Paxton, of Middle-ton-hall, esq.

*Pemb.* W. Philips, of Hill, esq.

*Cardig.* Matt. Davies, of Wi-leirog, esq.

*Glam.* W. Lewis, of Greenmea-dow, esq.

*Brecon.* S. Hughes, of Tregun-ter, esq.

*Radn.* F. Garbet, of Knill, esq.

## NORTH WALES.

*Anglesey.* T. Williams, of Lani-dan, esq.

*Carnarv.* R. Lloyd, of Gesselgy-farch, esq.

*Merioneth.* J. Wynn Pugh, of Garthmaelen, esq.

*Montgomerysh.* Maurice Stephens, of Birthdw, esq.

*Denbigh.* E. Lloyd, of Cefn, esq.

*Flintshire.* C. Brown, of Llwyn-egrin, esq.

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SHERIFF appointed by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in Council, for the Year 1790.

*County of Cornwall.* R. Hichens, of Poltair, esq.

## APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

*Dr. Johnson's Monument.*

**A**T a meeting of the friends to the memory of the late Dr. Samuel Johnson, held at Thomas's tavern, in Dover-street, pursuant to public advertisement, on Tuesday, January 5th, 1790.

Sir Joseph Banks, bart. in the chair,

The following resolutions were entered into:

I. That a sum of six hundred guineas will be requisite to erect a monument, in Westminster-Abbey, to the memory of Dr. Samuel Johnson; consisting of a single statue, according to the plan and estimate made by Mr. Bacon, sculptor, and approved of by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

II. That the measures which have hitherto been taken to procure subscriptions for this purpose have proved ineffectual; the total amount of the sums already received not exceeding two hundred pounds.

III. That a committee of eight persons be appointed (of which Sir William Scott and Sir Joshua Reynolds, the surviving executors of Dr. Johnson, shall be two), to consider of the most proper measures to be taken to procure contributions to effectuate so desirable an object; and that the said committee be requested to apply, by letter, in the names of any four of them, to such

persons as may be thought likely to aid and patronize this undertaking.

IV. That the following six gentlemen, in conjunction with Dr. Johnson's two surviving executors, be the committee:

SIR JOSEPH BANKS, bart.  
The Rt. Hon. W. WINDHAM,  
The Rt. Hon. ED. BURKE,  
EDMOND MALONE, esq.  
PHILIP METCALF, esq. and,  
JAMES BOSWELL, esq.

V. That the foregoing resolutions be published in the newspapers.

VI. That the thanks of this meeting be given to the chairman.

JOSEPH BANKS.

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*Report of persons appointed by a Committee of the House of Commons, to inspect the several Houses and other Buildings immediately joining to Westminster-hall, and the two Houses of Parliament, and the Offices thereto belonging, &c.*

**I**N obedience to your resolution of the 17th instant, that we should inspect all the buildings of the house of lords, the house of commons, office of exchequer, the different offices belonging to the same, and the other buildings contiguous to Westminster-hall, and to report our opi-

nion of the present state of the same, and their security from fire and other accidents; we beg leave to make the following report, in which we are unanimous, after having inspected the same with care and attention.

The house of lords, prince's chamber, and painted chamber, are buildings of great antiquity, in many parts defective; and have been altered and repaired so very much, from time to time, that, though they may stand many years, are incapable of useful repair and improvement; and there are cellars under the whole, variously occupied, only one of which is secured by arches from the communication of fire. All the buildings east of the house of lords are in so bad a state, that many of them are in immediate danger of falling down, and are therefore unoccupied and shut up; and the others would cost more to repair than rebuild them. The building west of the house of lords, containing the entrance thereto, and the staircase and committee room, is a substantial modern building; and the other buildings adjoining, comprising the passages, black rod and privy seal rooms, are part built with timber, liable to rapid decay, and accidents from fire; and the remainder extremely old and ruinous.

The house of commons, though an ancient building, has been so continually repaired, that it is in a state to remain a great many years; but is so connected with the auditor of the exchequer's house and offices, and surrounded by a great number of other buildings, applied to various purposes, and in various occupations, as to expose the whole to a general conflagration, should an ac-

cidental fire happen in any one of them.

The dwelling-house in Cotton-garden, belonging to the principal clerk of the house of commons, communicating therewith, erected within thirty years past, is defective in several places, from the insecurity of the foundations.

The buildings east of Westminster-hall, between it and the river, are the pell-office and chambers over it in the east tower, and the offices of the exchequer, contiguous and connected with the hall, and situate between New Palace-yard and St. Stephen's court: those of the four tellers are most inconveniently arranged, and liable to immediate destruction in case of fire, being placed in the upper story, without any walls of division, or arched floors; are separated only by timber partitions, surrounded by combustible buildings, stables, coach-houses, hay-lofts, servants lodging-rooms, and kitchens: the dutchy court of Lancaster, a slight building of one room, and over it the dutchy chamber, with garrets above; the kitchen of the clerk to the deputy usher of the exchequer, a low shed, between these rooms and the easternmost tower, and immediately connected with them. The house inhabited by the usher of the exchequer, in New Palace-yard, eastward of the dutchy court of Lancaster, has a brick front, and its rear is entirely of timber, lathed and plaistered, forming two sides of a narrow court, from which it receives light, and which communicates with the windows of the tellers office, cash rooms, and of the dutchy court; and most of the kitchen offices belonging to the deputy-usher and his clerk, are immediately under those offices, and the



the small wood staircases in the centre of them, and leading thereto.

The buildings on the east side of New Palace-yard, from the king's bridge or water-gate, to the house in possession of Mr. Roberts, tenant to the Marquis of Buckingham, as teller of the exchequer, contain the late cofferer's office, the office of the auditor of the land revenue, the lottery office, the examiner's office, the tellers for the payment of American claims, the pells American office, the exchequer-billbook-binders office, the office of the auditor of the principality of Wales, the annuity pell-office, the first and second annuity offices, and the 14 per cent. annuity office, which are principally constructed with timber, lath and plastered, or weather-boarded; in many places propt up, and in others contiguous to low sheds, equally combustible. The adjoining building southward is Mr. Roberts's house, which, with the garden, occupies all the space from St. Stephen's court to the river, and is immediately connected with the last-mentioned offices; it has been lately repaired, and some additional small buildings erected thereto. The next house, adjoining southward to the last-mentioned, belongs to lord viscount Bayham as teller of the exchequer; the buildings and garden likewise extend to the Thames, and are at present unoccupied, being in a very dilapidated state.

On the west side of St. Stephen's court, against the east wall of Westminster-hall, are the coach-houses and stables of the auditor of the exchequer, having hay-lofts and servants lodging-rooms over them, which adjoin to and come close under the windows of the office and cash-room of one of the tellers. On

the south of this court is the auditor of the exchequer's house, extending southward to the house of commons, and under part of it; the garden extends to the river. The buildings are substantial, and extend under two of the committee-rooms of the house of commons.

The court of exchequer, and exchequer chamber, contiguous to, and connected with, Westminster-hall, are very old, but not in a state of actual ruin. On the ground-floor, under the court of exchequer, is the *custos brevium* of the court of common pleas, and treasurer's office belonging; the ceiling and walls of them are lined with deal, are insecure from fire, and very damp. Adjoining westward to these, and projecting into the street, to the great obstruction and imminent danger of persons and carriages passing to and from the houses of parliament, is situated an old brick building, occupied on the ground-floor by the deputy-usher of the court of exchequer, most of his rooms containing a fireplace, and the ceilings are flat and low; over these, on the one-pair of stairs, is the king's remembrancer's office, and over that the augmentation office. We understand, that, so long ago as the passing of the act of parliament for building Westminster bridge, a clause was inserted, empowering the commissioners under that act to remove this nuisance, the roof of which is immediately connected with the court of exchequer. The public-houses and coffee-houses on the south side of New palace-yard, immediately adjoining the *custos brevium* of the court of common pleas, are particularly dangerous, as they have several chimnies and coppers; the roofs are under, and close to, the windows of the

the *custos brevium*, and some of them covered with sail-cloth pitched; the smoke of one of the chimnies is conveyed by a slight tin funnel, and, as well as the flues, are near the windows of Westminster-hall, of the towers, and of the court of exchequer.

Next to St. Margaret's-street, and adjoining southward to the old brick building before-mentioned, is a building of the same kind, containing the tally office, being a depositary for the tallies belonging to the exchequer. Adjoining southward thereto is the coach-house for the judges, a slight timber-building, covered with tiles.

The stone building next St. Margaret-street, comprizing committee-rooms, and other apartments occupied by officers of the house of commons, *custos brevium* of the court of king's bench, and the exchequer bill office, is of recent date, and very substantial. Behind that building, and contiguous to Westminster-hall, are the court of common pleas, judges chambers, and record office, which are in tolerably good condition; to them are annexed fundry excrescences, mostly of timber, which should be removed, as they increase the danger of fire and its communication.

The court of requests is in itself a secure substantial building, but communicates with, and is surrounded on the south and west by, a variety of houses, which are private property, part of them timber; which must very much endanger the whole as long as they remain.

We beg leave to submit to this honourable committee, that, from the very circumstantial detail we have entered into of the state of the various parts of the buildings which

the committee requested we might examine, it is almost superfluous and unnecessary to declare our unanimous opinion, that the hazard they have been, and still are, exposed to from fire, are so great, that we cannot help being astonished at their having so long and so happily escaped (with but one late and fortunate exception) from the most imminent danger. Unprotected by walls of either brick or stone, connected and joined together by boarded or lath and plastered partitions; with iron bars to defend the windows of the most consequential offices, which serve to attract the lightning, to the destruction of their valuable contents, with funnels and chimnies running into old decayed piers, in the very bosom of these combustible materials, in many of which fire from a neglected chimney might consume the whole; without the possibility of bringing sufficient water to extinguish the flames, such aid being hitherto overlooked, or deemed unnecessary, and not more than one engine kept near the most essential offices in this kingdom. All which is humbly submitted.

ROBT. ADAM,  
GEO. DANCE,  
J. P. COCKERELL,  
H. HOLLAND,  
JOHN YENN,  
JOHN SOANE,  
ROBT. BROWNE,  
THO. TILDESLEY,  
JOHN WOOLFE, Jun.  
R. ADAM, for R. MYLNE.  
THOS. FULLING,  
CHA. ALEX. CRAIG,  
JAMES WYATT.

20th July,  
1789.

*Particulars*

*Particulars respecting the last Illness and Death of the Emperor.*

ON the 5th of February very unfavourable symptoms began to alarm his physicians.

On the 6th his majesty was thought to be rather better. Dr. Querin, his first physician, was created a baron; and, as a proof of his majesty's confidence in his skill, received a present of ten thousand florins.

It was on the 7th that the emperor was made fully acquainted with the danger of his disorder. It was on that day that the emperor sent for Querin, and insisted on knowing the doctor's real opinion of his case. The doctor replied, with tears in his eyes, "Sire, your disorder is incurable."—The monarch, seemingly not at all affected, said, "I have mighty affairs on my mind that I wish to settle. Do you think I may be able to hold out a few weeks longer?"—"Your majesty may, it is possible," said the doctor; "but such is the nature of your complaint, that I should conceal from your majesty the truth, if I did not tell you, that, in cases like yours, the patients are every minute in danger of being carried off."—The emperor, on hearing this, was silent for some moments. He then signed a dispatch which his ministers had prepared for him. It was directed to his brother, the grand duke of Tuscany; the object was, to apprise his brother of his approaching dissolution, and to press his highness's presence at Vienna. The dispatch was instantly sent off.

A short time after this interview, the emperor seemed more composed, and inclined to rest.

He continued for some days in a

state of great composure, did business with his five secretaries, rose in the morning, was dressed, and walked about; but his cough was frequently violent, and at those times he seemed in danger of suffocation.

On the 13th he received the holy sacrament in the royal apartments; at which time he called all his secretaries before him, spoke to each with great condescension, recommending fidelity in their several departments to his successor, and, as a proof of his approbation of their conduct to himself, ordered each a thousand ducats.

On the 14th he continued in the same state of contemplative serenity in which he had remained for some days before. But on the 15th he grew worse; and at eight in the morning, being thought by his physicians to be in great danger, he received the *extreme unction*.

On the 16th he still continued struggling with death, as loath to leave a country convulsed and embarrassed as his dominions were, without being able to recommend to his successor any practicable plan for their arrangement.

On the 17th his favourite niece, the archduchess Elizabeth, who did not expect to be delivered till March, being an eye-witness of the near approach of the emperor's death, was suddenly taken in labour in the morning; at six in the evening she was seized with strong convulsions; at nine was delivered; and at six next morning expired.

The emperor, who had a truly paternal affection for this amiable princess, whom he himself had chosen as a fit consort for his nephew, was incessantly making enquiries after her health, after hearing she was in labour; and it was thought proper

per at last, that his majesty's confessor should break to him the melancholy event, which probably accelerated his death by some hours.

His majesty, the day after the death of the archduchess, sent to the countess de Chancos an order for 100,000 florins, as a mark of gratitude for the attention which she had shewn to this beloved princess. The countess had been at the head of her royal highness's household.

About the same time, finding death drawing near, his majesty sent for cardinal Migazi, archbishop of Vienna. When he arrived, "My lord," said the Emperor, "my life is drawing fast to an end: it is fit that I should die in Christian peace with all men. If I have offended you, I intreat your forgiveness; and through you the forgiveness of all mankind." "Sire," said his eminence, with tears in his eyes, "the offences you have committed against man, your death will expiate. For those *accountable to God, God is merciful.*" From ten o'clock at night on the 19th, till half after five on the 20th, his majesty continued in the agonies of death, and at that hour expired, in the 49th year of his age, and in the 26th year of his reign as emperor of the Romans, and the 10th as king of Hungary and Bohemia. He succeeded to the imperial crown, on the demise of his father Francis, the 18th of August, 1765; and to the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria, on the death of his mother Maria Theresa, Nov. 29, 1780. He was twice married: first, to a princess of Parma, and, again, to a princess of Bavaria; but, having left no issue, the hereditary honours of his house devolve on his brother, Peter

Leopold Joseph, grand duke of Tuscany.

Two days before his death, he wrote with his own hand a farewell letter to the empress of Russia, who, it is said, lies dangerously ill. He wrote likewise to prince Potemkin; as it is supposed recommending peace.

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*Account of the miraculous Escape of Captain Bligh, of the Bounty Sloop.*

**T**HIS ship sailed from England in the autumn of 1787, on a voyage to the Society Islands, for bread-fruit-trees, intended for our West-India settlements; in which climate, it was the opinion of Sir Joseph Banks, they might be successfully cultivated, and prove a succedaneum for other provisions in times of scarcity.

The Bounty had made good the object of her voyage, so far as to have received on board a great number of these trees in various stages of growth; and there was every prospect of there being capable of preservation.

The ship, thus laden, quitted Otaheite, on the 4th of April, 1789, and continued her course in a westerly direction, touching at one more island, and then meditating her progress through the Pacific Ocean, towards the Moluccas.

The ship lost sight of the Friendly islands on the 27th of that month, and every thing like good order was supposed to prevail on board; even the mid-watch was relieved without the least apparent disorder: but, at day-break on the 28th, the cabin of Captain Bligh, who commanded the Bounty, was forcibly entered by the officer

officer of the watch, assisted by three others upon the watch, who dragged him instantly on the deck, menacing his life if he attempted to speak. His endeavours to exhort and bring back the conspirators to their duty proved of no avail. Each of the desperadoes was armed with a drawn cutlass, or fixed bayonet; and all their musquets were avowed to be charged.

Captain Bligh discovered, when he came upon deck, several of the crew, and most of the officers, pinnioned; and while he was thus contemplating their perilous state, the ship's boat was let over her side, and all who were not on the part of the conspirators, to the number of eighteen, besides the Captain, were committed to the boat, and no other nourishment afforded to them than about 140 pounds of bread, 30 pounds of meat, one gallon and a half of rum, a like portion of wine, and a few gallons of water. A compass and quadrant were secured by one of these devoted victims, as he was stepping into the boat: and thus abandoned, the mutineers, after giving them a cheer, stood away, as they said, for Otaheite.

The captain, in this dreadful situation, found his boatswain, carpenter, gunner, surgeon's mate, two midshipmen, and one master's mate, with Mr. Nelson the botanist, and a few inferior officers, among those who were likely to share his fate. After a short consultation, it was deemed expedient to put back to the Friendly Islands; and accordingly they landed on one of these, in hopes they might improve their small stock of provisions, on the 30th of April; but were driven off by the natives two days after, and pursued with such hostility, that one man was killed, and several wounded.

It was then deliberated, whether they should return to Otaheite, and throw themselves on the clemency of the natives; but the apprehension of falling-in with the Bounty, determined them, with one assent, to make the best of their way to Timor; and, to effect this enterprize, astonishing to relate! they calculated the distance near 4000 miles; and, in order that their wretched supply of provisions might endure till they reached the place of destination, they agreed to apportion their food to one ounce of bread and one jill of water a day for each man. No other nourishment did they receive till the 5th or 6th of June, when they made the coast of New Holland, and collected a few shell-fish; and with this scanty relief they held on their course to Timor, which they reached on the 12th, after having been forty-six days in a crazy open boat, too confined in dimensions to suffer any of them to lie down for repose, and without the least awning to protect them from the rain, which almost incessantly fell for forty days. A heavy sea and squally weather, for great part of their course, augmented their misery.

The governor of this settlement, which belongs to the Dutch, afforded them every succour they required. They remained here, to recruit their strength and spirits, till the 20th of August, when they procured a vessel to carry them to Batavia. They reached Batavia on the 2d of October last; and from thence captain Bligh and two of the crew embarked for the Cape of Good Hope, and the rest of the crew were preparing to follow as soon as a passage could be obtained.

Captain

Captain Bligh reached the Cape about the middle of December; and soon after took his passage for England, which he reached on the evening of the 13th of March, and arrived in London on the 14th.

The leader of the mutineers is named Fletcher Christian; a man of respectable family and connections, and considered a good seaman: he was of the rank of master's mate of the *Bounty*, and served regularly the watch from the time the ship failed from England. The command of the *Bounty* thus devolving upon him, there was no possibility of defeating his purpose; as not the least previous circumstance could be traced, from the testimonies of the faithful part of the crew after they were in the boat, of a mutiny being on foot. The mutineers were to the number of 25; and those who remained firm to their duty 19; consequently, had the slightest suspicion been entertained of the design, it might have been easily frustrated, as all the principal officers remained faithful to their commander.

A conjecture not improbable is, that the plot was projected while captain Bligh was engaged on shore at Otaheite and other islands, collecting plants, and making charts. This officer only holds the rank of lieutenant in our navy. His merit pointed him out to the Admiralty as highly qualified for this expedition; and the distresses he has undergone entitle him to every reward. In navigating his little skiff through so dangerous a sea, his seamanship appears as matchless as the undertaking seems beyond the verge of probability.

We felicitate those who were companions in this hazardous voyage, that in the present Admi-

nistrally board exists a disposition to foster and protect suffering merit; and our dock-yards, it is hoped, will prove an asylum to most of them to the end of their lives.

We are sorry to add, that Mr. Nelson, the botanist, died soon after the boat reached Timor. This gentleman went out with his majesty's particular approval: and a secondary object of the voyage was to collect curious plants for the botanic garden at Kew.

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*Account of the Disaster that befel his Majesty's Ship Guardian, Lieutenant Riou, Commander.*

**T**HIS ship was fitted out in a most expensive manner, and furnished with all sorts of stores and provisions for the new settlement at Botany-bay, and had a very prosperous voyage till she arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, where she recruited her provisions, and increased the number of her live-stock, beyond any former precedent.

On the 24th of December, 1789, being in lat. 44° S. and long. 41° 30' E. of London, the weather extremely foggy, we saw an island of ice about three miles to the S.W. Lieutenant Riou gave directions to stand towards it, in order to collect lumps of ice to supply the ship with water. This proceeding was judged highly expedient, as the daily demand of water was prodigious, owing to the great quantity of cattle on board. As the ship approached the island, the boats were hoisted out and manned, and several lumps collected. During this time the ship lay-to, and on the supply of water being brought on board, she

attempted to stand away. Very little apprehension was at this time entertained of her safety, although the monstrous bulk of the island occasioned an unfavourable current, and, in some measure, gave a partial direction to the wind.

On a sudden the base of the island, which projected under water considerably beyond the limits of the visible part, struck the bow of the ship; she instantly swung round, and her head cleared; but her stern coming on the shoal, struck repeatedly, and the sea being very heavy, her rudder broke away, and all her works abaft were shivered. The ship in this situation became in a degree embayed under the terrific bulk of ice; the height of which was twice that of the main-mast of a ship of the line.

At this critical moment, the captain and officers retaining their spirit, their example and vigorous exertion led the people to their duty; but it was with difficulty they prevailed on to overcome the first panic, and lend their assistance to trim and fill the sails. This being at last effected, and the fore top-gallant-sail and stay-sails between the fore and main-mast being set on the ship, she began to forge-off, and the same instant struck with greater force, if possible, than before, nearly a-breast of the main chains, kept crashing for some time along the ice under her, and at last shot entirely clear of it. The weather continued very foggy, and the wind blowing strong, we soon lost sight of the ice; our spirits then gained new vigour, and served to supply fresh strength, and to support us under the afflictions which were yet in embryo.

From the commencement of these misfortunes to this short interval of

better hope, includes about the space of half an hour; and the cheering prospect again vanished as a flash of lightning.

At about a quarter past eight the carpenter came up from sounding the well, and reported two feet water in the hold, and that it was increasing very fast. The pumps were ordered to be rigged, and got to work, and all the officers and people joined in a diligent and spirited compliance therewith. The chain-pumps were at first found to be much out of order, which caused some delay. Meantime all the hands that could be spared were set to work to clear the deck of the cattle, &c. holding themselves in readiness, however, to man the pumps, which about nine o'clock were all at work; and three or four of the people were left between decks, to hoist up, and heave overboard, whatever they could manage. The water had at this time increased to three feet and a half, and was still gaining on all the pumps. The few hands left between decks did almost more than their strength could be expected to effect: in the course of half an hour, they got up and hove overboard most of the bags of flour, pease, wheat, barley, &c. received at the Cape of Good Hope, besides two hogsheds of tobacco. At about ten, water had increased to five feet.

Since the first of our misfortunes, there had not been an officer or man unemployed. It was, however, impossible that the few hands we had could hold out much longer, if employed together; a reservation was therefore made, by dividing the whole of the officers, seamen, convicts, &c. into two watches, to relieve alternately. About half past

ten, the first division went to the pumps. At this time the captain ordered refreshments to be allotted to each man, taking particular care that the grog should not be made too strong. Every man received a dram for the first supply, with biscuit and cheese, which seemed to give them fresh spirits. The rum above was soon nearly expended; but the captain thought it would be extremely dangerous to open the hold to get at more, for fear of the men's getting at it. Wine and water was accordingly given in lieu.

At midnight, the water had increased to six feet, and it was then blowing a very strong gale. At day-break a few hands were set about filling one of the lower studding-sails with oakum, and the off-watch were ordered to get it under the ship's bottom, which was found to be extremely difficult. The leak, however, gained upon us near a foot of water during this application. By unwearied exertions at the pumps it became reduced, and continued diminishing till near eleven o'clock, when the water was reduced to only nineteen inches.

At half past eleven we were, however, unhappily informed that the leak had again gained upon us some inches, and continued to do so, more or less, for a short time.— Another sail was then prepared for a second fothering, which again encouraged our hopes. At noon the water was 27 inches, the ship's head about W. the wind blowing very hard.

*Dec. 25.* It still continued to blow a strong gale, the sea running extremely high, often breaking over the ship with great violence. Between one and three in the afternoon, the second fothering was got

under the ship's bottom. About this time several of the crew became almost unable to perform any duty. The weather was likewise uncommonly piercing. At four the water again gained on us, when Mr. Clements went down by the way of the rudder into the gun-room, and from thence into the bread and spirit rooms, to endeavour to discover the leak, but without effect. It was then thought fit to endeavour to scuttle the deck close aft, which, being out of the roll of the water, would enable us to get up and heave overboard some more of the cargo.

Accordingly, the captain, the chaplain, the purser, and two men, were employed in this business, but unfortunately endeavouring to heave up a cask, it fell back on the captain, and bruised his hand in so shocking a manner, as to disable him from giving any farther assistance. This endeavour was then given up, and all hands were again set to the pumps.

At five the water increased to four feet, and at midnight to four feet and a half. At this time the starboard pump became disabled, from the wrench breaking; and the leak from that time gained upon us very fast.

At four in the morning the water was reported to have increased to six feet, and at six to seven feet. About this time the people began to break off occasionally from the pumps, and to secrete themselves, and could only be kept to their duty by threatening to have them thrown overboard. During the night, the fore and main-top-sails were shivered by the violence of the wind, and the ship left entirely at the mercy of a most tremendous sea, the dreadful



ful prospect being rendered still more dismal by the thick, black, stormy clouds, which appeared as if collected to hide our misfortunes from the compassionate eye of Providence.

The people till now had been kept unacquainted with the true state of the ship, which had hitherto been reported favourable; when one of the carpenters stationed to sound the well, came up, and reported that the water was as high as the hallq-deck, and gaining above a foot every half hour. The officers could not possibly suppress this report; and many of the people, who were really unable to bear the fatigue any longer, immediately desponded, and gave themselves up to perish with the ship. A part of those who had got any strength left, seeing that their utmost efforts to save the ship were likely to be in vain, applied to the officers for the boats, which were promised to be got in readiness for them, and the boatswain was directly ordered to put the masts, sails, and compass, in each. The cooper was also set to work to fill a few quarter-casks of water out of some of the butts on deck, and provisions and other necessaries were got up from the hold.

Many hours previous to this, Lieutenant Riou had privately declared to his officers, that he saw the final loss of the ship was inevitable, and could not help regretting the loss of so many brave fellows. "As for me," said he, "I have determined to remain in the ship, and shall endeavour to make my presence useful as long as there is any occasion for it."

He was intreated, and even sup-

plicated, to give up this fatal resolution, and try for safety in the boats. It was even hinted to him how highly criminal it was to persevere in such a determination; but he was not to be moved by any intreaties.

He was, notwithstanding, as active in providing for the safety of the boats, as if he intended to take the opportunity of securing his own escape. He was throughout as calm and collected as in the happier moments of his life.

At seven o'clock she had settled considerably abaft, and the water was coming in at the rudder-case in great quantities. At half past seven, the water in the hold obliged the people below to come upon deck; the ship appeared to be in a sinking state, and settling bodily down, it was therefore almost immediately agreed to have recourse to the boats. While engaged in consultation on this melancholy business, Mr. Riou wrote a letter to the Admiralty, which he delivered to Mr. Clements. It was as follows:

"*H. M. S. Guardian,*  
Dec. 25, 1789.

"If any part of the officers or crew of the *Guardian* should ever survive to get home, I have only to say, their conduct after the fatal stroke against an island of ice was admirable and wonderful in every thing that relates to their duty, considered either as private men, or in his majesty's service.

"As there seems to be no possibility of my remaining many hours in this world, I beg leave to recommend to the consideration of the Admiralty a sister, who, if my conduct or service should be found deserving any memory, their favour might

might be shewn to, together with a widowed mother.

“ I am, Sir,

“ Remaining with great respect,

“ Your ever obedient servant,

(Signed) “ E. R1OU.”

“ *Phil. Stephens, esq.*”

He then ordered the boats to be hoisted out, in order to afford a chance of safety to as many as he could with propriety. The people who were able were accordingly collected together, and the cutter hoisted out on the lee-side, and afterwards the other boats on the booms. They were fortunately all got into the water with very little damage; but, the sea running immensely high, it was with difficulty they were kept from being stove along-side. The launch being forced to drop on the quarter, to make room for the two cutters, was nearly drawn under the quarter and sunk, and at last obliged to cast adrift from the ship, with only seven or eight men on board, and without any provision or water. A coil of rope was then handed from the quarter-gallery, and passed over to Mr. Somerville, the gunner, in the jolly-boat which hung over the stern. This boat, on being lowered down, was drawn under and sunk. As soon as the launch had again rowed a little nearer to the ship, one of the people in her caught hold of a rope, until the cutters brought them provisions, &c. and veered to a good distance astern. A small quantity of biscuit, and an eighteen gallon cask of water, was then let down between the main and mizen chains into the small cutter, which was the last thing taken in. The purser then got into the main-chains, and from thence leaped into her; Mr. Wadman and Mr. Trem-

lett likewise fortunately got into the boat from the mizen-chains. It was with great difficulty rowed clear of the ship, and steered for the launch.

The agitation of mind on this melancholy occasion may be better imagined than described. Mr. Riou was at this moment walking the quarter-deck, and seemed happy the boat had got safe from along-side. The ship was drifting astern, and gradually sinking in the water. Mr. Clements began to be afraid she would drive upon the launch; he therefore called to the crew, to cut the tow-rope, and row out of the ship's wake.

Mr. Somerville, the gunner, who was looking over the ship's stern, hearing the order, prayed them to hold fast a moment, and he would jump overboard, and swim to them: he did so, and was followed by John Spearman, seaman, who were both received safe, and the boat then cut, and rowed out of the ship's track. About three quarters past eight we got along-side the cutter, and Mr. Clements, Mr. Wadman, Mr. Tremlett, and the purser, with one or two more of the men, went on board, and took two bags of biscuit and a cask of water. The crew were ordered back to the ship, for further supplies, and to receive as many of the people as could with safety be taken on board.

They were not, however, to be prevailed on to return, but rowed off to some distance, and lay-by to observe our motions. The Rev. Mr. Crowther left the ship in the cutter, and got an opportunity of joining the launch, while making the exchange. There were then left on board the cutter, Mr. Brady, midshipman, Mr. Fletcher, captain's clerk, and five seamen.

By

By this time the jolly-boat had nearly come within hail, and we lay-by till informed of her situation: she brought with her neither provision, water, compass, or quadrant. Hence we were reduced to the sad medium of consulting our safety alone; and perhaps never did the human mind struggle under greater difficulties than we experienced in being obliged to leave so many behind, in all probability to perish: but it was evident that more people could not, with propriety, be received on board the launch, from our quantity of provisions, viz. two bags of biscuit, of about 100lb. each, two mutton hams of five pounds each, a goose, two fowls, about twelve pounds of butter, a cheese, a small keg of rum containing about four gallons, and a small rum cask of water, marked on the head twenty gallons. This was a very inadequate sustenance for fifteen souls already in the boat, who had to traverse the vast distance of 411 leagues in a boisterous ocean, without any means of relief.

There being yet a spare compass and quadrant in the launch, they were, by Mr. Clements's direction, handed into the jolly-boat. At this time one of the convicts attempted to get on board us, but was opposed by all, and pushed into the sea. The fellow in the struggle caught hold of Mr. Clements, who was with difficulty saved from being pulled out of the boat along with him. The people in the jolly-boat picked the man up again, and then took to their oars, and rowed close upon our quarter, as if determined to board us by force. To prevent therefore any scuffle, it was immediately agreed to make sail; and we took our final departure from this

scene of misery and distress, at about nine o'clock. The ship at this time appeared sunk down to her upper-deck ports. The large cutter, which was watching our motions; immediately made sail after us, but in a short time fell much to leeward: Mr. Clements thought they intended making for Prince Edward's, or Marien's and Crozet's island. The small cutter remained hanging on at a distance from the ship. They also stepped their mast in the jolly-boat, and made sail after us; but, disappearing almost at the same moment, we think the boat filled and went down.

At ten o'clock we had a hard squall of wind, with a heavy fall of rain; at half past eleven lost sight of the ship and small cutter. At noon observed the latitude to be 44 deg. 7 min. S.; the boat was kept as much to the northward as the sea would allow. The wind at this time was about N. W.

*Dec. 26.* Strong gales, squally and cloudy weather, with remarkably high seas. We were this night very much numbed and chilled with cold, and could get no sleep. In the morning the weather became more moderate. At four o'clock shifted the fore-mast to its proper place, stepped the main-mast, and set the fore and main-sails; at eight the people were employed to make a main-top-sail out of some sheets, and a yard out of one of the boat's thwarts; the hand of a broken oar was converted into a top-mast. A small tobacco canister was cut up to make a measure for the distribution of the water, rather less than a jill, two of which it was agreed to allow each man a day.

*Dec. 27.* First part, moderate breezes and cloudy weather.—At

one P.M. having boiled all our poultry, and cut up the goose, which was but small, into fifteen equal parts; one of the men forward was then blind-folded, and directed to call each person by name, and another was appointed to serve out the morsel by lots. Notwithstanding we had now fasted above thirty hours, all were perfectly satisfied with the small morsel; and some had so little appetite, that they reserved a part of it for a future occasion. But the very scanty measure of water received afterwards by no means allayed the universal craving for drink, evidently occasioned by the excessive heat and feverish state of our bodies. We did not dare, however, to take one drop more than the prescribed allowance. We therefore through necessity became philosophers, and submitted with becoming resolution to the exigences of the moment. At seven we received our second measure of water, which being succeeded by the coldness of the night, administered greatly to our relief. At midnight it blew a fresh gale, with dark, cloudy, and remarkably cold weather. The launch was at this time brought under her main-sail only, and the weather continuing much the same, no alteration was made throughout the day.

*Dec. 28.* The first part fresh gales and cloudy weather, middle more moderate. About noon we had one of the fowls cut up, and divided amongst us, as on the preceding day, and then received our jill of water. The heat and fever of our bodies increased, and our lips began to break out in watery and ulcerous blisters. This day one of the crew, being afraid of famishing, requested his whole

quantity of water for the day at one serving, which Mr. Clements opposed. He therefore had recourse to salt-water, of which he drank freely. At five in the morning got the top-mast up, and set the top-sail; at ten fresh gales, lowered and took in the top-sail. In these seas are constantly vast numbers of sea-fowl flying about; and had we been fortunate enough to have had a fowling-piece, we could not have been much at a loss for provisions. Powder and shot we had in store, and two brace of pistols, but were unable to do any execution with them.

*Dec. 29.* This day cut up and divided our last fowl, and shared our water as before. At day-break strong gales, with flying showers of rain, from which we endeavoured to benefit as much as possible, by facing the weather with our mouths open and handkerchiefs spread out; but the drifting moisture was so thin and light, that we were barely able to catch sufficient to wet our lips. This morning we received a small thimble - full of rum each, which was occasionally allowed.

*Dec. 30.* We were this day reduced to a very low ebb indeed, and could not eat the smallest crumb, till supplied with an additional measure of water to moisten our lips, which were almost held together by a tough viscid phlegm, that could not be expectorated but with the greatest difficulty. On this occasion we dipped our bit of biscuit in the water, and afterwards sucked a little of it with each mouthful, to force it down.—The butter, cheese, and hams, were left free for the use of every one; for they were found to occasion greater thirst, and therefore remained almost untouched. Several

of the crew had again recourse to the salt-water, which appeared not to have any had effects.

*Dec. 31.* We again suffered greatly this day from the burning heat of the sun, and the parched state of our bodies, and were allowed an additional measure of water, with a larger portion of rum than usual; in which we soaked our bit of biscuit, and made our meal of it.—About four in the afternoon the clouds began to shew for rain, and we made preparations accordingly; but were so unfortunate as to see it fall in heavy showers all around us, and had barely as much over the boat as would wet our handkerchiefs.

The people this day appeared to be in a more hopeless state than ever, and discovered signs of disrespect to their officers; which was, however, happily checked in time by the spirited conduct of the gunner, who chastised the leader in the face of the whole crew, and restored discipline. Many of the people this day drank their own urine, and others tried the salt-water. The weather was this day more warm and sultry than at any time since our misfortunes.

*Jan. 1.* We dined this day as on the preceding, and in general appeared in better spirits; which we considered on account of its being the first day of the new year, — a happy preface of our safety!

*Jan. 2.* Clear weather, till about four in the afternoon, when it became overcast, and blew a fresh gale. We had before this dined on our usual fare of biscuit and water, with half a measure of rum, and were all in tolerable spirits; but the gale increasing during the night, and the sea running immensely high, brought us again into great dan-

ger, which, with the disappointment of not seeing land in the morning, as expected; reduced us to our former miserable state of despondency. At eight in the evening the fore-sail was shifted to the main-mast, and the boat sailed under it reefed till about six in the morning, when the mizen was set on the fore-mast, to give her greater steerage-way. At noon the latitude was by observation 33 deg. 19 min. and supposed longitude E. of Greenwich 34 deg. 15 min.

*Jan. 3.* About seven in the evening the clouds put on the appearance of a very heavy rain, but unfortunately broke over in a most dreadful storm of thunder and lightning, attended with gusts of wind, and very little rain, succeeded by a violent gale of several hours from the S. W. in which we were near perishing. On this occasion the master and the gunner succeeded each other at the helm, and, by their experience and judgment in the management of the boat, we were this night enabled to traverse in safety an ocean of such fierce and tremendous seas, in different directions, as we could scarcely allow ourselves the hope of escaping.

At day-break the gunner, who was then at the helm, discovered a ship at a little distance from us, laying under her bare poles. Our joy at this sight was great beyond expression, and, anxious to secure so favourable an occasion, we immediately made more sail, and between five and six o'clock passed close under her, and informed her people of our distresses. We then veered about, and put along-side her on the other tack.

The people on board her crowded immediately to our assistance, and

received us in the most friendly manner. As soon as we were alongside, several of them jumped in, and assisted in keeping the boat from being stove.

This ship was named the *Vicomtesse* of *Britannic*, a French merchantman, *Martin Doree*, master, with part of *Walsh's* or 95th regiment, from the *isle of France*, to touch at the *Cape of Good Hope* for a supply of water and provisions, on her way to *Europe*. The officers of this corps were unbounded in their friendship and attention towards us, affording us every possible comfort, and even giving up their beds for our use.

*Jan. 18.* At noon anchored in *Table Bay*, *Cape of Good Hope*.

But to return to the ship.—She continued some days in the same state as at the departure of the boats, at the mercy of the winds and waves, without a rudder, and every instant, in danger of being swallowed up in the abyss. Attempts, however, were made by the crew, occasionally, to reduce the water, when their strength permitted, and thus, by wonderful exertions, was the *Guardian* kept afloat, till a Dutch packet-boat from the *Spice islands* and *Batavia*, providentially steering a high southerly latitude, fell in with her, afforded her aid of men and materials, and enabled her to make good her way back to the *Cape of Good Hope*, and kept her company during her course. The *Guardian* was full 400 leagues from the *Cape*, when she fell in with the island of ice.

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*Authentic Account of the Loss of the  
Vansittart Indiaman.*

**S**UNDAY the 23d of August,  
standing across the channel to-

wards the *Banca shore*, at a quarter past four P.M. sent the cutter to sound to windward of the ship, there being an appearance of shoal-water, and brought to with the main top-sail aback, to wait for her. At a quarter past five she returned, and informed us that the appearance arose from a large quantity of the spawn of fish on the surface of the water; at which time shoaled, suddenly from 17 to 10 fathoms, and then to seven, in a single cast of the hand lead.

Anchored immediately with the small bower, and clewed all up as fast as possible; but, in swinging to her anchor, the ship took the ground abreast of the mizen chains. Sounding around her, we found six fathoms at her bows, five at the gangways, in the mizen chains one-fourth less three; but under her stern four one-half fathoms.—Immediately furled all the sails, and brought-to upon the small bower, to endeavour to heave the ship a-head; but the anchor coming home very fast, desisted. The cutter sounding around the ship, found deep water every where to leeward of her. Set the head-sails, and dowsed the cable, upon which she swung off to her anchor, and no where along-side found less than five fathoms, though abreast the larboard mizen chains; in throwing the lead a little way farther out from the ship, found only four fathoms upon a rock, from which the lead tumbling, it fell into five fathoms. The ship making water, turned the people to the pumps.

By the cutter's soundings, it appeared that there was deeper water two or three ships' lengths right astern. Veered away the whole cable, and riding a-head to wind, which was at E. S. E. found no where

where less than six fathoms about her, and in some seven; but some little distance astern there was only six fathoms, from that deepening to 10 and 12 fathoms. All around from the S. E. to the southward, and as far as west, was a clear channel and deep water. Set a spring upon the cable to insure her casting to starboard; sent the cutter to anchor in deep water, and to shew lights; set the head-sails, and cut the cable; ran about a quarter of a mile to the W. S. W. and anchored with the best bower in 18 fathoms water, sand and mud. About half past nine, the pumps sucked; found she made upwards of four feet an hour; but were able to keep her free during the night with all the pumps going. At day-light, hearing a rustling of water in the bread-room, cleared away by hoisting up 13 chests of treasure and the bread, and found the water rushing in through the ceiling, about three feet above the keelson on the starboard side, and about 18 inches abaft the bulk-head of the bread-room: cut out a piece of the ceiling, when we could plainly perceive that the outside plank was stove in, daylight appearing through her bottom. Endeavoured to fill the room betwixt the timbers up with oakum, but found it impossible. We then prepared a piece of fir, about four feet long, and nearly the size of the chamber, sothering it round with oakum, to fill up. Put one end of it betwixt the ceiling and outside plank, and endeavoured to secure the other end down, but found the force of water so great we could derive no benefit from this. Swifted the ship, and prepared a sheep's skin; and a seaman (John Bartlett) undertook for a reward to dive, and endea-

vous to place the skin over the lead, and which he asserted he had done. No good, however, was derived from it; on the contrary, the water began to gain on the pumps considerably. It was then agreed in consultation to cut the cable, and run as fast as possible, hoping to be able to keep her afloat till we could reach the flat shore of Sumatra, where we should be in the tract of ships, and perhaps be able to save the treasure at least. This was put in execution about three P. M. the water having gained 18 inches upon the pumps in the last two hours, steered at first N. N. W. then N. W. but the water gaining very fast, hauled in W. for the land of Banca. At five P. M. notwithstanding the most vigorous exertions at the pumps, the water had gained in greater proportion for the last half hour than before, having now 5 feet 6 inches in the hold. Saw an island from the mast-head, bearing W. S. W. and hauled up for it, but could not fetch it. What hands could be spared from the pumps were employed in hoisting up water and provisions out of the fore hold, getting the long-boat out, and rigging her. During the hours of six, seven, and eight, the ship settled fast, notwithstanding the utmost exertions at the pumps, the water having gained to eight feet. At about a quarter before nine, ran her on shore upon an island in the lat. of 8 deg. 9 min. S. and about seven miles from the coast of Banca, there being now 9 feet 10 inches of water in the hold. She grounded upon a bank of sand, just without a reef of rocks, and about three quarters of a mile from the island from which the reef extended. At day light in the morning, sent an officer on shore to en-

deavour to find water, who, after the most diligent search, in which he was unsuccessful, returned on board. We had been able to hoist out of the hold but one butt, four gang casks, and five small casks, before the water flowed over, which, with eight casks of porter, was all the liquor we could get at, except spirits. In consultation it was unanimously agreed to embark the people in the boats, with what water and provisions they could carry, and proceed to the island.

Accordingly on Tuesday at four o'clock P. M. we embarked in our boats, leaving behind what porter and provisions we were unable to carry; having previously thrown overboard 13 chests of treasure, spiked up the quarter-deck guns, and thrown overboard what powder and ammunition remained after supplying the boats.

The order in which we embarked was as follows:

	Number of Hands.
The captain and chief mate in the cutter, in all	- 14
The second and fourth ditto, in the long-boat	- 59
The third and fifth ditto, in the pinnace	- 14
The sixth and gunner in the yaw	- 14
In the jolly-boat	- 8
The boatswain and four more in the gigg	- 5
In all	114

The long-boat very narrowly escaped being lost, having struck on the reef of the island; and with all our exertions we found it impossible to get her without it before dark. Accordingly brought her to anchor, and the small boats returned and lay under the lee of the ship for

the night. In the morning (Wednesday 26th August 1789), took our final departure, and stood along shore, having all the people embarked, except George Scott, seaman, who was drowned in the gun-room.

The boats kept very well together, till Friday morning, when it was discovered that the boatswain, with four hands, were missing. At one P. M. discovered two ships at anchor, near the Banca shore, and at half past four P. M. got on board the Nonfuch, capt. Canning, and the General Elliot, capt. Lloyd, English country ships, who received us with all imaginable kindness; as soon as the people were a little refreshed, the cutter was sent in search of the gigg, but returned without success at three o'clock in the morning.

*Trial at the Old Bailey of Renwick Williams, commonly called The Monster.*

**R**ENWICK WILLIAMS was indicted upon the statute of 1st George I. for assaulting Miss Ann Porter on the king's highway, and feloniously and maliciously intending to cut and destroy her cloaths.

There was another count for cutting and tearing her clothes.

Mr. Pigott, leading counsel for the prosecution, stated the case with great precision.

Miss Ann Porter, the prosecutrix, was the first witness. She said, that on the 18th of January last she left the ball-room at St. James's, at a quarter past eleven o'clock at night, and went towards her father's house, accompanied by her sisters,



sisters, and a Mrs. Meale. As she was passing the rails of the house, she received a violent blow on her hip, and, turning round, saw the prisoner stoop down; she knew it was him, having seen his person before, and having been previously insulted by him with language too shocking to repeat. These previous insults she had received from him in the day-time three or four times, and therefore she took particular notice of him. After having assaulted her, he came by the rails of the door, stood close to her, and stared her full in the face. Her upper and under garment were cut, and she was terribly wounded by some extremely sharp instrument. She saw the prisoner afterwards in St. James's Park, on the 13th of June, when she pointed him out to Mr. Coleman. She was then desired to look at the prisoner at the bar, which she did, and positively declared he was the man who had assaulted her; she had suffered so much from him, that she could not be mistaken in his person, which had left a strong impression on her mind.

Miss Sarah Porter was then called, and desired to look at the prisoner. She said, she had seen him previous to the 18th of January, he having followed close behind her while she was walking, and, leaning his head towards her shoulder, uttered the most horrid language. She saw him in St. James's-street about a quarter past eleven o'clock, while in company with her sister Ann; he was standing with his back towards them as they passed, but some chairmen coming by, said, "By your leave, ladies;" upon hearing which the prisoner instantly turned round, and, perceiving the witness, exclaimed, "Oh! oh!"

and gave her a violent blow on the back of her head. The witness then desired her sister to run away, saying, "Don't you see *the wretch* is behind us?" the name by which they had distinguished him. This witness confirmed the testimony of her sister as to the assault in question, and swore positively to the identity of the prisoner's person, from her having frequently been followed and insulted by him.

Misses Rebecca and Martha Porter also confirmed the evidence of their sister, the prosecutrix, and proved the identity of the prisoner, they having both seen him several times before the queen's birth-day, and come in for a share of his obscene language.

Mr. John Coleman was then examined. He said, that being in company with the Miss Porters, in St. James's Park, on the 13th of June last, and being told that the man who had assaulted the prosecutrix had just passed them, he immediately followed the prisoner, who, suspecting he was followed, walked on very fast. He pursued him through different streets, looking full in his face, and doing every thing to affront him, in order that he might provoke him to an altercation; but the prisoner would not take any affront, bearing patiently every insult offered. The witness felt himself in some agitation, and was at a loss to know what means he should adopt, as he did not think it prudent to charge him directly with being *the Monster*. He was, however, determined to pursue him; and upon the prisoner's at last going into the house of a Mr. Smith (after knocking at two or three doors), he followed him, and asked Mr. Smith in the presence of the prisoner,

prisoner, who he was; and immediately apologizing for this question, said he must beg the prisoner to give him his address. Mr. Smith and the prisoner wished to have some reason assigned for this question; upon which the witness answered, he was told that the prisoner had insulted some ladies. The prisoner replied, he had never insulted any lady, and, after some little conversation, gave the witness his address, which was, "Mr. Williams, No. 52, Jermyn-street,"—the house where the prisoner's mother lived, and almost close to his own lodgings. The witness, upon seeing the name Williams, said, "Good God! I think I know you." To which the prisoner answered, "I think I know you." The witness then expressed his surprize, that he had not recollected him while he was following him, although he looked in his face so often; to which the prisoner said, "And it is surprizing that I should not have known you." The witness informed the court, that he had seen him several times at some assembly-room.

After exchanging addresses, they went out together from Mr. Smith's house, and the witness took leave of the prisoner; but in a few minutes afterwards he thought he had acted wrong in leaving him; he therefore pursued and overtook him, saying, he should not be satisfied, unless he would accompany him to the ladies. The prisoner, after expressing his wish to meet the witness at some coffee-house, was at length prevailed upon to go with him to the Miss Porters; and upon his entering the parlour, two of the young ladies instantly fainted away, saying, *That is the wretch.* The

prisoner said, the ladies behaviour was very strange, and he hoped they were not so prejudiced against him as to take him for the man that had been advertised. He did not appear to be the least agitated.

The prosecutrix's clothes were produced in court. They were cut quite through, from the bottom up to the waist.

Mr. Manus searched the prisoner's lodging, which was at the George public-house, Bury-street. It was a garret, in which were two beds in the front room, and two in the back, but only one door into both apartments. He found a white coat, a pair of boots, and an old hat.

Mr. Tomkins, a surgeon, proved the wound the prosecutrix had received, which was inflicted with an extremely sharp instrument. It was three or four inches deep, and about nine or ten in length.

#### D E F E N C E.

The prisoner lamented the hardship of his case. He said, he had no satisfaction, under the load of reproach and calumny that had been thrown upon him by popular prejudice, proceeding from a fatal mistake made by his prosecutors, but conscious innocence. He had been already prematurely convicted; but he trusted the evidence he should adduce would make his innocence manifest.

Many witnesses were then called to prove an *alibi*.

Mr. Michelle, a flower-maker, deposed, that the prisoner had worked for him for about eight or nine months past; that he was at work with him on the queen's birthday from six o'clock in the evening till half past twelve at night. The reason of his staying so late was the press of business. He was sure it

was

was half past twelve when he went away, as a servant looked at the clock, and heard the watchman call the hour, which agreed with it. This witness being a foreigner, his evidence was communicated by an interpreter.

Several other witnesses, who worked for Michelle, three of whom were females, also positively supported this *alibi*, and declared that the prisoner was a very good-natured man, and extremely kind and affable to the female sex; but they had not known him but for a short time.

There were some circumstances stated by these witnesses in which they contradicted each other, especially as to the time Michelle was at home in the afternoon, and the looking at the clock when the pri-

soner went home on the queen's birth-night; but they all swore that he did not go away before half past twelve o'clock.

Seventeen witnesses were called to the prisoner's character, some of whom were very handsome women. They all gave him a most excellent character for good-nature, humanity, and kindness to the fair-sex in particular.

Mr. Justice Buller summed up the whole of the evidence with his usual abilities, accompanied by numberless apposite observations. He said, if the jury should pronounce the prisoner guilty, he should reserve the question of law, as it was a new case, for the opinion of the twelve judges.

The jury pronounced the prisoner *Guilty*.

# A GENERAL BILL

OF

## All the CHRISTENINGS and BURIALS,

From DECEMBER 15, 1789, to DECEMBER 14, 1790.

Christened { Males 9766 } Buried { Males 9192 } Decreased in the Burials  
 { Females 9214 } { Females 8846 } this Year 2711.

Total Males and Females Christened 18980.		Total Males and Females Buried 18038.	
Died under Two Years	5877	—Forty and Fifty	1785
Between Two and Five	1948	—Fifty and Sixty	1548
—Five and Ten	748	—Sixty and Seventy	1233
—Ten and Twenty	640	—Seventy and Eighty	818
—Twenty and Thirty	1277	—Eighty and Ninety	376
—Thirty and Forty	1733	—Ninety and a Hundred	51
		A Hundred and Two	1
		A Hundred and Three	1
		A Hundred and Five	1
		A Hundred and Seven	1

### DISEASES.

<b>A</b> Abortive and Stillborn	306	Diabetes	1
Abicess	17	Dropfy	767
Aged	1000	Evil	6
Ague	3	Fever, malignant	1
Apoplexy and Sudden	198	Flux	4
Asthma and Phthisic	311	French Pox	27
Bed-ridden	13	Gout	83
Bleeding	7	Gravel, Strangury, and Stone	41
Bloody Flux	1	Grief	4
Bursten and Rupture	13	Head-Ach	0
Cancer	53	Headmouldshot, Horshothead, and Water in the Head	48
Canker	2	Jaundice	33
Chicken Pox	2	Impoethume	2
Childbed	150	Inflammation	142
Cholic, Gripes, twisting of the Guts	6	Itch	0
Cold	3	Leprosy	3
Consumption	4852	Lethargy	3
Convulsions	4003	Livergrown	1
Cough and Hooping-Cough	391	Lunatick	52

Mearles	119
Miscarriage	1
Mortification	183
Palfy	80
Pleurisy	7
Quinsy,	2
Rash	2
Rheumatism	7
Rickets	2
Rising of the Lights	0
Scald Head	0
Scurvy	5
Small Pox	1617
Sore Throat	5
Sores and Ulcers	7
St. Anthony's Fire	0
Stoppage in the Stomach	7
Surfeit	2
Swelling	0
Teeth	410
Thrush	-45
Tympany	0
Vomiting and Looseness	0
Worms	8

### CASUALTIES.

<b>B</b> Broken Limbs	4
Bruised	3
Burnt	16
Choked	2
Drowned	119
Excessive Drinking	5
Executed *	14
Found Dead	6
Fractured	2
Frighted	2
Frozen	0
Killed by Falls and several other Accidents	64
Killed themselves	31
Licked by a mad dog	0
Murdered	3
Overlaid	1
Poisoned	4
Scalded	8
Smothered	1
Starved	4
Suffocated	2
<hr/>	
Total	291

\* There have been executed in Middlesex and Surry 38; of which number 14 only have been reported as buried within the Bills of Mortality.

# APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. [269

The following authentic Extracts from the Corn-Register, are taken from Accounts collected from the Custom-House Books, and delivered to Mr. John James Catherwood, Receiver of Corn Returns, by Authority of Parliament.

*An Account of the Quantities of all Corn and Grain exported from, and imported into, England and Scotland, with the Bounties and Drawbacks paid, and the Duties received thereon, for the Year ended the 5th of January, 1791.*

## E X P O R T E D.

1790. ENGLAND.	BRITISH. Quarters.	FOREIGN. Quarters.	Bounties and Drawbacks paid.
			£.   s.   d.
Wheat - - - - -	11	742	}
D <sup>o</sup> Flour - - - - -	23,503	12,434	
Rye - - - - -	47	0 18	
Barley - - - - -	18,829	55	
Malt - - - - -	31,695		
Oats - - - - -	11,233	1,368	
Oatmeal - - - - -	1,033	8	
Beans - - - - -	8,820	1,259	
Pease - - - - -	7,116		
Indian Corn - - - - -		5,496	
<b>SCOTLAND.</b>			
Wheat - - - - -	1,296		}
D <sup>o</sup> Flour - - - - -	1,094		
Barley - - - - -	18		
D <sup>o</sup> , hulled - - - - -	198		
Malt - - - - -	369		
Oats - - - - -	387		
Oatmeal - - - - -	246		
Groats - - - - -	10		
Pease and Beans - - - - -	382		

## I M P O R T E D.

ENGLAND.	Quarters.	Duties received.
		£.   s.   d.
Wheat - - - - -	174,534	}
D <sup>o</sup> Flour - - - - -	65,862	
Rye - - - - -	21,683	
Barley - - - - -	24,267	
Oats - - - - -	614,768	
Oatmeal - - - - -	7,798	
Beans - - - - -	39,446	
Pease - - - - -	3,548	
Indian Corn - - - - -	10,546	

IMPORTED.

I M P O R T E D.

SCOTLAND.			Quarters.	Duties received.		
Wheat	-	-	25,041	} £: s. d.	1,630	6 2½
D <sup>o</sup> Flour	-	-	333			
Barley	-	-	5,850			
Oats	-	-	87,996			
Oatmeal	-	-	24,611			
Beans and Pease	-	-	192			

The following is an account of the average Prices of Corn in England and Wales, by the standard Winchester bushel, for the year 1790.

Wheat.		Rye.		Barley.		Oats.		Beans.	
s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
6	7¼	4	3	3	2	2	4	3	10

N.B. The price of the finest and coarsest sorts of grain generally exceed and reduce the average price as follows, viz.

	Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.
Per bushel,	6d.	3d.	3d.	3d.	6d.



272] ANNUAL REGISTER, 1790.

STATE of the BAROMETER and THERMOMETER, for  
the Year 1790.

N. B. *The highest and lowest Degree at which the Barometer and Thermometer stood in each Month is set down.*

	Days.	Barometer.		Days.	Thermometer.
January	- { 8 29	- 30—45. 29—26.	—	{ 9 13	- 33. 52.
February	- { 6 26	- 30—63. 29—90.	—	{ 7 25	- 37. 51.
March	- { 16 24	- 30—62. 29—80.	—	{ 13 21	- 53. 39.
April	- { 3 8	- 30—25. 29—18.	—	{ 11 23	- 35. 55.
May	- { 2 12	- 29—45. 30—15.	—	{ 6 28	- 51. 63.
June	- { 1 9	- 30—99. 29—52.	—	{ 2 22	- 55. 78.
July	- { 5 27	- 29—32. 30—14.	—	{ 1 20	- 66. 54.
August	- { 3 18	- 29—69. 30—11.	—	{ 21 27	- 72. 57.
September	- { 3 25	- 29—36. 30—37.	—	{ 7 15	- 50. 62.
October	- { 16 28	- 30—33. 29—64.	—	{ 3 18	- 59. 36.
November	- { 15 21	- 30—28. 28—96.	—	{ 16 26	- 36. 51.
December	- { 6 18	- 30—32. 28—72.	—	{ 11 29	- 50. 28.



*Public Acts passed in the seventh Session of the seventeenth Parliament of Great Britain.*

**A**N act for indemnifying all persons who have been concerned in advising or carrying into execution certain orders of council respecting the exportation of corn and grain, and also certain orders issued by the governor general of his Majesty's colonies in America.

Act for the better support of the dignity of speaker of the house of commons; and for disabling the speaker for the time being from holding any office or place of profit, during pleasure, under the crown.

The America intercourse act.

An act to indemnify such persons as have omitted to qualify themselves for offices and employments, &c.

An act for continuing so much of an act as relates to the rendering the payment of creditors more equal and expeditious in North Britain.

An act for taking off the duties on unwrought tin exported beyond the Cape of Good Hope.

Act to continue several laws relative to the manufacture of leather, &c.

Act to continue the encouragement and reward of persons discovering the longitude, &c.

Act for allowing time for the enrolment of deeds and wills made by papists.

Act for relief of the American loyalists and East Florida sufferers.

Act to settle an annuity on the heirs and descendants of William Penn, esq. the original proprietor of the province of Pennsylvania.

Act to settle an annuity on the Rev. Francis Willis, M. D.

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Act for amending an act 27 Geo. III. for allowing the importation and exportation of certain goods in the ports of Jamaica, Grenada, Dominica, New Providence, &c.

Act to exempt goods imported from the settlement of Yucatan, from the duties imposed on the sales of them by auction, &c.

Act for permitting the importation of Cashew gum, &c.

Act for encouraging new settlers in his majesty's American colonies.

Act for regulating the slave trade.

Act to enable the governors of certain places beyond the seas to remit the sentence of transported felons.

Act to change the punishment of burning of women.

Act to empower justices, &c. to visit parish workhouses.

Two acts respecting the duties on low wines and spirits in North Britain.

Act to continue the farming of the post-horse duties.

Act to alter an act 12 Geo. II. to prevent frauds in gold and silver wares, and to alter an act 24 Geo. III. granting a duty on gold and silver plate. -

Act for granting new duties on wine licences.

Act for laying a duty on the importation of rape seed, &c. and for the importation of rape cakes duty-free.

Act for converting certain annuities by tonnage, established by an act of last session, into certain annuities for an absolute term of years.

Act for granting new duties on tobacco, &c.

Act to continue for a limited time, the indemnity act passed Feb. 25, of the present session.

[S]

Act

Act to continue the act 26 G. III. for appointing commissioners to enquire into the state of the crown lands.

Act to explain an act 20 Geo. III. concerning county elections.

Act to amend the act limiting the number of outside passengers of stage coaches, &c.

Act to authorize the commissioners of the customs to defray charges of seizures out of his majesty's share of seizures in general.

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*An Abstract of an Act for limiting the Number of Persons to be carried on the Outside of Stage-Coaches, and other Carriages. 28 Geo. III. c. 57, 1788.*

**F**ROM the 1st day of November, 1788, if the driver of any coach, or other such carriage, travelling for hire, shall permit more than six persons at one time to ride upon the roof, or more than two persons to ride upon the box, of any such coach or carriage, on conviction, either by his own confession, the view of a Justice, or by oath of a credible witness before a Justice of the place where the offence may be committed, to forfeit forty shillings for every person riding as outside passenger above the number mentioned; and if the offender be owner of the coach, then four pounds: and, in default of payment of either penalty, the offender may be committed for a month.

If the driver of any coach, &c. travelling with a greater number of outside-passengers than allowed, cannot be found, or shall not appear in consequence of the Justice's summons on such complaint, then the owner of such coach, &c. is liable

to the penalty of forty shillings.

If a Constable neglect to execute the warrant pursuant to this act, on conviction before a Justice, on his own confession, or by oath of a credible witness, to forfeit forty shillings; and, if not forthwith paid, may be committed to gaol for a month.

The forms of the proceedings relative hereto are expressed in the Schedule to the act.

*The former Act altered, explained, and amended; and for regulating the Conduct of the Drivers and Guards of Stage-Coaches, or other Carriages. 30 Geo. III. c. 36, 1790.*

**F**ROM the 29th day of September, 1790, if the driver of any coach, or other such carriage, drawn by three or more horses, and going for hire, permit more than one person on the coach-box besides himself, and four on the roof; and, if such carriage shall be drawn by less than three horses, more than one person on the coach-box and three persons on the roof (except the driver of a carriage drawn by less than three horses, which shall not go a greater distance than twenty-five miles from the Post-Office in London, nor carry more than one person on the coach-box and four persons on the roof), to be conveyed thereby, he shall pay to the collector of the tolls, at every turnpike-gate thro' which the carriage shall pass, five shillings for each person above the limited number: and if any passenger, above the limited number, be set down, or taken up, whereby the payment of five shillings may be evaded, the driver, on conviction, by his own confession, the view of a Justice, or oath of a credible

dible witness, to be committed to gaol, or the house of correction, for not more than one month, and not less than fourteen days. The five shillings *per* head beyond the limited number to be levied in the same manner as the tolls.

After the same day, to be painted on the outside of each door of every stage-coach (except mail-coaches) in legible characters, the proprietor's name, and, when different ones, the name of that which shall live within the Bills of Mortality to be used. If the coachman suffer any other person to drive his coach, without consent of passengers, or quit the

box without reasonable occasion, or by misconduct overturn the carriage, or endanger the person or property of passengers, to forfeit not more than five pounds, nor less than forty shillings. If the guard to any coach fire off the arms he is entrusted with, either while the coach is going on the road, or in any town, otherwise than for defence of such coach, to forfeit twenty shillings. The penalties by the former act on peace-officers, for neglecting to execute warrants, to extend to this act, and to be levied and applied in the same manner.

## SUPPLIES granted by Parliament for the Year 1790.

### N A V Y.

#### FEBRUARY 1.

**F**OR 20,000 men, including 3,860 marines, at 41.  
per man per month — — — — — £. s. d.  
— — — — — 1,040,000 0 0

#### MARCH 2.

For the ordinary of the navy, including half pay of  
the marines — — — — — 703,276 17 11

For the extraordinaries of the navy, for building and  
repairing vessels, over and above the allowance for  
wear and tear — — — — — 490,360 0 0

#### APRIL 27.

For discharging so much of the navy debt — — — — — 200,000 0 0

Total of the navy — 2,433,636 17 11

### A R M Y.

#### FEBRUARY 9.

For 17,448 men, including 1,620 invalids, as guards  
and garrisons in Great Britain — — — — — 578,562 14 1

For forces and garrisons in the plantations and Gib-  
raltar — — — — — 317,549 16 0

For making good the deficiency in the difference be-  
tween the British and Irish establishment for 1789 — — — — — 8,245 10 1

For advance of pay to the forces in the East Indies — — — — — 11,435 12 10 $\frac{1}{2}$

For the charge of full pay to supernumerary officers  
for 1790 — — — — — 10,808 7 1 $\frac{1}{4}$

For the pay of general and general staff-officers in  
Great Britain — — — — — 6,409 8 0

For allowances to the paymaster general, secretary at  
war, &c. — — — — — 63,276 5 8

For reduced officers of the land forces and marines — — — — — 162,797 18 4

For the reduced officers and private gentlemen of the  
troop of horse and grenadier guards — — — — — 202 1 8

For the officers late in the Dutch service — — — — — 3,392 14 2

For

# APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. [277

	£.	s.	d.
For the reduced officers of British American forces —	55,092	10	0
For allowances to several of the same —	4,907	10	0
MARCH 29.			
For pay of a corps of foot to serve in New South Wales — — — —	3,411	14	4
For officers widows, and expences attending the same	9,991	9	3
For the Hessian subsidy — — — —	36,093	15	0
For the Chelsea pensioners — — — —	180,938	19	6
For the army extraordinaries for 1789 — — — —	356,458	12	4
Total of the army —	1,809,574	19	5½

## O R D N A N C E.

FEBRUARY 9.			
For the charges of the office of ordnance for the land service for 1790 — — — —	418,207	4	3
For land service, not provided for in 1788 — — — —	13,869	0	6
For sea service, ditto — — — —	23,795	16	7
Total of ordnance —	455,872	14	6

## MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

MARCH 29.			
For Scotch roads and bridges — — — —	4,859	1	8
FEBRUARY 2.			
To pay off the exchequer bills of the last sessions —	5,500,000	0	0
To the commissioners of American claims — — — —	3,162	5	6
For American sufferers — — — —	35,185	15	6
To discharge bills drawn by the governors of Nova Scotia, the Bahama Islands, and New Brunswick — —	1,632	6	3¾
Provisions &c. sent to New South Wales — — — —	49,479	17	0
For American and East Florida sufferers — — — —	238,279	9	2½
For money issued in pursuance of addresses — — — —	48,424	15	3
For the convicts at Plymouth and on the Thames — — — —	41,117	3	0
To the clerk to the commissioners of fees and offices — — — —	761	8	0
To the secretary of the commissioners for regulating the shipping of slaves — — — —	500	0	0
Expences of carrying into execution the act for en- quiring into the emoluments of officers of the customs — — — —	1,000	0	0
Extra expences of the mint for 1788 — — — —	30,520	17	1

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	£.	s.	d.
For printing reports concerning the African trade -	910	0	0
To the secretary of the commissioners of the East Florida claims — — — —	200	0	0
To ditto of American loyalists — — — —	1,900	0	0
Civil establishment of Nova Scotia — — — —	6,376	17	6
The like of New Brunswick — — — —	4,400	0	0
The like of St. John's Island — — — —	1,840	0	0
The like of Cape Breton — — — —	2,100	0	0
The like of Newfoundland — — — —	1,182	10	0
The like of the Bahama Islands — — — —	4,080	0	0
The like of New South Wales — — — —	4,558	7	8
To the chief justice of Dominica — — — —	600	0	0
To ditto of the Bermuda Islands — — — —	580	0	0
For the African forts — — — —	13,000	0	0
For prosecution of Warren Hastings, esq. — — — —	2,951	1	10
Total of miscellaneous services —	6,000,598	17	5 $\frac{1}{4}$

DEFICIENCIES.

APRIL 15.			
Deficiency of last year's grants — — — —	231,517	12	2 $\frac{1}{4}$
MAY 11.			
Vote of credit for the Spanish armament — — — —	1,000,000	0	0

*Recapitulation of the Supplies.*

Navy — — — — —	2,433,636	17	11
Army — — — — —	1,809,574	19	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
Ordnance — — — — —	455,872	14	6
Miscellaneous services — — — — —	6,000,598	17	5 $\frac{1}{4}$
Deficiencies — — — — —	231,517	12	2 $\frac{1}{4}$
Vote of credit — — — — —	1,000,000	0	0
Total of supplies for 1790 —	11,931,201	1	5 $\frac{1}{4}$

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. [279

WAYS and MEANS, for raising the above Supplies, granted to his Majesty for the Year 1790.

	FEBRUARY 4.	£.	s.	d.
By land-tax, at 4s. in the pound	—	2,000,000	0	0
By malt duty	—	750,000	0	0
MARCH 25.				
By annuities for 18 $\frac{3}{4}$ years, from April 5, 1789	—	187,000	0	0
Profit on 50,000 lottery tickets, at 15 l. 16 s. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.	—	290,937	10	0
Exchequer bills	—	5,500,000	0	0
Surplus of consolidated fund	—	2,300,000	0	0
Farther surplus	—	621,151	1	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Foreign secret service money repaid	—	34,000	0	0
MAY 11.				
Exchequer bills	—	1,000,000	0	0
<hr/>				
Total ways and means	—	12,496,088	11	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Total supplies	—	11,931,201	1	5 $\frac{1}{4}$
<hr/>				
Excess of ways and means	—	£. 568,887	9	10 $\frac{1}{4}$

280] ANNUAL REGISTER, 1790.

An ACCOUNT of the Net Produce of the Duties of CUSTOMS, EXCISE, STAMPS, and INCIDENTS, between the 5th day of April, 1788, to the 5th day of April, 1789; and between the 5th day of April, 1789, to the 5th day of April, 1790.

	1789.			1790.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
CUSTOMS	3,711,126	3	9	3,777,152	1	7½
EXCISE	6,068,295	8	2	6,707,555	16	9
STAMPS	1,244,109	11	3	1,259,124	3	10
<b>INCIDENTS.</b>						
Consolidated letter money, 1787	156,000	0	0	156,000	0	0
falt	350,268	15	1	397,104	15	3½
Seizures since 25th October, 1760	20,421	9	10½	19,828	12	1
Proffers, D <sup>o</sup>	533	15	7½	648	1	3
Fines of leases, D <sup>o</sup>						
Letter money, D <sup>o</sup>	156,000	0	0	201,000	0	0
Alum mines, D <sup>o</sup>	960	0	0	960	0	0
Compositions, D <sup>o</sup>	7	13	4	5	0	0
Fines and Forfeitures, D <sup>o</sup>	1,891	11	7½			
Alienation duty, D <sup>o</sup>	3,091	12	0	2,023	2	0
Rent of a light-house, D <sup>o</sup>	6	13	4	6	13	4
6d. per lib. on pensions, 24th June, 1721	45,585	0	0	44,760	0	0
1s. deduction on salaries, &c. 5th April, 1753	51,285	15	7¼	35,357	17	10
Houses and Windows, 1766	383,234	10	10	429,257	8	1½
Inhabited houses, 1779	128,809	0	8¼	155,015	6	3½
Hawkers and Pedlars, 24th June, 1710	2,220	0	0	3,536	11	5
Ditto, 1785						
Hackney coaches and chairs, 1st Aug. 1711	11,100	4	4	12,200	0	0
Ditto, 1784	14,052	4	4	14,000	0	0
Male servants, 1785	91,876	13	3¼	99,893	1	1
Female D <sup>o</sup>	31,431	4	6½	36,881	17	0½
4-wheel carriages, D <sup>o</sup>	126,965	8	11½	148,692	0	5½
2-wheel D <sup>o</sup>	27,644	13	0¼	33,934	18	3
Waggons, D <sup>o</sup>	19,420	17	9½	22,539	17	3¼
Carts, D <sup>o</sup>	11,513	8	11½	11,305	10	11
Horses, D <sup>o</sup>	99,985	17	7¼	109,287	8	3½
Shops, D <sup>o</sup>	50,195	16	11¼	52,929	11	10
First fruits of the Clergy	4,380	16	11	3,937	5	0
Tenthings	19,786	2	9¼	9,667	14	6
Men Servants, 1777	6	0	0			
Houses and Windows, 1726				229	1	10
<b>Total of Incidents</b>	<b>1,808,675</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>5¾</b>	<b>2,001,592</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>0¾</b>
<b>Total of Customs, Excise, } Stamps, and Incidents - }</b>	<b>12,832,206</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>7¾</b>	<b>13,745,424</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>3¼</b>

Exchequer,  
12th of April, 1790.

ROBERT JENNINGS.

STATE



# STATE PAPERS.

*His Majesty's most gracious Speech to both Houses of Parliament, on the opening of the seventh Session of the sixteenth Parliament, January 21st, 1790.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

**S**INCE I last met you in parliament, the continuance of the war on the continent, and the internal situation of different parts of Europe, have been productive of events which have engaged my most serious attention.

While I see, with a just concern, the interruption of the tranquillity of other countries, I have at the same time great satisfaction in being able to acquaint you, that I receive continued assurances of the good disposition of all foreign powers towards these kingdoms; and I am persuaded that you will entertain with me a deep and grateful sense of the favour of Providence in continuing to my subjects the increasing advantages of peace, and the uninterrupted enjoyment of those invaluable blessings which they have so long derived from our excellent constitution.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have given directions that the estimates for the present year should be laid before you; and I rely on

your readiness to grant such supplies as the circumstances of the several branches of the public service may be found to require.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

The regulations prescribed by the act of the last session of parliament relative to the corn trade, not having been duly carried into effect in several parts of the kingdom, there appeared reason to apprehend that such an exportation of corn might take place, and such difficulties occur in the importation of foreign corn, as would have been productive of the most serious inconvenience to my subjects. Under these circumstances, it appeared indispensably necessary to take immediate measures for preventing the exportation and facilitating the importation of certain sorts of corn; and I therefore, by the advice of my privy council, issued an order for that purpose, a copy of which I have directed to be laid before you.

I have only further to desire, that you will continue to apply yourselves to those objects which may require your attention, with the same zeal for the public service which has hitherto appeared in all your proceedings, and of which the effects have been so happily manifested in the increase of the public revenue,

revenue, the extension of the commerce and manufactures of the country, and the general prosperity of my people.

*The humble Address of the right honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled, Friday, 22d January, 1790.*

Most gracious Sovereign,

**W**E, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, in parliament, beg leave to return your majesty our humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

We are sensible of the importance of the events produced by the continuance of the war on the continent, and the internal situation of different parts of Europe, which have naturally attracted your majesty's most serious attention.

We beg leave to assure your majesty, that, while we see with a just concern the interruption of the tranquillity of other countries, we feel the truest satisfaction from the assurances your majesty has been graciously pleased to give us of the good disposition manifested by all foreign powers towards these kingdoms; and that we entertain, with your majesty, a deep and grateful sense of the favour of Providence, in continuing to these kingdoms the increasing advantages of peace, and the uninterrupted enjoyment of those invaluable blessings which your majesty's most faithful subjects have so long derived from our excellent constitution.

We return your majesty our dutiful thanks for the communication which your majesty has been pleased

to make to us of the reasons which induced your majesty to take such immediate measures as appeared indispensably necessary for preventing the exportation and facilitating the importation of corn; and for your majesty's gracious condescension, in directing to be laid before this house a copy of the order, which your majesty, by the advice of your privy council, thought proper to issue for that purpose.

Permit us, sir, to offer to your majesty our humble acknowledgements for the gracious approbation which your majesty is pleased to declare of our former conduct; and to give your majesty the strongest assurances, that, animated by the same zeal for the public service which has hitherto directed our proceedings, and gratefully acknowledging the happiness and security which we experience under your majesty's auspicious government, we will diligently continue to apply ourselves to those objects which may require our attention, and may best contribute to the maintenance of the public revenue, the extension of the commerce and manufactures of the country, and the general prosperity of these kingdoms.

*To this His Majesty returned the following most gracious Answer.*

My Lords,

I receive with great pleasure your dutiful and loyal address.

The first object of my wishes being the prosperity of my people, I cannot but express my satisfaction at receiving such strong assurances of your disposition to apply your attention to those important objects which I have recommended to your consideration.

*The*

*The humble Address of the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, 22d January 1790.*

Most gracious Sovereign,

**W**E, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of Great Britain, in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your majesty our humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

While we participate in the just concern with which your majesty observes the interruption of the tranquillity of other countries, we feel, at the same time, the greatest satisfaction in being informed that your majesty continues to receive assurances of the friendly disposition of foreign powers: and we entertain a deep and grateful sense of the favour of Providence towards these kingdoms, in continuing to us the increasing advantages of peace, and the uninterrupted enjoyment of those invaluable blessings which we have so long derived from our excellent constitution, and which we so happily experience under your majesty's mild and auspicious government.

Your majesty may be assured that we shall proceed with cheerfulness to make such provision as may appear to be requisite for the several branches of the public service.

We are duly sensible of your majesty's paternal regard for the welfare of your people, which has been manifested in your anxiety to prevent the further exportation of corn, and to facilitate the importation under the circumstances which your majesty has been graciously pleased to communicate to us; and we desire humbly to return our thanks to your majesty, for having been pleased to direct a copy

of the order, issued by your majesty, by the advice of your privy council, to be laid before us.

We assure your majesty, that we shall uniformly continue to apply ourselves, with unremitting assiduity and zeal, to those objects of public concern which may require our attention; and shall be, at all times, desirous of adopting every proper measure for maintaining the public revenue, and encouraging the commerce and manufactures of the country, as being essentially connected with the general prosperity of your majesty's dominions,

*To this His Majesty returned the following most gracious Answer.*

Gentlemen,

I thank you for your very loyal and dutiful address. It is with great satisfaction that I receive the repeated expressions of your affectionate attachment, and the assurances of your continued attention to those objects which are connected with the happiness and prosperity of my people.

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*His Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, at the Close of the seventh Session, Thursday, 10th June, 1790.*

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

**T**HE necessary public business being now concluded, I think it right to put an end to this session of parliament.

I have not hitherto received the answer of the court of Spain to the representation which I have directed to be made at that court, in support of the dignity of my crown, and of the

the interests of my people. I continue to entertain the strongest desire for the maintenance of peace on just and honourable grounds; but, under the present circumstances, I feel it indispensably necessary to proceed with expedition and vigour in those preparations, the objects of which have already received your unanimous concurrence.

The assurances and conduct of my allies, on this interesting occasion, have manifested, in the most satisfactory manner, their determination to fulfil the engagements of the existing treaties; and I trust, that our mutual good understanding and concert will be productive of the happiest effects in the present conjuncture of affairs in Europe.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I return you my particular thanks for the readiness with which you granted the supplies for the current service, and for your unanimity and dispatch in enabling me to take those measures which the present crisis has rendered necessary.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

As I think it may be of material convenience that the election of a new parliament should take place without delay, it is my intention forthwith to give directions for dissolving the present, and for calling a new parliament. But, in signifying to you this intention, I cannot omit to assure you of the deep and grateful sense which I must ever entertain of that affectionate and unshaken loyalty, that uniform and zealous regard for the true principles of our invaluable constitution, and that unremitting attention to the happiness and prosperity of my

people, which have invariably directed all your proceedings.

The rapid increase of our manufactures, commerce, and navigation, the additional protection and security afforded to the distant possessions of the empire, the provisions for the good government of India, the improvement of the public revenue, and the establishment of a permanent system for the gradual reduction of the national debt, have furnished the best proofs of your resolution in encountering the difficulties with which you had to contend, and of your steadiness and perseverance in those measures which were best adapted to promote the essential and lasting interests of my dominions.

The loyalty and public spirit, the industry and enterprize of my subjects, have seconded your exertions. On their sense of the advantages, which they at present experience, as well as on their uniform and affectionate attachment to my person and government, I rely for a continuance of that harmony and confidence, the happy effects of which have so manifestly appeared during the present parliament, and which must at all times afford the surest means of meeting the exigencies of war, or of cultivating with increasing benefit the blessings of peace.

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*Speech of the Speaker of the House of Commons, on presenting certain bills to his Majesty, June 10, 1790.*

SIRE,

**Y**OUR faithful commons have completed the supplies requisite for the service of the current year; they have manifested their loyalty

loyalty and their attachment to your majesty's person and government, by their uniform attention and diligent exertions in the passing of such bills as were most likely to conduce to the honour and dignity of your majesty's crown, and they have endeavoured, in all their proceedings, shewn the spirit of a great, a loyal, and a free people.

Your majesty's commons cannot but contemplate, with peculiar satisfaction, the growing produce of the revenue, the rapid progress of our manufactures, and the general increase of commerce and trade; circumstances affording the most flattering proofs of the prosperous state of the country, in which they have no doubt of your majesty participating with them, and in the satisfaction afforded by the contemplation of these great and important objects.

Your majesty's commons are well aware, that the principal cause, among many others, to which these great national benefits are to be ascribed, is the continuance of peace; but, sensible as they are of these blessings, and anxiously desirous of rendering them permanent, they have lately afforded your majesty a substantial proof, that it was their unanimous opinion that peace ought not to be maintained but on such terms as should be strictly consistent with the honour of your majesty's crown, and the interests and welfare of your majesty's subjects.

GEORGE R.

**H**IS majesty has received information, that two vessels belonging to his majesty's subjects, and navigated under the British flag, and two others, of which the description is not hitherto sufficiently ascertained, have been captured at Nootka Sound, on the north-western coast of America, by an officer commanding two Spanish ships of war; that the cargoes of the British vessels have been seized, and that their officers and crews have been sent as prisoners to a Spanish port.

The capture of one of these vessels had before been notified by the ambassador of his Catholic majesty, by order of his court, who, at the same time, desired that measures might be taken for preventing his majesty's subjects from frequenting those coasts, which were alledged to have been previously occupied and frequented by the subjects of Spain. Complaints were also made of the fisheries carried on by his majesty's subjects in the seas adjoining to the Spanish continent, as being contrary to the rights of the crown of Spain. In consequence of this communication, a demand was immediately made, by his majesty's order, for adequate satisfaction, and for the restitution of the vessel, previous to any other discussion.

By the answer from the court of Spain it appears, that this vessel and her crew had been set at liberty by the viceroy of Mexico; but this is represented to have been done by him on the supposition that nothing but the ignorance of the rights of Spain, encouraged the individuals of other nations to come to those coasts for the purpose of making establishments, or carrying on

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*Message from his Majesty to both Houses of Parliament, May 25, 1790; relative to the capture of certain Vessels, by the Spaniards, in Nootka Sound.*

on trade, and in conformity to his previous instructions, requiring him to shew all possible regard to the British nation.

No satisfaction is made, or offered, and a direct claim is asserted by the court of Spain to the exclusive rights of sovereignty, navigation, and commerce, in the territories, coasts, and seas, in that part of the world.

His majesty has now directed his minister at Madrid to make a fresh representation on this subject, and to claim such full and adequate satisfaction as the nature of the case evidently requires. And, under these circumstances, his majesty, having also received information that considerable armaments are carrying on in the ports of Spain, has judged it indispensably necessary to give orders for making such preparations as may put it in his majesty's power to act with vigour and effect in support of the honour of his crown, and the interests of his people. And his majesty recommends it to his faithful commons, on whose zeal and public spirit he has the most perfect reliance, to enable him to take such measures, and to make such augmentation of his forces, as may be eventually necessary for this purpose.

It is his majesty's earnest wish, that the justice of his majesty's demands may ensure, from the wisdom and equity of his Catholic majesty, the satisfaction which is so unquestionably due; and that this affair may be terminated in such a manner as to prevent any grounds of misunderstanding in future, and to continue and confirm that harmony and friendship which has so happily subsisted between the two

courts, and which his majesty will always endeavour to maintain and improve, by all such means as are consistent with the dignity of his majesty's crown, and the essential interests of his subjects.

G. R.

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*The humble Address of the right honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled, May 26th; in consequence of the foregoing Message.*

Most gracious Sovereign,

**W**E, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your majesty our humble thanks for your gracious message, acquainting this house of those circumstances relative to the capture of British vessels on the north-western coast of America, and to the conduct of the court of Spain on this occasion, which have induced your majesty to give orders for making such preparations as may put it in your majesty's power to act with vigour and effect in support of the honour of your majesty's crown, and of the interests of his people; and to assure your majesty, that we shall readily proceed to enable your majesty to take such measures, and to make such augmentation of your majesty's forces, as may eventually be necessary on this occasion.

We trust that the justice of your majesty's demands will ensure, from the wisdom and equity of his Catholic majesty, the satisfaction which is so unquestionably due to your majesty; and we shall sincerely rejoice

joice in such a termination of the discussions now depending, as may prevent any grounds of misunderstanding in future, and may continue and confirm that harmony and friendship which has happily subsisted between Great Britain and Spain; but we, at the same time, feel it our indispensable duty to assure your majesty of the determination of this house to afford your majesty the most zealous and effectual support in such measures as may become requisite for maintaining the dignity of your majesty's crown, and the essential interests of your majesty's dominions.

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*Substance of the Memorial presented by Lieutenant Mears to the Right Honourable W. Wyndham Grenville, one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State. With Explanations.*

THIS memorial explains, in general, the grounds that gave rise to the present contest with Spain; but the precise point, to be determined before peace can be finally settled, is still involved in some obscurity. That some of the ships were seized, and others suffered to proceed to trade unmolested, is not easily to be accounted for on the principles of the treaties that now subsist between the two nations. By the last treaty of peace with Spain, A FREE TRADE, AND NO SEARCH, was the *sine quâ non* on which it was concluded. The Spanish court, in her present situation, would not then have ventured to invest any of her officers with powers to interrupt

British ships navigating the open seas, and wantonly to insult the flag of Great Britain, as represented by the memorialist at Nootka Sound, if they had not still some latent claim to urge which has not yet been unequivocally decided.—But to proceed with the memorial.

About the beginning of the year 1786, certain merchants, under the immediate protection of the East India company, desirous of opening a trade with the N. W. coast of America, for supplying the Chinese market with furs \* and ginseng, communicated their design to sir John Macpherson, the governor general of India, who joined in the subscription for carrying it into execution; and two vessels were purchased, and placed under the direction of Mr. Mears, the memorialist, who had been a lieutenant in the service of government.

In March, the same year, one of the vessels, named the Sea Otter, captain Tippin, was dispatched to Prince William's Sound, and was soon followed by the other, named the Nootka, commanded by Mr. Mears himself, who, on his arrival in Prince William's Sound in September, learned that the Sea Otter had left that place some days before, and by future intelligence was assured, that she had been lost on the coast of Kamschatka.

In Prince William's Sound the Nootka wintered, and in the mean time her commander opened an *extensive trade* with the natives; and, having collected a cargo of furs, repaired to China in autumn 1787.

In January, 1788, having disposed of the Nootka, he, in con-

\* This trade was pointed out to merchants by captain King, in his concluding volume to the Voyages of captain Cook.

junction with other British merchants, purchased two other vessels, named the *Felice* and *Iphigenia*. The former he commanded himself; the latter he put under the direction of captain Douglas. With the *Felice* he reached Nootka Sound in May; and in June the *Iphigenia* arrived in Cook's river. His first business at Nootka Sound was to purchase from Maquila, the chief of the district, a spot of ground, on which he built a house, and on it hoisted a *British flag*, surrounding it with a breast-work, and fortifying it with a three-pounder. This being completed, he proceeded to trade; the *Felice* taking her route to the southward, and the *Iphigenia* to the northward, both ships confining themselves within the latitudes of 60 and 45 deg. 30 min. north.

In September the *Felice* returned to Nootka Sound, where the people the memorialist had left behind had nearly completed a vessel, which was soon after launched, and called the *North-West America*, measuring about forty tons, which was equipped with all expedition, to assist him in his enterprizes.

During his absence from Nootka Sound, he had, by presents, obtained from Wickanash, the chief of the district surrounding Port Cox and Port Bingham, in lat. 45 and 49 deg. the promise of a free and exclusive trade, with leave to build whatever he should find necessary for his convenience; and also the same privileges from Tatouche, chief of the country bordering on the straits of Juan de Fuca. Besides these, he had purchased from Tatouche a tract of land within those straits, of which one of his officers had taken possession in the king's

name, calling the same *Tatouche*, in honour of the chief.

The *Iphigenia*, in her progress to the southward, had been no less successful than the *Felice* in obtaining grants of the native chiefs, no European vessel having ever been there before.

Matters being thus settled with the natives, and having collected a cargo of furs, on Sept. 23, the memorialist proceeded to China in the *Felice*; where, having sold both ship and cargo, he entered into partnership with Messrs. John and Cadman Etches, and Co. owners of the *Prince of Wales* and *Princess Royal*, from London, trading under licences and from the *East-India South-Sea* companies, which would not expire till 1790, making a joint stock of all the vessels and property employed in that trade; and under that firm they purchased a ship, built at Calcutta, called the *Argonaut*.

The *Prince of Wales*, being chartered to load teas for the *East-India* company, returned to England; and the *Princess Royal* and *Argonaut* were ordered by the memorialist to sail for America, under the command of Mr. J. Colnette, to whom the charge of all the company's concerns on that coast had been committed.

Mr. Colnette was directed to erect a substantial house on the spot purchased by the memorialist in the preceding year; and the two ships he carried out with him were loaded with articles estimated sufficient for the trade of three years, besides a vessel in frame of about thirty tons.

With these he set sail from China in the months of April and May, 1789, having, over and above the crews, several artificers of different professions,



professions, and about seventy Chinese, who intended to become settlers in the country, under the protection of the associated company.

On the 24th of April, 1789, the *Iphigenia*, which had wintered at the Sandwich islands, returned to Nootka Sound, as did the North-west America, which had also wintered there, a few days after, where they found two American vessels, the *Columba* and *Washington*, that had wintered in Nootka harbour.

On the 29th of the same month, the North-west America was sent to trade to the northward, and also to explore the archipelago of St. Lazarus.

On the 6th of May, the *Iphigenia* being then at anchor in Nootka Sound, a Spanish ship of war of 26 guns, named the *Princesa*, Don Estuan Joseph Martinez, commander, from San Blas in Mexico, anchored in the same harbour, and was soon joined by a Spanish snow of 16 guns, called the *San Carlos*, from the same place, loaded with cannon, and other warlike stores.

For some time mutual civilities passed between captain Douglas and the Spanish officers, and even supplies were obtained from the Spanish captain; but, on the 14th of May, the former was ordered on board the *Princesa*, and, to his great surprize, informed by Martinez, that he had the king's orders to seize all ships that he might find upon that coast, and that he, the commander of the *Iphigenia*, was his prisoner; and, moreover, instructed his officers to take possession of the *Iphigenia*, which they accordingly did in the name of his Catholic Majesty, and conveyed the officers and men, as prisoners, on board the

Spanish ships, where they were put in irons, and otherwise ill-treated. This done, Don Martinez took possession of the lands which the memorialist had purchased and built a temporary habitation upon, *pulling down the British flag; and hoisting the standard of Spain* thereon, with such other ceremonies as are usual upon such occasions; declaring, at the same time, *that all the lands comprized between Cape Horn and the 60th degree of north latitude did belong to his Catholic Majesty;* and accordingly proceeded to build batteries, store-houses, &c. in the execution of which he forcibly employed some of the crew of the *Iphigenia*, and several who attempted to resist were severely punished.

And here it must not be forgotten, that while he (captain Douglas) was detained prisoner, he was frequently urged to sign an instrument, purporting, as he was informed (not understanding Spanish himself), that Don Martinez had found him in Nootka Sound in great distress; that he had supplied him with every thing necessary for his passage to the Sandwich islands; and that his navigation had, in no respect, been interrupted; but which paper having been discovered to contain an obligation from him and Mr. Vianea (second captain), on the part of their owners, to pay on demand the valuation of the *Iphigenia*, her cargo, &c. in case the viceroy of New Spain should adjudge her to be a lawful prize for entering the port of Nootka without licence from his Catholic Majesty, he had peremptorily refused, conceiving that the port of Nootka did not belong to his Catholic Majesty; notwithstanding which, Don Martinez, partly by threats, and partly by

promises to restore him, captain Douglas, to the command of the *Iphigenia*, had ultimately gained his point; and having so done, he, captain Douglas, was restored to his ship, but stripped, during the time she had been in possession of the Spaniards, of all her merchandize, stores, provisions, &c. &c. (even to the extent of the master's watch and cloathing), twelve bars of iron only excepted, which they could not conveniently take away.

In this distress, captain Douglas finding himself utterly unable to proceed, applied to Don Martinez to supplicate relief, and obtained a trifling supply, for which he was called upon for bills on his owners at a most exorbitant rate; but even then was restrained from proceeding to sea till the return of the *North-west America*, which Don Martinez said he could dispose of for 400 dollars, the value set upon her by one of the American captains.

The *North-west America*, however, not arriving so soon as expected, captain Douglas was told he might depart, on leaving orders for the master to deliver up the vessel, on his arrival, for the use of his Catholic Majesty. Accordingly, on the 15th of June, he wrote to the master; but, availing himself of Don Martinez's ignorance of the English language, cautiously forbore to give any directions to the effect required, and instantly sailed from Nootka Sound, though very unfit to proceed on such a voyage, leaving behind him the two American vessels (*Columba* and *Washington*), which had been suffered to continue there all the winter unmolested. The *Iphigenia* fortunately arrived safe at the Sandwich islands, where, by

means of the iron on board, being supplied with necessaries, she proceeded to China, and anchored there in October, 1789.

[Here Mr. Mears, by way of illustration, introduces a transaction, no otherwise connected with his narrative, but as it proves the merchandize, &c. of which the British ships were plundered, to have been British property.]

Soon after the departure of the *Iphigenia* from Nootka Sound, Don Martinez became acquainted with the purport of the before-mentioned letter, and on the arrival of the *North-west America*, on the 9th of June, she was seized, and towed into Nootka harbour, where she was formally taken possession of as a lawful prize, her cargo, consisting of 215 skins of the best quality, her stores, and furniture, confiscated, and her crew made prisoners, some of whom were afterwards put in irons.

The *Princess Royal* (one of the ships fitted up at London), on her arrival soon after the seizure of the *North-west America*, was not only suffered to depart, but the skins taken from on board the *North-west America* (twelve only of the best quality, detained by Don Martinez, excepted) were shipped on board her for the benefit of the owners; and that ship put to sea (as appears by her journal) on the 2d of July, to pursue the trade upon the coast.

But what adds to the atrocity of this extraordinary transaction is, that, after seizing the *North-west America*, and imprisoning her men, Don Martinez should employ her on a trading voyage, from which she returned in twenty days with seventy-five skins, obtained by British merchandize taken either from that

that vessel at the time of her capture, or from the Iphigenia. The value of such furs cannot be estimated at less than 7,500 dollars, all which Don Martinez applied to his own use.

About the 3d of July, 1789, the Argonaut appeared in the offing, when Don Martinez boarded her in his launch, and, with expressions of civility, invited Mr. Colnette into the Sound; but next day (notwithstanding the most solemn assurances) sent his first lieutenant with a military force, to take possession of the Argonaut; and that ship was accordingly, in like manner, seized in the name of his Catholic majesty, the British flag hauled down, and the Spanish flag hoisted in its stead, her officers and men made prisoners, and Mr. Colnette threatened to be hanged at the yard-arm in case of non-compliance with the orders that should be given him.

On the 13th of July, the Princess Royal again appeared (as is stated in her journal) off the port of Nootka; but her commander approaching the Sound in his boat, in expectation of finding there the commander of the expedition, was seized and made prisoner, under the threats of immediate execution if he refused to deliver up his ship without contest. A Spanish officer was accordingly sent to take possession of her, who brought her into port, made prisoners of her men, and prize of her cargo, consisting of 473 skins (including those put on board her from the North-west America), as appears by the receipt in possession of the proper officer. From this circumstance Mr. Colnette became so deranged in his mind, that he had frequently attempted to de-

stroy himself; that, notwithstanding this melancholy misfortune, Don Martinez endeavoured to avail himself of the copper (being the principal part of the cargo of which the Princess Royal was composed); in which attempt he would have succeeded, had not the other officers prevented it.

The memorialist farther represents, that the American ship Columba intending to sail for China (the principal part of her crew and provisions being previously put on board the Washington, to enable that ship to continue to trade upon the coast), the crew of the North-west America was ordered by Don Martinez on board the Columba, and her supplies (reduced by furnishing her consort) to be made up from the Argonaut; that, previous to the departure of the Columba, ninety-six skins were also put on board her, to defray the wages of the officers and crew of the North-west America, under a supposition that their late employers would be unable to liquidate their demands; first deducting, however, 30 per cent. from the sales, which Don Martinez had agreed should be paid, for the freight of the said skins, to the American commanders.

The Columba, being thus amply provided, left Nootka Sound, and a few days after entered Port Cox, where she joined her consort, from whom she received a considerable number of skins, conceived to be the whole (excepting the ninety-six before mentioned) which had been collected by the Americans and Spaniards, besides those taken from the British; with which she proceeded to China, where she arrived November 2d, and landed the crew of the North-west America, who,

previous to their leaving Nootka Sound, had seen the Argonaut proceed prize to San Blas, with her officers and men prisoners; and that the Princess Royal was soon to follow in the same manner.

The Washington, on joining the Columba in Port Cox, confirmed this intelligence of the Princess Royal.

To add to these outrages against the British, Don Martinez had thought fit to detain the Chinese, and had compelled them to work in the mines which had just been opened on the lands which the memorialist had before purchased.

To this memorial Mr. Mears has added the depositions of the officers and crew of the North-west America, extracts from the journal of the Iphigenia, and other authentic documents; which, added to the internal evidence of the memorial itself, leaves no room to doubt its authenticity.

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*Declaration of his Catholic Majesty,  
June 4, transmitted to all the European Courts.*

THE king being apprized of the particulars laid before his ministers on the 16th of May, by Mr. Merry, his Britannic majesty's minister, relative to the unexpected dispute between this court and Great Britain, as to the vessels captured in Port St. Laurence, or Nootka Sound, on the coast of California, in the South Sea, has commanded the undersigned, his majesty's first secretary of state, to answer to the said minister of England, that he had the honour to make known personally, and in writing, to the said minister, upon the 18th of the same month, that his majesty at no time pretend-

ed to any rights in any ports, seas, or places, other than what belongs to his crown by the most solemn treaties, recognized by all nations, and more particularly with Great Britain, by a right founded on particular treaties, the uniform consent of both nations, and by an immemorial, regular, and established possession: that his majesty is ready to enter upon every examination and discussion most likely to terminate the dispute in an amicable way; and is willing to enter into immediate conference with the new ambassador; and if justice requires it, will certainly disapprove of the conduct, and punish his subjects if they have gone beyond their powers. This offer and satisfaction will, it is hoped, serve as an example to the court of London to do as much on its part.

As the two courts of London and Madrid have not yet received proper and authenticated accounts and proofs of all that has really passed in these distant latitudes, a contradiction in the development of facts has by this means been occasioned. Even at this moment the papers and minutes made up by the viceroy of New Spain on this matter are not arrived. Posterior letters indeed say, that the English vessel, the Argonaut, had not been seized and confiscated, till legally condemned; and that the small vessel called the Princess Royal, which had afterwards arrived, was not seized or confiscated, but that, on the contrary, full restitution was made by the viceroy, and an obligation only taken from the captain to pay the price of the vessel, if she was declared a lawful prize; and on the precise same terms he had liberated a Portuguese vessel belonging to Macao, and two American vessels. These particulars will be

more

more explicitly proved and elucidated on the arrival of the necessary papers.

The first time that our ambassador made a public notification of this matter to the ministry at London, on the 10th of February last many of the circumstances that are now certain were then doubtful. The rights and immemorial possession of Spain to that coast and ports, as well as several other titles proper to be taken into view in a pacific negotiation, were not quite certain. And if the court of London had made an amicable return to the complaints made by his majesty relative to those merchants whom Spain regards as usurpers and the violaters of treaties, and had shewed any desire to terminate the affair by an amicable accommodation, a great deal of unnecessary expence might have been saved. The high and menacing tone and manner in which the answer of the British minister was couched, at a time when no certain information of the particulars had arrived, made the Spanish cabinet entertain some suspicions that it was made, not so much for the purpose of the dispute in question, as a pretext to break entirely with our court; for which reason it was thought necessary to take some precautions relative to the subject.

On a late occasion a complaint was made to the court of Russia as to some similar points relative to the navigation of the South Sea. A candid answer being returned by that court, the affair was terminated without the least disagreement. Indeed it may be asserted with truth, that the manner, much more than the substance, has produced the disputes that have taken place on this head with Great Britain.

Nevertheless, the king does deny what the enemies to peace have industriously circulated, that Spain extends pretensions and rights of sovereignty over the whole of the South Sea, as far as China. When the words are made use of, "In the name of the king, his sovereignty, navigation, and exclusive commerce to the continent and islands of the South Sea," it is the manner in which Spain, in speaking of the Indies, has always used these words—that is to say, to the continent, islands and seas which belong to his majesty, so far as discoveries have been made and secured to him by treaties and immemorial possession, and uniformly acquiesced in, notwithstanding some infringements by individuals who have been punished upon knowledge of their offences. And the king sets up no pretensions to any possessions, the right to which he cannot prove by irrefragable titles.

Although Spain may not have establishments or colonies planted upon the coasts or in the ports in dispute, it does not follow that such a coast or port does not belong to her. If this rule were to be followed, one nation might establish colonies on the coasts of another nation, in America, Asia, Africa, and Europe, by which means there would be no fixed boundaries—a circumstance evidently absurd.

But whatever may be the issue of the question of right, upon a mature consideration of the claims of both parties, the result of the question of fact is, that the capture of the English vessels is repaired by the restitution that has been made, and the conduct of the viceroy; for as to the qualification of such restitution, and whether the prize was lawful or not,

that respects the question of right yet to be investigated; that is to say, if it has been agreeably to, or in contradiction to the treaties relative to the rights and possessions of Spain. Lastly, the king will readily enter into any plan by which future disputes on this subject may be obviated, that no reproach may be upon him as having refused any means of reconciliation; and for the establishment of a solid and permanent peace, not only between Spain and Great Britain, but also between all nations; for the accomplishment of which object his majesty has made the greatest efforts in all the courts of Europe; which he certainly would not have done if he had any design to involve England and the other European powers in a calamitous and destructive war.

EL CONDE DE FLORIDA BLANCA.  
Aranjuez, June 4.

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*Memorial of the Court of Spain, delivered June 13, to Mr. Fitzherbert, the British Ambassador at Madrid.*

**B**Y every treaty upon record betwixt Spain and the other nations of Europe, for upwards of two centuries, an exclusive right of property, navigation, and commerce to the Spanish West Indies, has been uniformly secured to Spain, England having always stood forth in a particular manner in support of such right.

By article 8th of the treaty of Utrecht (a treaty in which all the European nations may be said to have taken a part) Spain and England profess to establish it as a fundamental principle of agreement, that the navigation and commerce

of the West-Indies, under the dominion of Spain, shall remain in the precise situation in which they stood in the reign of his Catholic majesty, Charles II. and that that rule shall be inviolably adhered to, and be incapable of infringement.

After this maxim, the two powers stipulated—That Spain should never grant liberty or permission to any nation to trade to or introduce their merchandizes into the Spanish American dominions, nor to sell, cede, or give up, to any other nation, its lands, dominions or territories, or any part thereof. On the contrary, and in order that its territories should be preserved whole and entire, England offers to aid and assist the Spaniards in re-establishing the limits of their American dominions, and placing them in the exact situation they stood in at the time of his said Catholic majesty, Charles II. if by accident it shall be discovered that they have undergone any alteration to the prejudice of Spain, in whatever manner or pretext such alteration may have been brought about.

The vast extent of the Spanish territories, navigation, and dominion on the continent of America, isles and seas contiguous to the South Sea, are clearly laid down, and authenticated by a variety of documents, laws, and formal acts of possession in the reign of King Charles II. It is also clearly ascertained, that notwithstanding the repeated attempts made by adventurers and pirates on the Spanish coasts of the South Sea and adjacent islands, Spain has still preserved her possessions entire, and opposed with success those usurpations, by constantly sending her ships and vessels to take possession of such settlements. By these measures, and reiterated acts of possession,

son, Spain has preserved her dominion, which she has extended to the borders of the Russian establishments, in that part of the world.

The viceroys of Peru and New Spain having been informed, that these seas had been for some years past more frequented than formerly; that smuggling had increased; that several usurpations prejudicial to Spain and the general tranquillity had been suffered to be made; they gave orders that the western coasts of Spanish America, and islands and seas adjacent, should be more frequently navigated and explored.

They were also informed, that several Russian vessels were upon the point of making commercial establishments upon that coast. At the time that Spain demonstrated to Russia the inconveniences attendant upon such incroachments, she entered upon the negotiation with Russia, upon the supposition that the Russian navigators of the Pacific Ocean had no orders to make establishments within the limits of Spanish America, of which the Spaniards were the first possessors, (limits situated within Prince William's Strait) purposely to avoid all dissentions, and in order to maintain the harmony and amity which Spain wished to preserve.

The court of Russia replied, it had already given orders, that its subjects should make no settlements in places belonging to other powers; and that if those orders had been violated, and any had been made in Spanish America, they desired the king would put a stop to them in a friendly manner. To this pacific language on the part of Russia, Spain observed, that she could not be answerable for what her officers might do at that distance, whose general orders and instructions were not to

permit any settlements to be made by other nations on the continent of Spanish America.

Though trespasses had been made by the English on some of the islands of those coasts, which had given rise to similar complaints having been made to the court of London, Spain did not know that the English had endeavoured to make any settlements on the northern part of the Southern Ocean, till the commanding officer of a Spanish ship, in the usual tour of the coasts of California, found two American vessels in St. Laurence, or Nootka harbour, where he was going for provisions and stores. These vessels he permitted to proceed on their voyage, it appearing from their papers, that they were driven there by distress, and only came in to rest.

He also found there the Iphigenia from Macao, under Portuguese colours, which had a passport from the governor; and though he came manifestly with a view to trade there, yet the Spanish admiral, when he saw his instructions, gave him leave to depart upon his signing an engagement to pay the value of the vessel, should the government of Mexico declare it a lawful prize.

With this vessel there came a second, which the admiral detained; and a few days after a third, named the Argonaut, from the above-mentioned place. The captain of this latter was an Englishman. He came not only to trade, but brought every thing with him proper to form a settlement there, and to fortify it. This, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Spanish admiral, he persevered in, and was detained, together with his vessel.

After him came a fourth English vessel, named the Princess Royal, and evidently for the same purposes.

She likewise was detained, and sent to Port St. Blas, where the pilot of the Argonaut made away with himself.

The viceroy, on being informed of these particulars, gave orders that the captain and the vessels should be released, and that they should have leave to refit, without declaring them a lawful prize; and this he did, on account of the ignorance of the proprietors, and the friendship which subsisted between the two courts of London and Madrid.

He also gave them leave to return to Macao with their cargo, after capitulating with them in the same manner as with the Portuguese captain, and leaving the affair to be finally determined by the count de Revillagigedo, his successor, who also gave them their liberty.

As soon as the court of Madrid had received an account of the detention of the first English vessel at Nootka Sound, and before that of the second arrived, it ordered its ambassador at London to make a report thereof to the English minister, which he did, on the 10th of February last, and to require that the parties who had planned these expeditions should be punished, in order to deter others from making settlements on territories occupied and frequented by the Spaniards for a number of years.

In the ambassador's memorial, mention was only made of the Spanish admiral that commanded the present armament, having visited Nootka Sound in 1774, though that harbour had been frequently visited both before and since, with the usual forms of taking possession. These forms were repeated more particularly in the years 1755 and 1779, all along the coasts as far as Prince William's Sound, and it was these

acts that gave occasion to the memorial made by the court of Russia, as has been already noticed.

The Spanish ambassador at London did not represent in this memorial at that time, that the right of Spain to these coasts was conformable to ancient boundaries, which had been guaranteed by England at the treaty of Utrecht, in the reign of Charles II. deeming it to be unnecessary; as orders had been given, and vessels had actually been seized on those coasts, so far back as 1692.

The answer that the English ministry gave, on the 26th of February, was, that they had not as yet been informed of the facts stated by the ambassador, and that the act of *violence*, mentioned in his memorial, necessarily suspended any discussion of the claims therein, till an adequate atonement had been made for a proceeding so injurious to Great Britain.

In addition to this haughty language of the British minister, he farther added, that the ship must in the first place be restored; and that with respect to any future stipulations, it would be necessary to wait for a more full detail of all the circumstances of this affair.

The harsh and laconic style in which this answer was given, made the court of Madrid suspect that the king of Great Britain's ministers were forming other plans; and they were the more induced to think so, as there were reports that they were going to fit out two fleets, one for the Mediterranean and the other for the Baltic. This of course obliged Spain to increase the small squadron she was getting ready to exercise her marine.

The court of Spain then ordered her ambassador at London to present a memorial



a memorial to the British ministry, setting forth, that though the crown of Spain had an indubitable right to the continent, islands, harbours, and coasts of that part of the world, founded on treaties and immemorial possession, yet as the viceroy of Mexico had released the vessels that were detained, the king looked upon the affair as concluded, without entering into any disputes or discussions on the undoubted rights of Spain; and, desiring to give a proof of his friendship for Great Britain, he should rest satisfied if she ordered that her subjects, in future, respected those rights.

As if Spain, in this answer, had laid claim to the empire of that ocean, though she only spoke of what belonged to her by treaties, and as if it had been so grievous an offence to terminate this affair by restitution of the only vessel which was then known to have been taken, it excited such clamour and agitation in the parliament of England, that the most vigorous preparations for war have been commenced; and those powers disinclined to peace charge Spain with designs contrary to her known principles of honour and probity, as well as to the tranquillity of Europe, which the Spanish monarch and his ministers have always had in view.

While England was employed in making the greatest armaments and preparations, that court made answer to the Spanish ambassador (upon the 5th of May) that the acts of violence committed against the British flag "rendered it necessary for the sovereign to charge his minister at Madrid, to renew the remonstrances (being the answer of England already mentioned) and to require that satisfaction, which his

majesty thought he had an indisputable right to demand."

To this was added a declaration not to enter formally into the matter until a satisfactory answer was obtained; "and at the same time the memorial of Spain should not include in it the question of right;" which formed a most essential part of the discussion.

The British administration offer, in the same answer, to take the most effectual and pacific measures, that the English subjects shall not act "against the just and acknowledged rights of Spain, but that they cannot at present accede to the pretensions of absolute sovereignty, commerce and navigation, which appeared to be the principal object of the memorials of the ambassador; and that the king of England considers it as a duty incumbent upon him to protect his subjects in the enjoyment of the right of continuing their fishery in the Pacific Ocean."

If this pretension is found to trespass upon the ancient boundaries laid down in the reign of king Charles II. and guaranteed by England in the treaty of Utrecht, as Spain believes, it appears that that court will have good reason for disputing and opposing this claim; and it is to be hoped that the equity of the British administration will suspend and restrict it accordingly.

In consequence of the foregoing answer, the charge d'affaires from the court of London at Madrid insisted, in a memorial of the 16th of May, on restitution of the vessel detained at Nootka, and the property therein contained; of an indemnification for the losses sustained, and on a reparation proportioned to the injury done to the English subjects trading under the British flag, and that they have

have an indisputable right to the enjoyment of a free and uninterrupted navigation, commerce, and fishery; and to the possession of such establishments as they should form with the consent of the natives of the country, not previously occupied by any of the European nations.

An explicit and prompt answer was desired upon this head, in such terms as might tend to calm the anxieties, and to maintain the friendship subsisting between the two courts.

The charge d'affaires having observed, that a suspension of the Spanish armaments would contribute to tranquillity, upon the terms to be communicated by the British administration, an answer was made by the Spanish administration, that the king was sincerely inclined to disarm upon the principles of reciprocity, and proportioned to the circumstances of the two courts; adding, that the court of Spain was actuated by the most pacific intentions, and a desire to give every satisfaction and indemnification, if justice was not on their side, provided England did as much if she was found to be in the wrong.

This answer must convince all the courts of Europe that the conduct of the king and his administration is consonant to the invariable principles of justice, truth, and peace.

EL CONDE DE FLORIDA BLANCA.

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Mr. Fitzherbert's Answer to the foregoing Memorial.

Sir,

**I**N compliance with your excellency's desire, I have now the honour to communicate to you, in writing, what I observed to you in

the conversation we had the day before yesterday.

The substance of these observations are briefly these:

The court of London is animated with the most sincere desire of terminating the difference that at present subsists between it and the court of Madrid, relative to the port of Nootka, and the adjacent latitudes, by a friendly negotiation; but as it is evident, upon the clearest principles of justice and reason, that an equal negotiation cannot be opened, till matters are put in their original state, and as certain acts have been committed in the latitudes in question by vessels belonging to the royal marine of Spain, against several British vessels, without any reprisals having been made, of any sort, on the part of Britain, that power is perfectly in the right to insist, as a preliminary condition, upon a prompt and suitable reparation for these acts of violence; and in consequence of this principle, the practice of nations has limited such right of reparation to three articles, viz. the restitution of the vessels—a full indemnification for the losses sustained by the parties injured—and finally, satisfaction to the sovereign for the insult offered to his flag. So that it is evident that the actual demands of my court, far from containing any thing to prejudice the rights or the dignity of his catholic majesty, amount to no more in fact than what is constantly done by Great Britain herself, as well as every other maritime power, in similar circumstances.—Finally, as to the nature of the satisfaction which the court of London exacts on this occasion, and on which your excellency appears to desire some explanation, I am authorised, Sir, to assure

sure you, that if his Catholic majesty consents to make a declaration in his name, bearing in substance, that he had determined to offer to his Britannic majesty a just and suitable satisfaction for the insult offered to his flag—such offer, joined to a promise of making restitution of the vessels captured, and to indemnify the proprietors, under the conditions specified in the official letter of Mr. Merry on the 16th of May, will be regarded by his Britannic majesty as constituting in itself the satisfaction demanded: and his said majesty will accept of it as such by a counter-declaration on his part. I have to add, that as it appears uncertain if the vessels the North West, an American vessel, and the *Iphigenia*, had truly a right to enjoy the protection of the British flag, the king will with pleasure consent that an examination of this question, as well as that relative to the just amount of the losses sustained by his subjects, may be left to the determination of commissioners to be named by the two courts.

Having thus recapitulated to your excellency the heads of what I observed to you in conversation, I flatter myself you will weigh the whole in your mind, with that spirit of equity and moderation which characterises you, that I may be in a condition of sending to my court, as soon as possible, a satisfactory answer as to the point contained in the official paper sent to Mr. Merry on the 4th of the month, and which, for the reasons I have mentioned, cannot be regarded by his Britannic majesty as fulfilling his just expectations.

I have the honour to be, &c.

ALLEYNE FITZHERBERT.

*The Count de Florida Blanca's Reply,*  
June 18.

YOU will pardon me, sir, that I cannot give my assent to the principles laid down in your last letter; as Spain maintains, on the most solid grounds, that the detention of the vessels was made in a port, upon a coast, or in a bay of Spanish America, the commerce and navigation of which belonged exclusively to Spain, by treaties with all nations, even England herself.

The principles laid down cannot be adapted to the case. The vessels detained attempted to make an establishment at a port where they found a nation actually settled, the Spanish commander at Nootka having, previous to their detention, made the most amicable representations to the aggressors to desist from their purpose.

Your excellency will also permit me to lay before you, that it is not at all certain that the vessels detained navigated under the British flag, although they were English vessels; there having been reason to believe that they navigated under the protection of Portuguese passports, furnished them by the governor of Macao as commercial vessels, and not belonging to the royal marine. Your excellency will add to these reasons, that by the restitution of these vessels, their furniture and cargoes, or their value, in consequence of the resolution adopted by the viceroy of Mexico, which has been approved of by the king, for the sake of peace, every thing is placed in its original state, the object your excellency aims at—nothing remaining unsettled but the indemnification of losses, and satisfaction for the insult,

insult, which shall also be regulated when evidence shall be given what insult has been committed; which hitherto has not been sufficiently explained.

However, that a quarrel may not arise about words, and that two nations friendly to each other may not be exposed to the calamities of war, I have to inform you, sir, by order of the king, that his majesty consents to make the declaration which your excellency proposes in your letter, and will offer to his Britannic majesty a just and suitable satisfaction for the insult offered to the honour of his flag, provided that to these are added either of the following explanations:

1. That in offering such satisfaction, the insult and the satisfaction shall be fully settled both in form and substance by a judgment to be pronounced by one of the kings of Europe, whom the king my master leaves wholly to the choice of his Britannic majesty; for it is sufficient to the Spanish monarch that a crowned head, from full information of the facts, shall decide as he thinks just.

2. That in offering a just and suitable satisfaction, care shall be taken that in the progress of the negotiation to be opened, no facts be admitted as true but such as can be fully established by Great Britain with regard to the insult offered to her flag.

3. That the said satisfaction shall be given on condition that no inference be drawn therefrom to affect the rights of Spain, nor of the right of exacting from Great Britain an equivalent satisfaction, if it shall be found, in the course of negotiation, that the king has a right to demand satisfaction, for the aggression and

usurpation made on the Spanish territory, contrary to subsisting treaties.

Your excellency will be pleased to make choice of either of these three explanations to the declaration your excellency proposes, or all the three together,—and to point out any difficulty that occurs to you, that it may be obviated;—or any other mode that may tend to promote the peace which we desire to establish.

I have the honour to be, &c.  
EL CONDE DE FLORIDA BLANCA.

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*Declaration and Counter Declaration,  
exchanged at Madrid, the 24th  
July, 1790.*

#### DECLARATION.

**H**IS Britannic majesty having complained of the capture of certain vessels belonging to his subjects in the port of Nootka, situated on the north-west coast of America, by an officer in the service of the king; the under-signed counsellor and principal secretary of state to his majesty, being thereto duly authorized, declares, in the name and by the order of his said majesty, that he is willing to give satisfaction to his Britannic majesty for the injury of which he has complained; fully persuaded that his said Britannic majesty would act in the same manner towards the king, under similar circumstances; and his majesty further engages to make full restitution of all the British vessels which were captured at Nootka, and to indemnify the parties interested in those vessels, for the losses which they shall have sustained, as soon as the amount thereof shall have been ascertained.

It being understood that this declaration is not to preclude or prejudice

justice the ulterior discussion of any right which his majesty may claim to form an exclusive establishment at the port of Nootka.

In witness whereof I have signed this declaration, and sealed it with the seal of my arms. At Madrid, the 24th of July, 1790.

(L. S.) Signed

LE COMTE DE FLORIDA BLANCA.

### COUNTER-DECLARATION.

HIS Catholic majesty having declared that he was willing to give satisfaction for the injury done to the king, by the capture of certain vessels belonging to his subjects, in the bay of Nootka; and the count de Florida Blanca having signed, in the name and by the order of his Catholic majesty, a declaration to this effect; and by which his said majesty likewise engages to make full restitution of the vessels so captured, and to indemnify the parties interested in those vessels for the losses they shall have sustained; the undersigned ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of his majesty to the Catholic king, being thereto duly and expressly authorised, accepts the said declaration in the name of the king; and declares that his majesty will consider this declaration, together with the performance of the engagements contained therein, as a full and entire satisfaction for the injury of which his majesty has complained.

The undersigned declares, at the same time, that it is to be understood, that neither the said declaration signed by count Florida Blanca, nor the acceptance thereof by the undersigned, in the name of the king, is to preclude or prejudice, in any respect, the right which his ma-

jefty may claim to any establishment which his subjects may have formed, or should be desirous of forming in future, at the said bay of Nootka.

In witness whereof I have signed this counter-declaration, and sealed it with the seal of my arms. At Madrid, the 24th of July, 1790.

(L. S.) Signed

ALLEYNE FITZHERBERT.

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*Letter from Count de Fernan Nunez to M. de Montmorin, Secretary of the Foreign Department of France.*

Sir, Paris, June 16, 1790.

I HAVE the honour to address you with this, a faithful extract of all the transactions which have hitherto passed between my court and that of London, on the subject of the detention of two English vessels, which were seized in the bay of St. Lawrence, or Nootka, situated in the 50th degree to the north of California, and which were afterwards taken to the port of St. Blas.

You will observe by this relation,

1. That by the treaties, demarcations, takings of possession, and the most decided acts of sovereignty exercised by the Spaniards in these stations, from the reign of Charles II. and authorised by that monarch in 1692, the original vouchers for which shall be brought forward in the course of the negotiation, all the coast to the north of the Western America, on the side of the South Sea, as far as beyond what is called Prince William's Sound, which is in the sixty-first degree, is acknowledged to belong exclusively to Spain.

2. That the court of Russia hav-

ing

ing been informed of this extent of our boundary, assured the king, my master, without the least delay, of the purity of its intentions in this respect, and added, "That it was extremely sorry that the repeated orders issued to prevent the subjects of Russia from violating, in the smallest degree, the territory belonging to another power, should have been disobeyed."

3. That the state of the possessions and exclusive commerce on the sea coast of the Southern Ocean, as it existed in the time of Charles II. had been acknowledged and defined anew by all the nations of Europe, and more particularly by England, in the eighth article of the treaty of Utrecht.

4. That notwithstanding the just title he has to a preservation of his ancient rights, the king my master has approved of the conduct of the viceroy of Mexico, who, in consequence of his general orders and instructions for the preservation of peace with every power, took upon himself to release the vessels seized in the port of Nootka, upon a supposition that the conduct of their captains was a consequence of their total ignorance with respect to the legitimacy of the rights of Spain on those coasts.

It is in consequence of the desire of his Catholic majesty to preserve peace to himself, and to establish the general tranquillity of Europe, that he has taken the steps you will observe in the said extract, and that he has commenced an amicable and direct negotiation with England, which he will finish with Mr. Fitzherbert, the new ambassador sent from that court to the court of Madrid. We are in hopes that the consequences of this negotiation will be

favourable; but, at the same time, we must employ all the necessary means to make it so.

An immediate and exact accomplishment of the treaty signed at Paris, the 15th of August 1761, under the title of the Family Compact, becomes an indispensable preliminary to a successful negotiation. It is in consequence of the absolute necessity which Spain finds of having recourse to the succour of France, that the king, my master, orders me to demand expressly what France can do in the present circumstances to assist Spain, according to the mutual engagements stipulated by the treaties. His Catholic majesty desires that the armaments, as well as other proper measures to fulfil and realize these sacred engagements, be immediately put in execution. He charges me to add farther, that the present state of this unforeseen business requires a very speedy determination, and that the measures which the court of France shall take for his assistance, shall be so active, so clear, and so positive, as to prevent even the smallest ground for suspicion. Otherwise his most Christian majesty must not be surpris'd that Spain should seek other friends and different allies among all the powers of Europe, without excepting any one, upon whose assistance she can rely in case of need. The ties of blood and personal friendship which unite our two sovereigns, and particularly the reciprocal interest which exists between two nations united by nature, shall be respected in all new arrangements, as far as circumstances will permit.

This, sir, is the positive demand which I am obliged to make, and in consequence of which I hope his most Christian majesty will immediately take

take such measures as shall seem most suitable, in the present circumstances, to satisfy my master, in an object so interesting and important to the preservation of his legal rights, and the honour of his nation.

I have the honour to be, &c.

EL CONDE DE FERNAN NUNEZ.

king shall be prayed to give orders, that the French marine force in commission shall be increased to forty-five ships of the line, with a proportionate number of frigates, and other vessels.

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*Convention between his Britannic Majesty and the king of Spain; signed at the Escurial, the 28th of October, 1790.*

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*Decree of the National Assembly of France, on the Family Compact.*

**T**HE national assembly deliberating on the formal proposition of the king, contained in the letter of the minister, dated the 1st of August,

Decree, That the king be supplicated to make known to his Catholic majesty, that the French nation, in taking all proper measures to maintain peace, will observe the defensive and commercial engagements which the French government have previously contracted with Spain.

They further decree, that his majesty shall be requested immediately to charge his ambassador in Spain to negotiate with the minister of his Catholic majesty to the effect of perpetuating and renewing, by a national treaty, the ties so useful to the two nations, and to fix with precision and clearness every stipulation which shall be strictly conformable to the views of general peace, and to the principles of justice, which will be for ever the policy of the French.

The national assembly farther taking into consideration the armaments of the different nations of Europe—their progressive increase, and the safety of the French colonies and commerce, decree, that the

**T**HEIR Britannic and Catholic majesties being desirous of terminating, by a speedy and solid agreement, the differences which have lately arisen between the two crowns, have adjudged that the best way of attaining this salutary object would be that of an amicable arrangement, which, setting aside all retrospective discussion of the rights and pretensions of the two parties, should fix their respective situation for the future on a basis conformable to their true interests, as well as to the mutual desire with which their said majesties are animated, of establishing with each other, in every thing and in all places, the most perfect friendship, harmony, and good correspondence. In this view, they have named and constituted for their plenipotentiaries; to wit, on the part of his Britannic majesty, Alleyne Fitzherbert, esq. one of his said majesty's privy council in Great Britain and Ireland, and his ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to his Catholic majesty; and, on the part of his Catholic majesty, Don Joseph Monino, count of Florida Blanca, knight grand cross of the royal Spanish order of Charles III. councillor of state to his said majesty, and his principal secretary of state, and of

the

the dispatches; who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

Art. I. It is agreed that the buildings and tracts of land, situated on the north-west coast of the continent of North America, or on islands adjacent to that continent, of which the subjects of his Britannic majesty were dispossessed, about the month of April 1789, by a Spanish officer, shall be restored to the said British subjects.

Art. II. And further, that a just reparation shall be made, according to the nature of the case, for all acts of violence or hostility, which may have been committed subsequent to the month of April 1789, by the subjects of either of the contracting parties against the subjects of the other; and that, in case any of the said respective subjects shall, since the same period, have been forcibly dispossessed of their lands, buildings, vessels, merchandise, and other property whatever, on the said continent, or on the seas or islands adjacent, they shall be re-established in the possession thereof, or a just compensation shall be made to them for the losses which they have sustained.

Art. III. And in order to strengthen the bonds of friendship, and to preserve in future a perfect harmony and good understanding between the two contracting parties, it is agreed, that their respective subjects shall not be disturbed or molested, either in navigating or carrying on their fisheries in the Pacific Ocean, or in the South Seas, or in landing on the coasts of those seas, in places not already occupied, for the purpose of carrying on their commerce with the natives of the country, or of making settlements

there; the whole subject, nevertheless, to the restrictions and provisions specified in the three following articles:

Art. IV. His Britannic majesty engages to take the most effectual measures to prevent the navigation and fishery of his subjects in the Pacific Ocean, or in the South Seas, from being made a pretext for illicit trade with the Spanish settlements; and, with this view, it is moreover expressly stipulated, that British subjects shall not navigate, or carry on their fishery in the said seas, within the space of ten sea leagues from any part of the coasts already occupied by Spain.

Art. V. It is agreed, that as well in the places which are to be restored to the British subjects, by virtue of the first article, as in all other parts of the north-western coasts of North America, or of the islands adjacent, situate to the north of the parts of the said coast already occupied by Spain, wherever the subjects of either of the two powers shall have made settlements since the month of April 1789, or shall hereafter make any, the subjects of the other shall have free access, and shall carry on their trade without any disturbance or molestation.

Art. VI. It is further agreed, with respect to the eastern and western coasts of South America, and to the islands adjacent, that no settlement shall be formed hereafter, by the respective subjects, in such part of those coasts as are situated to the south of those parts of the same coasts; and of the islands adjacent, which are already occupied by Spain; provided that the said respective subjects shall retain the liberty of landing on the coasts and islands so situated, for the purposes of their fishery, and



and of erecting thereon huts, and other temporary buildings, serving only for those purposes.

Art. VII. In all cases of complaint, or infraction of the articles of the present convention, the officers of either party, without permitting themselves previously to commit any violence or act of force, shall be bound to make an exact report of the affair, and of its circumstances, to their respective courts, who will terminate such differences in an amicable manner.

Art. VIII. The present convention shall be ratified and confirmed in the space of six weeks, to be computed from the day of its signature, or sooner, if it can be done.

In witness whereof, we, the undersigned plenipotentiaries of their Britannic and Catholic majesties, have, in their names, and in virtue of our respective full powers, signed the present convention, and set thereto the seals of our arms.

Done at the palace of St. Laurence, the 28th of October, 1790.

(L.S.) ALLEYNE FITZHERBERT.

(L.S.) EL CONDE DE FLORIDA  
BLANCA.

*Address of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, on the Convention with Spain; presented Nov. 24.*

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty,

The humble Address of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council assembled.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

**W**E your majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the lord may-  
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or, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, approach your majesty with hearts full of gratitude, upon the agreeable prospect of a continuance of established peace by the convention with Spain.

Deeply affected with the injuries sustained by our fellow-subjects from that nation, we concurred in the general sentiments of the whole kingdom, expressed by the two houses of parliament, on receiving your majesty's most gracious message in the last session; and we beheld with confidence the vigorous measures which were adopted to gain full satisfaction for the injuries done, and to maintain the honour and dignity of the British empire; to which measures, and to your majesty's paternal regard for the interests of your people, next to Divine Providence, we thankfully ascribe the happy issue of the late disagreements.

Your majesty's faithful citizens of London are too well convinced of the salutary consequences of continued peace, to delay their congratulations upon the reconciliation with Spain; for, notwithstanding they have ever manifested their readiness to bear a proportion of burthens created by the prosecution of a just war, they cannot but most ardently rejoice at the termination of pending hostilities, at a time when the reduction of the national debt is an object of importance to your people.

Deign, sire, to accept our most cordial wishes, that your majesty's reign may long continue in peace and prosperity over a grateful and affectionate people.

*His Majesty's Answer.*

I RECEIVE with great pleasure  
[U] the

the dutiful and loyal address of the city of London: the protection of the navigation and commerce of my subjects is a principal object of my attention; and I am confident that I may always expect their unanimous support in such measures as may be necessary for that purpose. It affords me the highest satisfaction to reflect, that on the present occasion, this object has been obtained without disturbing the public tranquillity, which is productive of such great and increasing advantages to my people.

*Treaty of Peace concluded between the King of Sweden and the Empress of all the Russias, August 11.*

In the Name of the Holy and Undivided Trinity!

**H**IS majesty the king of Sweden, and her majesty the empress of all the Russias, equally desirous of putting an end to the war which had unhappily broke out between them, and to re-establish the friendship, harmony, and good neighbourhood, which have long subsisted between their respective states and countries, have reciprocally communicated to each other their pacific intentions, and with a view to realize them, they have appointed and authorized, viz. his majesty the king of Sweden, the sieur Gustavus d'Armfelt, baron of Vorentatha, &c. &c. and her majesty the empress of all the Russias, the sieur Otho Henry d'Igelstrom, lieutenant-general of her armies, &c. &c. who, after having communicated to each other their full powers, and found them duly authorized, and in proper form, and having mutually exchanged them, have agreed on the following articles:

Art. I. There shall be henceforward between his majesty the king

of Sweden, and his estates, countries, and nations on one part, and her majesty the empress of all the Russias, and her estates, countries and nations, on the other, perpetual peace, good neighbourhood, and perfect tranquillity, both by sea and land; and consequently, the most speedy orders for the cessation of hostilities shall be given by each party. Whatever is past shall be forgotten: attention will only be paid to the re-establishment of that harmony and mutual good-will, which has been interrupted by the present war.

Art. II. The limits and frontiers shall, on each side, continue as they were before the rupture, or the beginning of the present war.

Art. III. Therefore all the countries, provinces, or places whatever, which have been taken or occupied by the troops of either of the contracting parties, shall be evacuated as speedily as possible, or 14 days after the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty.

Art. IV. All prisoners of war, or others, who, not bearing arms, have been taken by either of the belligerent parties during the course of hostilities, shall be set at liberty by each party without ransom; and they shall be permitted to return home without any indemnification being required by either party for their maintenance, but they shall be obliged to pay the debts which they have contracted with individuals of each respective state.

Art. V. And, in order to prevent the giving the least occasion for a misunderstanding at sea between the contracting parties, it is stipulated and agreed, that whenever one or more Swedish men of war, whether small or great, shall pass by the forts of her Imperial majesty, they shall be obliged

obliged to give a salute in the Swedish manner; which shall be immediately answered by a salute in the Russian mode. The same shall be observed by Russian men of war, whether one or more; they shall be obliged to salute before the forts of his Swedish majesty, and they shall be answered by a Swedish salute.

In the mean time, the high contracting parties shall order, as speedily as possible, a particular convention to be made, in which the mode of saluting between Swedish and Russian ships shall be established, whether at sea, in port, or wherever they may chance to meet.

Till then, in order to prevent mistakes in the above case, ships of war belonging to either party shall not salute each other.

Art. VI. Her Imperial majesty of all the Russias has also agreed, that his Swedish majesty shall be at liberty to buy every year, corn to the amount of 50,000 roubles, in the ports of the Gulph of Finland and of the Baltic sea, provided it be proved, that it is for the use of his Swedish majesty, or for the use of some of his subjects duly authorized by his majesty, without dues or charges, and to export it freely into Sweden. In this, however, barren years shall not be included; nor such years in which, for some important reasons, her Imperial majesty may be induced to forbid the exportation of grain to any nation whatever.

Art. VII. As the eagerness of the high contracting parties for the speedy termination of those evils with which their respective subjects have been afflicted in consequence of war does not allow them time for the regulation of many points and objects tending to establish firmly

a good neighbourhood and perfect tranquillity of the frontiers, they agree, and mutually promise to pay attention to those points and objects, and to discuss and regulate them amicably by means of ambassadors, or plenipotentiary ministers, whom they shall appoint immediately after the conclusion of the present treaty of peace.

Art. VIII. The ratifications of the present treaty of peace shall be exchanged within the space of six days, or sooner if possible.

In testimony whereof, we have signed the present treaty of peace, and sealed it with our arms.

Done in the plain of Verclé, near the river Kymene; between the advanced posts of each camp; the 11th of August, 1790.

GUSTAVUS MAURE, BARON  
D'ARMFELT.  
OTHO, BARON D'IGELSTROM.

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*Speech of John Earl of Westmorland, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to both Houses of Parliament, Jan. 21.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE king having been graciously pleased to place me in the government of this kingdom, I have his majesty's commands to meet you in parliament; and it affords me peculiar satisfaction that I enter upon the discharge of this most important trust, at a period, when this country, in common with the rest of his majesty's dominions, is in the secure enjoyment of the blessings of peace, and of the inestimable advantages arising from our free constitution.

This happy situation will undoubtedly

doubtedly encourage you to persevere in the maintenance of good government, and to adhere to that wise system of policy which has established the credit, the industry, and the prosperity of your country upon a firm and steady foundation.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have ordered the national accounts to be laid before you, and I trust you will make such provisions as shall be necessary for the exigencies of the state, and the honourable support of his majesty's government.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Your zeal for the interests of this country will naturally direct your attention to whatever can increase the wealth and extend the industry of Ireland; her agriculture and linen manufacture will claim your especial care; and the institutions of the charter and other protestant schools, will, I am persuaded, receive from you that consideration which the interests of religion and the good education of youth peculiarly demand. I earnestly recommend to your attention the improving and continuing such laws as experience hath shewn to be of national benefit, and I have the king's commands to assure you that such measures as may contribute to that end will meet with his majesty's most gracious concurrence.

Impressed with the deep sense of the distinguished honour which his majesty has conferred upon me by my appointment to this arduous situation, I shall endeavour with the utmost zeal and attention to promote the happiness and welfare of Ireland; fully sensible that I cannot otherwise hope, either to ren-

der my services acceptable to my sovereign, or to ensure your favourable opinion and confidence.

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*On the Address to his Majesty being presented to the Lords, Lord Portarlington moved the following Amendment: "To lay before his Majesty the apprehensions this House entertains of Ministerial Influence; and its hope, that his Majesty will remove them, by abolishing Establishments so unnecessary, burthensome, and alarming, &c."—which being rejected, the following Protest was entered:*

#### DISSENTIENT.

**B**ECAUSE we conceive it to be the peculiar duty of the peers of this realm, as hereditary guardians of the constitution, and counsellors of the crown, diligently and unremittingly to watch over the proceedings of administration, and to seize on the earliest opportunity of informing their sovereign, by humble address, of every attempt which shall appear to them of a tendency to injure his subjects of Ireland in their liberties, privileges, or properties, either by acts of state, dangerous to freedom, or by an inordinate expenditure of the public treasure, especially when such profusion is manifestly meant for the attainment of the worst of purposes, an undue and unconstitutional influence in parliament; a duty which is rendered in us still more indispensable, inasmuch as we are, from our situation, denied the honour, happiness, and high advantage of his majesty's royal presence, and consequent paternal inspection.

Because we conceive that the present occasion peculiarly and indispensably

penfably demands our performance of the above-mentioned duty from the following caufes:

1ft, That we cannot doubt of the purpofes to which the new meafures referred to in the amendment were adapted, inafmuch as they took place at a critical time, when the minifters of the crown in Ireland were making extraordinary, public, and indecent efforts to procure a majority in parliament; and inafmuch as the new charges on the eftablifhment have been diftributed to members of parliament, or to their immediate connexions, and this too at a critical conjuncture, when the idea of combating an oppofition to the will of the minifter, by increafe of national expence, was publicly avowed; neither have fuch of thofe meafures as have proceeded to the deprivation of office or penfion been attended with any charge of official or judicial neglect, nor with any change in the condition of the perfons fo deprived, nor has any caufe whatfoever been advanced or preffumed, excepting only their parliamentary conduct; and we are the rather inclined to believe fuch conduct to have been the fole caufe, as the principle of making members of parliament victims of their vote has not only been adopted, but expreffed.

2dly, That though the difmiffal of perfons from place or penfion for their parliamentary conduct, and the multiplication of offices or rather of falaries with the name of office, for unconfitutional purpofes, are meafures not new to this country, having ever been the bad and only expedient of corrupt minifters, yet muft we obferve that we cannot recollect any period when, in fo fhort a time, fo many of thefe grievances have been crowded together, and inflicted upon the nation.

3dly, That a policy fo venal and destructive, eftablifhed on principles both of coercion and corruption, muft in this country, if fuffered to take root, by the worft means, render any minifter completely abfolute, inafmuch as by creating on every occafion, fuch as his own folly and prefumption may fuggelt, places and penfions, and annual gratifications with names annexed, he muft in the end totally destroy the balance of the confitution, and make the two houfes of parliament his representatives only, not the representatives of their own honour, or of the people; to which important confideration may be added, that a policy of this nature is the more dangerous in Ireland, becaufe we have not as yet been able, from the oppofition of minifters, to obtain thofe prudent acts which in England exift, and check its operation, fuch as a place and penfion bill, in confequence whereof we are expofed to many dangers, againft which the wifdom of England has fortified her confitution. The minifters in Ireland may make not only their public errors, but even their private paffions and corrupt affections the ignominious caufe of loading the Irish eftablifhment.

4thly, That whereas we were, by the general declarations of our late viceroy, confirmed in a belief that the expences of this country were exceffive, and by thofe fame declarations taught to expect a reduction; thus having his own authority, if that were neceffary, not only againft the expences which he found, but againft the corruptions which he fuperadded, we fhould think ourfelves deficient indeed in our public duty, if we did not declare our cordial difapprobation of thofe enormous charges which minifters them-

selfs have not hesitated to condemn, even while they encreased them.

5thly, That as we shall ever be ready to check licentiousness in whatever quarter it may make its appearance, so shall we more especially be ardent in our endeavours to check the licentiousness of ministers in the application of the national treasure; an offence, which, in its effect, is not of short duration, but entails upon us permanent and prodigal annual charges with all their attendant baneful influence, and ultimately tends to bring about a dissolution of public virtue as well as of constitutional freedom, setting up in the place of both, maxims of government false and frivolous, insolent and dissolute; and we cannot avoid expressing our opinion that the present ministers of the crown, having shewn themselves particularly indignant at the idea of popular excesses, are, when they commit ministerial excesses, exposed to more than ordinary observation and animadversion.

6thly, That the attempts to extend venal influence beyond the limits and decency of former times; have been accompanied with attempts to advance principles and doctrines inconsistent with the tenour of the constitution.

From all these reasons, we should hold ourselves inexcusable to our country, to our king, and to our own honour, if, under the conviction we now feel, the alarms we now entertain, we should not seize the earliest opportunity of laying at the feet of our most gracious sovereign, such information as it is our bounden duty to afford him, and of expressing our humble determination, a determination which cannot fail of being approved by the benignant father of his people, to pursue such

loyal and constitutional steps as may relieve our country from the grievances which have been lately inflicted on her, and from the danger of a repetition of the same.

We have also thought it expedient, by the proposed amendment, to obtain the sense of ministry, under the present chief governor, on the subject of the redress of national grievances, to the end that we might either co-operate with them towards the attainment of such redress, or by our own sincere and humble, but persisting efforts, endeavour to administer relief to the people of Ireland.

CORK and ORRERY,  
MOIRA,  
ARRAN,  
CHARLEMONT,  
PORTARLINGTON,  
LISMORE,  
LEINSTER, by proxy,  
ROSS, by proxy.

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*Speech of the Speaker of the House of Commons of Ireland, on presenting the Bills of Supply to the Lord Lieutenant.*

May it please your Excellency,

EVERY year's experience, since 1785, has shewn the wisdom of the principle which the commons then established, of preventing the further accumulation of national debt. Under the influence of that principle, public credit has risen so high as to admit of an increase to the sinking fund, by a considerable diminution in the interest of the public debt. Private credit too has felt its salutary effects; and the advanced state of both has given vigour to industry, and a steady aid to mercantile exertion.

We now see our commerce extended to a degree unknown in any former



“nuary, 1776,” we considered that clause not as imperative upon us, to stop short in the pursuit we were at that time engaged in, under the authority of the former act, and to proceed immediately to the examination of these accounts; but rather as the designation of a subject, selected from among the numerous objects committed to us in general terms by the first act, as the next for our consideration, after we should have compleated the inquiries we were then pursuing. Those inquiries being finished, we have, in obedience to the intention of the legislature, thus signified to us, directed our attention to the accounts of the extraordinary services incurred and not provided for by parliament, which have been laid before the house of commons since the 1st of January, 1776.

In this wide field, where the objects are so numerous, so various, and so complicated, we have, in our choice of the subject, been attentive to the public voice, as far as we have been able to collect it, and have selected for our inquiry, as much suspected of abuse, that part of the public money granted for the extraordinary services of the army, which has been expended in North America; endeavouring to trace it from its issue out of the exchequer to the final disposition of it in that country, with a view to discover whether any part of it has been, and by what means, intercepted in its passage or diverted in its application.

We entered upon this inquiry sensible of many obvious and discouraging difficulties in our way. This money is expended in a distant country: the evidence of the material circumstances of every trans-

action of expenditure is in that country; except where, in a few instances, we have had it in our power to apply to an accountant himself, who has either passed his accounts in the office of the auditors of the impress, or brought in his hand his vouchers, fair and regular upon the face of them. By what means then are we to detect (if such there has been) peculation, fraud, or misapplication?

We admit no charge against persons abroad, who have no opportunity of being heard in their own defence; and we are cautious that our examination does not lead to self-accusation. Thus destitute of the proper evidence, and with so unpromising a prospect before us, we set out in search of such materials as we could find, and as the nature and circumstances of the subject would afford.

We extracted from the Journals, and from the accounts presented to the house of commons, the sums granted for the extraordinary services of the army every year, from the 1st of January, 1776, to the 31st of December last; the total of these sums is 19,502,969*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.*

We obtained, by requisition from the office of the paymaster general of the forces, an account of the money issued to Messrs. Harley and Drummond, pursuant to his majesty's warrants, for the extraordinary services of his majesty's forces serving in North America during the same period. This sum amounts to 10,083,863*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

We proceeded, in the next place, to inquire by what means this money passed to North America: of this we received information from Thomas Neale, esq. the agent in London to Messrs. Harley and Drummond,



Drummond, who are engaged in a contract with government to make these remittances for a commission of one and a half per cent. clear of all fees of office and expence of transportation. All this money passes from the exchequer, through the hands of the paymaster general of the forces, to the remitters, and from them to their agents in North America; who pay it to the deputy paymaster general of the forces residing in that country. It passes from the exchequer to the remitters in the following manner:

When the commander in chief in North America sends to the agents a requisition, specifying a certain sum to be wanted for the extraordinary services of the army for the ensuing quarter, the agents, in consequence of this requisition, draw bills upon the remitters, and transmit to them the requisition, with a list of the bills annexed; upon the receipt of which, the remitters apply by memorial to the lords commissioners of the treasury for money to extinguish those bills, and receive from them a warrant upon the paymaster general of the forces for the payment of a sum upon account, for the use of his majesty's forces in North America: this warrant being satisfied by the issue from the exchequer to the paymaster general, in consequence of a treasury letter and order of the auditor, the paymaster general gives to the remitters his draft for it upon the bank. If the commander in chief makes no requisition, the agents themselves send to the remitters an account of what money will be wanted, and they apply for it to the treasury, and receive it in like manner from the paymaster general of the forces.

There are two ways by which this money goes from the remitters into the hands of their agents: the one is by bills thus drawn by them upon the remitters; which bills they receive the value for there, and the remitters discharge when presented to them in London: the other is by sending out to them actual cash; this is done according to special directions given for that purpose by the lords of the treasury to the remitters, whenever it becomes necessary to support the exchange by increasing the quantity of current cash in the hands of the agents.

Having thus traced this money into the hands of the deputy paymaster general abroad, our next step was to see by what means, and for what purposes, it was taken out of his hands: lieutenant general sir William Howe, late commander in chief of his majesty's forces in North America, and lieutenant general earl Cornwallis, supplied us with this information.

This money cannot be issued by the deputy paymaster general, without the authority of the commander in chief, exercised either by himself or by some general officer to whom he has from necessity delegated that authority. There are certain departments in the army, to the presiding officers of which is entrusted the expenditure of so much of the public money as the service of those several departments requires, and who are accountable to the public for all they receive; these officers are, the secretary to the commander in chief, the paymaster of the provincial forces, the quarter master general, the barrack master general, the commissary general, the chief engineer, the superintendent of Indian affairs, the bridge master, the

purveyor,

purveyor of the hospital, and the commissary of prisoners.

The commander in chief directs money into the hands of these accountants, by his warrant to the deputy paymaster general, requiring him to pay to the officer named a certain sum for the purpose therein specified. These warrants are of two kinds; temporary, and final: the temporary warrant is for money upon account, and granted upon the application of the officer, to enable him to carry on the service: the final warrant is for money to reimburse the officer expences actually incurred, and mentions that the vouchers are lodged with that officer.

Every quarter, or as soon after as the service will admit, these officers make an abstract of all the sums they have expended in their several departments during that quarter, digested under different heads of expence. Every officer carries his abstract to the commander in chief for his inspection, and for the purpose of being reimbursed the amount of that abstract. If, upon examination, no objection arises to any of the articles, he grants to the officer a final warrant upon the deputy paymaster general, for the total sum contained in the abstract: upon production of this warrant, with the abstract annexed, at the pay office of the army, the officer takes up and cancels, as being of no use, the temporary warrants he has received in that quarter; and, deducting from the sum in the abstract the sums contained in the temporary warrants, he receives the balance, leaving both the final warrant and abstract with the deputy paymaster general; who

sends them every quarter to the pay-office of the army in England, as vouchers for the paymaster general of the forces, upon passing his account before the auditors of the imprest.

Through these channels is the money, granted for the extraordinary services of the army, conveyed into the hands of certain officers intrusted with and responsible for the expenditure of that money: how this expenditure has been conducted, was the next, and the material subject of our inquiry.

The quarter master general, the barrack master general, the commissary general, and the chief engineer, are the officers to whose management the greatest share of this money is committed; and therefore to them we principally directed our attention: we examined such of them as we could find, who either were then, or had been employed in these departments; and collected what information we could from the vouchers in their possession, or from those they had delivered into the office of the auditors of the imprest; all of which were, in consequence of our requisition, submitted to our inspection.

Having had reason to believe, before the passing of the last act, that it was the intention of parliament to refer to us the consideration of the extraordinaries of the army; and having been informed that brigadier general William Dalrymple, quarter master general; Peter Paumier, esq. a deputy commissary general; and Mr. Abijah Willard, commissary of live cattle to his majesty's forces in North America, were then in London, and about to return to America—though engaged at

at that time upon other subjects, under the directions of the former act, we availed ourselves of that opportunity to receive from them the information they were able to give us, relative to their respective departments.

We obtained from the treasury the lists of warrants granted by the commanders in chief in North America upon the deputy paymasters general there, and transmitted to the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury, from the 1st of January 1776 to the 31st of December last. The total sum contained in these lists is 7,725,828*l.* 12*s.* 1½*d.* Of which there appears to have been issued during that period, by the commander in chief at New York, to the officers or deputies in these four departments, the sums following: to the quarter masters general, 1,688,379*l.* 15*s.* ¾*d.*; to the barrack masters general, 662,419*l.* 0*s.* 5½*d.*; to the commissaries general, 1,521,076*l.* 9*s.* 8*d.*; to the chief engineers, 322,308*l.* 10*s.* 2¼*d.*; amounting together to the sum of 4,194,183*l.* 15*s.* 7*d.*; and to have been issued by the commanders in chief of his majesty's forces in Canada, for the extraordinary services of the army in general in that province, from the 1st of June 1776 to the 23d of October 1781, the sum of 2,236,029*l.* 11*s.* 7*d.*

As the deputy paymasters general of the forces abroad transmit, from time to time, to the pay-office of the army in England, the warrants of the commanders in chief which have been paid by them—that we might omit no means of information of the sums issued, we procured from the pay office of the army a list of these warrants; in

which we find other sums, issued during the same period, to officers in the department of the commissary general, not included in the quarterly lists received from the treasury, amounting together to the sum of 193,000*l.*; which, being added to the sum of 1,521,076*l.* 9*s.* 8*d.* make the total sum, issued to the commissaries at New York, 1,714,076*l.* 9*s.* 8*d.*; and the total sum issued to these four departments there; 4,387,183*l.* 15*s.* 7*d.*

We required from the office of the auditors of the imprest a list of all those persons who have been employed in the expenditure of the public money for the army services in North America, and who had either passed or delivered in their accounts to that office since the 1st of January 1776. We examined the officers whose names we found inserted in these lists, and who were within the reach of our application; (that is to say) Robert Mackenzie, esquire, secretary and paymaster to lieutenant general sir William Howe; major general sir William Erskine, and William lord Cathcart, quarter masters general; lieutenant colonel William Shirreff, and major Richard England, deputy quarter masters general. We examined lieutenant colonel George Clerk, barrack master general; and John Montefor, esquire, chief engineer, whose names are not in this list, their accounts not being as yet delivered in. Daniel Chamier and Daniel Wier, esquires, the two commissaries general during that period, are both dead: none of the accounts of either, and a few only of the vouchers of the latter, are in the auditors office; and therefore the article of provisions, though a very important and expensive branch of this expendi-

expenditure, and many other articles of expence in that department, were not within our reach in this inquiry. We examined also capt. David Laird, the agent for victualers store ships and small craft; and Mr. William Butler, an assistant commissary.

From the information given by these several officers, and from the vouchers and papers they have supplied us with, we have been able to acquire some knowledge of the rules by which these departments have been governed; and to trace, in some measure, the manner in which these branches of the public expenditure have been conducted in North America.

The subjects of expence, which these officers are employed about, may be distinguished under two general heads; the purchase of articles wanted for the use of the army, and the payment for services performed.

The presiding officers in these departments, though they are the persons who must render the account, yet, from the extent and multiplicity of their business, can very seldom themselves attend either to the purchase or the payment: they have their deputies, assistants, superintendants, agents, inspectors, conductors, clerks, and other officers under them, who are the acting persons entrusted with the conduct of different parts of the transaction, and upon whose knowledge and fidelity they rely for the due execution of that trust. Some of these inferior officers make the bargains, some attend to and certify the execution, others are employed in the payments, and take the receipts: each department has its office where the payments are

made. The person who receives, must be either the person himself who is entitled, or his assignee or agent; and he must produce an order, ticket, or certificate of the proper officer, either directing the payment, or authenticating the material circumstances of the purchase, or service. The receipts are generally taken in the name of the principal, whoever the officer may be that pays them; because, the warrants of the commander in chief being made payable to the principal, he, by receiving the sums, becomes the only person accountable; and he cannot discharge himself but by vouchers, which upon the face of them appear to be for payments made by him: but there are instances, where the auditors of the impress have, in particular cases, allowed receipts, taken in the name of the deputy, to be vouchers for the principal.

The payments are, for the most part, made in dollars, at four shillings and eight-pence each sterling, but computed in New York currency, which is to sterling in the proportion of twelve to seven: the sums we shall have occasion to mention hereafter are all in sterling.

The price paid for the purchase of the articles wanted varied according to the demands of the army, and the means of supply; but the price of many of the services was regulated and fixed.

It was not practicable for us to examine into the circumstances attending the purchase of the stores, materials, and variety of articles used in the several departments: we could form no judgment of the necessity there was for procuring them, or of the value, or of the price; the means of information

were not within our reach; and therefore we directed our attention to the other branch of expence, the services, as a subject that bore the appearance at least of a more successful investigation.

The movements and various occasions of the army rendered it necessary to employ a great number of vessels of different kinds, with pilots and seamen, and many waggons, horses, drivers, artificers, and labourers. Of the vessels, waggons, and horses, very few were purchased by government for the use of the army; by far the greatest part of them were hired by the month, or the day, and very many of them kept in continual pay: the hire of all these, which constitutes a very considerable part of the expediture, was, in some cases, uncertain, and depended upon circumstances; but in many it was regulated, and settled at a certain price. The hire of a vessel under thirty tons was three pence half-penny a day *per* ton; the wages of each seaman was two shillings and four-pence a day, with a soldier's ration, and one sixth of a quart of rum. The hire of a vessel of thirty tons and upwards was ten shillings a month *per* ton, until May 1777, when the rate of wages, and the price of provisions, and of naval stores, being increased, it was raised to thirteen shillings; the owner was engaged to find the proportion of six men to every hundred tons, to victual them, and to keep the vessel in repair. The hire, by the day, of a small waggon, with one driver and two horses, was seven shillings; of a large waggon, with one driver and four horses, twelve shillings; of a single horse, one shilling and nine-pence; of a driver alone, from seven-pence to one

shilling and nine-pence; of a common labourer, from seven-pence to two shillings and four-pence.

All the vessels and small craft (except those in the engineer's department) were at first procured by and under the inspection and management of the quarter master general; but, the business of that office increasing, the commander in chief, by warrant, dated 1st of January 1777, created an officer to be agent for victuallers store ships and small craft: he was called the superintendant of vessels; and to his charge were committed all the vessels and small craft, with their appendages, employed in the service of the army (except those attached to the chief engineer, which were left still to remain under his care:) he was enjoined to see that they were properly manned and equipped, and justly rated as to their tonnage; he was authorized to charter or hire vessels for inland navigation, when necessary, and to appropriate to the several departments the number they wanted, and such as were best constructed for the respective services. Though the quarter master general was thus relieved from the trouble of providing and superintending the vessels, pilots, and seamen, yet the payment of the hire of them was still left to his office, and continued there until the beginning of the year 1778; when the commander in chief issued orders, that the hire should be paid in the office of that department where they were employed. The mode of payment was this: the superintendant granted, sometimes upon his own knowledge, sometimes upon the information of persons under him, to the person entitled, a ticket of pay, signed by himself or his deputy, and directed

directed to the proper officer, specifying the service, the time, and the sum. This ticket was, upon payment, left at the office; and at the end of every quarter the superintendant took up all these tickets from the several offices, and, after examination with his check-book, gave to each principal officer one general voucher, signed by himself, for the total sum contained in all those tickets, and paid by him during that quarter.

Much the greatest number of the waggons, horses, and drivers, employed in the service of the army, were procured by the quarter master general. The commander in chief ordered the establishment, that is, the number which he judged to be necessary for the occasions of the army, and in what proportion they should be distributed amongst the several corps, and for the different services. This establishment was permanent, and kept constantly, as far as it could be, compleat. The quarter master general made a return of them every quarter to the commander in chief; which return was called the distribution, and contained an account of all the waggons, horses, and drivers at that time under his direction, and in what service employed: for all these he was responsible, and paid the hire and contingent expences. The other departments had likewise waggons, horses, and drivers in their service; which were procured by themselves, and paid by their respective principal officers. All these departments had artificers and labourers, procured by the overseers in the several branches, hired by the day, and paid in each respective office.

The receipts given for these ser-

vices were of two kinds; either separate receipts, given by individuals in the common form; or one receipt, prefixed to a list comprehending the signatures of many persons; of the latter kind, one uniform mode was adopted in all these offices; two specimens of which, the one taken from the instance of waggons, horses, and drivers, and the other from that of labourers, in the office of the quarter master general, are inserted in the appendix. The first column contains the names of the persons entitled, or supposed to be entitled; the sum he is entitled to receive is wrote in the last column but one; and in the last are the signatures of the same persons, wrote or made either by themselves or by persons deputed by them.

In pursuing this inquiry into the methods and forms by which this expensiture has been carried on, we have had in view two principal objects; one is, to discover whether any fraud has in fact been committed upon the public in the course of these money transactions; the other is, to observe whether the public has been sufficiently guarded against fraud and imposition, in the modes adopted for carrying on this expensiture.

Could a single instance of fraud be discovered in any of the accounts of these officers, such a discovery would so corrupt and vitiate that account, as to subject the whole of it to a revision and unravelment, though adjusted and passed with all the solemnities of the exchequer.

These accountants are charged with all the sums they have received of the paymaster general of the forces, by the warrants of the commander in chief. They cannot discharge themselves, but by the receipts

ceipts of the persons to whom they or their officers have paid these sums. The receipts are fair upon the face of them; each contains all the essentials of a true voucher; a date, the subject matter, the sum paid, the person of whom received, and the person receiving. If the transaction has not been a fair one, and government has been defrauded of any part of the money, the voucher, which is the evidence of that transaction, must, in some part of it, be false or fraudulent: to discover whether it be so or not, the person who appears to have signed it, is always a material, and, in some cases, the only witness, who can tell whether the sum specified in the receipt to have been received, was in fact the sum *bona fide* paid; but persons under this description are not amenable to us, sitting in this kingdom; they are in North America. Numberless, and in a variety of ways, may have been the frauds and impositions committed upon government, without the knowledge even of the officer who passes the accounts, being himself not privy to the payments, but relying, for the truth of the vouchers he produces in his discharge, upon the integrity and fidelity of his inferior officers.

Rumours of imposition, and of much wealth acquired during a short service upon slender appointments, may create a suspicion of some concealed management, and be a ground for inquiry by proper authority; but they are not proofs upon which can be supported, against any person whatever, the heavy charge of defrauding the public.

Having therefore no hopes of pursuing this subject with effect, we turned our attention to the second

object we proposed; that is, to those openings for fraud, and that possibility of abuse, which the modes of conducting these money transactions have left without fence or guard: and we are of opinion that the public have not been sufficiently protected in two material points: first, the officers intrusted with the expenditure of the public money have been permitted to have an interest themselves in the subject matter of expence: secondly, the vouchers by which the accountants discharge themselves of the sums intrusted to them, are allowed without having undergone sufficient examination,

It is a branch of the business of the quarter master general to provide waggons and horses, with their necessary attendants and appendages, for the use of the army, either when in quarters, or in motion; and, when there is occasion to transport them, or to supply their wants by water, the superintendant furnishes them with vessels, and whatever is necessary for carriage by water. It is the duty of these officers to make the contracts for the articles, and to see those contracts honestly and substantially performed; to take care that each article is properly equipped, and adequate to the service it is intended for; and that the service, for which payment is claimed, has been, in fact, performed. These officers are placed, on the part of government, as a check and control upon the contractors, to protect the public from loss or imposition. The barrack master general and chief engineer stand upon the same ground, in respect to the waggons and horses made use of in their departments, and not provided by the quarter master general. But it has been the usage, as far back as

our inquiry has gone, for the officers in these departments to be themselves the proprietors of, or to have shares or interests in, a great number of the vessels and small craft, and in almost all the waggons and horses, employed in these services: these officers have purchased or procured them upon their own account, and let them out to government at the fixed prices of hire; the same person, employed by and acting for the public, contracts, on the part of the public, with himself, for the hire of his own property, controls his own actions, and pays himself with the public money intrusted to his charge: his trust and interest draw opposite ways: his trust obliges him to be frugal for the public; to hire at the lowest price (lower, if he can, than the price allowed by government); to take care that what he hires is compleat and fit for service; to employ as few vessels and carriages, and for as short a time as possible: but his interest leads him not to spare the public purse; to let to government, at the same fixed price, all the vessels, carriages, and horses, he can collect, by whatever means procured, or at however low a price he may have purchased them, and whatever may be their condition or difference in point of goodness; to keep them continually in pay, whether wanted, or employed, or not, and for as long a time as he can contrive; and his last advantage may be, the suffering them to be taken or destroyed by the enemy, to entitle him to the value from the public. In such a contest between duty and interest, it is not uncharitable to suppose the public interest will frequently be sacrificed to private emolument. But this is not the only mischief: this practice has a

manifest tendency to corrupt and endanger the service of the army; it weakens the military discipline, it infuses into the soldier the thirst for gain, and diverts his attention from honour and his country's service, to the pursuit of wealth, and that too by intrenching upon the treasure of his country.

We do not mean to suggest these as impositions, that have all been actually committed upon the public, but as consequences that will follow, whenever the temptation is powerful enough to overcome the sense of duty, and where the opportunities of yielding to the temptation are so frequent and so obvious.

As these officers would hardly have engaged in business of this kind, without the expectation at least of some advantage (for they had no additional pay for being employed in the expenditure) we were led to enquire into the expence incurred by the public for this article of hire, and from thence to endeavour to form some judgment upon the probable advantage to the officer.

We obtained from captain David Laird, a list of all the vessels, under whatever denomination, employed in the service of the army in North America, from the 1st of January 1777, when he was appointed superintendent of the vessels, until the end of December 1780, when he quitted the service; with the name of each vessel, and of the master or owner, the number of tons, the price *per ton*, the time when hired, the time when discharged, and in what department employed. From this list it appears, that the number of vessels employed at different times, during the above period, in the department of the quarter master general, was

three



three hundred and seventeen; and the number of tons, nineteen thousand five hundred fifty-eight. In the department of the barrack master general, the number of vessels was eighty-five, and of the tons seven thousand eight hundred thirty-six. In the department of the commissary general, the number of vessels was two hundred and nine, and of the tons sixteen thousand six hundred twenty-two. The total number of the vessels was six hundred and eleven, and of the tons forty-four thousand and sixteen. Many of them were employed for a short time only: the number of those continued in the service for one year and upwards, we have extracted from captain Laird's list, and inserted in the appendix, with the number of tons, and their earnings during their service; and of these, sixty-two were left in the service at the end of the year 1780. This list shews, that the number of vessels employed each for a year or longer, during that period, in the department of the quarter master general, was sixty-two, and the hire 91,444 *l.* 19 *s.* 4 *d.*; in the department of the barrack master general, the number twenty-five, and the hire 34,737 *l.* 19 *s.*; in the department of the commissary general, the number forty-four, and the hire 55,925 *l.* 14 *s.*: the total number one hundred thirty-one; the total hire 182,108 *l.* 12 *s.* 4 *d.*

We find, from the vouchers for the payments of hire made by the quarter masters general, and delivered by them into the office of the auditors of the impress, that the total expence of this hire in that department only, exclusive of pilotage, and various contingencies, from the 25th of December 1776

to the 31st of March 1780, amounted to 127,483 *l.* 18 *s.* 10½ *d.*; what the expence of this hire was in the other departments, we have not had the means of informing ourselves.

In this list appear the names of several officers in the departments of the quarter master, barrack master, and commissary general, as owners of these vessels; but the names of all such officers as were owners do not appear; the names of the masters are inserted in their stead. Where the principal officers were proprietors, or had shares, their names are not found, either in the contracts for the hire, or in the receipts for the payments.

A vessel of one hundred tons, hired at 13 *s.* a month *per* ton, would produce to the owners 780 *l.* a year. Suppose him to have, during the whole year, his full complement of six men, at each 3 *l.* 15 *s.* a month wages, and to pay 2 *s.* a day for victualling each man, his men would cost him 489 *l.* and leave him a profit of 291 *l.* a year; which profit would be increased in proportion as he could hire his men, or procure boys, at a less price, or diminish his number whilst his vessel lay at rest during any part of the year, or employ them to his advantage in any other service. The prime cost, and expence of repairs, are diminutions of his profit, depending upon circumstances, and not open to calculation.

As the quarterly returns, made to the commander in chief by the quarter master general, contain the number of the waggons, horses, and drivers, furnished by him in each quarter, with their distribution, and expence to government for the hire, we have selected, and inserted in the appendix, two of these returns: Sir

William Erskine supplied us with the first regular distribution that was returned to the commander in chief, which is for the quarter ending 30th June 1777; the other is a return made by lord Cathcart, for the quarter ending 31st December 1779.

The distributions did not always contain the same numbers, and therefore we could not come at the expence of the hire of them to the public, but by collecting it from the vouchers allowed by the auditors of the impress to those quarter masters general who had passed their accounts in that office. By an abstract composed from those vouchers, we find that the sum paid by the public, for the hire only of waggons, horses, and drivers, employed under the management of the quarter master general, from the 25th of December 1776 to the 31st of March 1780, was 338,435 *l.* 8 *s.* 6  $\frac{3}{4}$  *d.* exclusive of provisions, forage, repairs, and other contingent expences.

The rate of the hire of a waggon, driver, and four horses, being 12 *s.* a day, produces to the proprietor 219 *l.* a year; from whence the hire of the driver, at the mean price of 1 *s.* 2 *d.* a day, that is, 21 *l.* 5 *s.* 10 *d.* a year, being deducted, leaves him a clear yearly profit of 197 *l.* 14 *s.* 2 *d.* the repairs of the waggon and harness, and the food of the driver and horses, being found by the public. Computing the prime cost of the waggons compleat, at the highest price, 20 *l.* and of each horse at 15 *l.* he receives back 80 *l.* his purchase money, in less than five months; after which, if possessed of fifty large waggons and two hundred horses, (and the waggons and horses were in general the property of a few officers only) he will have,

as long as he can continue them in the service of government, a clear income of 9,885 *l.* 8 *s.* 4 *d.* secure from all risk.

The commander in chief, consulting with the principal officers in the several departments, settled the establishment, and ordered that it should be permanent and kept compleat. As the army was not always in motion, the necessity for so numerous a permanent establishment was not obvious. The reason given for retaining the same number for the whole year, is, the difficulty of procuring them again when wanted, in case they had been discharged at the end of the campaign; but this reason does not appear altogether conclusive; for, if they are in being, the arm of the commander in chief can reach them, wherever they are; he has power to seize, the instant he wants it, whatever is necessary for the service, in his contemplation: from the enemy he seizes of right, from a friend he presses of necessity, paying him the value, or for the use.

The establishment was hardly ever compleat, from the constant difficulty of procuring the number of waggons it required; as they were therefore so scarce in that country, and the cattle could have been employed to more advantage than upon the pay of government, it might have been advantageous to the inhabitants to have had the use of them for the time the army were in quarters; and the hire of them, for some months every year, would have been no inconsiderable saving to the public.

All orders and regulations of every kind proceed from the commander in chief: his power extends, without controul, over the whole army

army and all its connections. It is limited only by his discretion; consequently every form of proceeding, every usage and mode of practice, must rest either upon his orders or his acquiescence. That we might learn upon what authority this custom, for the officers to be contractors of this description, was grounded, we required from Sir William Howe and lord Cornwallis the orders and instructions issued by them in North America, relative to the several departments employed in the expenditure of the public money. The returns to these requisitions contained the appointment of the superintendant of vessels, and the regulation of the payment of their hire, in the offices of the departments in which they were employed both above mentioned, together with other orders made from time to time for different purposes of regulation: but we found at one period only orders relative to the point immediately under our consideration. These orders were issued by lord Cornwallis, are dated the 23d December 1780, and contain matter very important to the subject before us. Lord Cornwallis had upon several occasions found, that the waggons and horses provided for the public service by the quarter master general were in bad condition, and neither fit nor able to perform the services required. To remedy these abuses, he thought it necessary to direct, that the quarter master general should have no property in either the waggons or horses; and to that end he issued orders, enjoining him not to charge more for waggons and horses than he had actually paid; not to charge the hire of waggons and horses purchased; not to purchase them but upon government

account; and, if he hired them, to pay the proprietors the full price for hire allowed by government. He ordered all the necessary craft to be purchased on government account; and some of the vessels to be discharged, as soon as they came under the direction of his deputy quarter master general at Portsmouth in the Chesapeak, upon his representation that they were unnecessary. He ordered likewise the commissary general not to charge government for the compleat ration, unless he supplied that ration from the stores from England; and to charge no more for fresh provisions, flour, or Indian meal, than what they cost him. The manner of conducting this last office it is not in our power to inquire into; the commissaries general are dead; and their accounts not in England.

These orders are levelled at abuses at that time existing; and these abuses all tend to the defrauding of the public for private emolument.

By pursuing the rules of computation inserted above, we are enabled to discover how much would have been saved to the public had the waggons and horses been purchased at first on account of government. From the list inserted in the appendix it appears, that the average number of waggons constantly employed in the service, from the 25th of December 1776 to the 31st of March 1780, that is, three years and a quarter, was seven hundred thirty-nine; and the average number of horses, one thousand nine hundred fifty-eight; and the average number of drivers, seven hundred and sixty: the average hire of all these amounts to 104,132*l.* a year; from whence deducting 16,181*l.* the hire of seven hundred

and sixty drivers, at 1 s. 2 d. each per day, there remains the sum of 87,951 l. The prime cost of the waggons and horses, at the highest price, is 44,150 l.; this sum being deducted from 87,951 l. leaves the clear profit of 43,801 l. for the first year: this being added to the sum of 197,889 l. two years and one quarter's clear profits, after deducting the hire of the drivers, gives the sum of 241,690 l. paid by the public, beyond what it would have cost them had the property of these waggons and horses belonged to government: and, if the same system of management has been continued to the present time, the public have incurred a still further expence of 175,902 l. for two years more, to the 31st of March last; that is, the public have paid 417,592 l. for the single article of the hire of waggons and horses; the whole of which might have been saved, had the mode contained in the orders of the 23d of December 1780 been at first adopted.

From the circumstances thus disclosed, it can hardly be doubted that this practice, of letting out for hire to government, has been highly lucrative to the officers engaged in it. The officer is a trustee for the public; as such, he is bound to husband the public money committed to his charge with as much frugality as if it were his own; what he saves or what he gains, he saves and gains not for himself but for the public. He ought not to be permitted, by any management or contrivance, to carve out for himself an interest in the execution of a public trust: if that interest has been productive, how far such profit belongs to the public, and whether, by bills of discovery filed by the proper officer of

the crown, or by what other means, it may be discovered, and reclaimed for the public, are for the wisdom of parliament to decide.

It is of public concern this evil should be speedily corrected: it flows from permitting a trust to reside, with an interest, in the same person. The remedy is, to take away the interest, and by that means to restore the trust and control to its full force, that it may freely operate for the benefit of the public, uninfluenced by private considerations.

But the remedy may be extended still farther: it should seem as if it would be more beneficial to the service, if the officers were relieved entirely from the trouble of making the payments. When their military duty calls them to the field, they must neglect their duty as paymasters, and leave that branch to be conducted entirely by their inferior officers and clerks. It seems to be a hardship upon a quarter master general, to be subject to account for very large sums, no part of which he paid himself, but merely because they were paid in his name, and at his office, whilst he himself was absent upon other duty.

There is no necessary connection between the military duty of these officers and the expenditure of money for military services: this latter belongs properly to a civil department, and may be executed by a civil officer. Major general William Roy, who, during the last war in Germany, was in the departments both of the quarter master general and chief engineer, informed us, that no public money was issued to him in either of these capacities: he was no accountant; but all the expences incurred in these

These departments were defrayed by the deputy paymaster general of the forces, pursuant to the warrants of the commander in chief issued for that purpose. The quarter master general and chief engineer were considered in that army as checks upon the expenditure on behalf of the public: they were to see that the articles supplied were good of the kind, adequate to the services they were intended for, and that there was no waste.

We are therefore of opinion, that the orders of 23d December 1780 should be put in force forthwith throughout the whole army; that no officer should be permitted to have a property or interest in any article whatever, which the duty of his office obliges him to provide for the service of the army: if purchased, it should be purchased by and for the use of government; if hired, it should be hired of persons unconnected with military service. We are likewise of opinion, that the payments should be taken from the military officer, and thrown upon the deputy paymaster general of the forces, who is the proper cashier of the army, to be carried on by him, in pursuance of the warrants of the commander in chief.

The other point, in which we think the public have not been sufficiently guarded, is the allowance on the vouchers without sufficient examination: this defect pervades every branch of the expenditure under our consideration. The principal officers in these departments are the persons accountable: they make up, pass, and swear to the accounts; but, having a variety of other material business to transact in their several stations, they have no

leisure to attend to the actual payments: a quarter master general, whose account amounted to above 600,000 *l.* was for five months together upon duty in the field, without having been able once to attend his office. He is likewise obliged to pass the account of a sum never received by him, but issued to and expended by an assistant deputy quarter master general, whom he neither appointed nor knew; and the warrant issued to this assistant states, that the sum therein directed is to be accounted for by the quarter master general. The chief engineer considers himself as liable to account for sums, no part of which he either receives or pays, nor are the payments made in his name; for, though the sum is made payable to him by the warrant, yet he never actually receives it; but he indorses the warrant to the paymaster of the works, who receives the whole, and with it discharges bills, either directed to him for payment by the chief engineer or the commander in chief, or at his own discretion without the intervention of either, and takes the receipts in his own name.

This important business of expenditure, that requires attention, circumspection, accuracy, and fidelity, must be entrusted to inferior officers, clerks, and even to strangers.

The making-up, and examination of the accounts is conducted in the following manner:—every quarter the accountant collects together from his deputies, assistants, and clerks, all the vouchers for the payments made by them during that quarter: they are abstracted, digested under heads, and bundled up together. The abstract is produced

to the commander in chief for his inspection and approbation, and in order to obtain a final warrant for the amount of the abstract. The vouchers are ready for his inspection if he requires it. This is the first check to which the account is submitted. It is not to be imagined, that the many important objects, that must continually engross the attention of the general of an army, will afford him either leisure or patience to examine voluminous bundles of vouchers: he may sometimes, upon a transient view of the abstract, find some article that excites his curiosity to call for an explanation; but he cannot possibly enter into the detail, or minutely examine into the circumstances of a complicated receipt; and therefore, unless such an instance occurs for inspection, the vouchers are left unexamined in the hands of the accountant, and the commander in chief depends upon his honour that he has them in his possession.

After the final warrant is obtained, this abstract and the vouchers are sent home to be examined, that the account may be passed in the office of the auditors of the impress. It is utterly impossible the vouchers can be sufficiently scrutinized in this office, for want of evidence: the accountant is the proper person to give them information; and he, very possibly, is not privy to the payment, or to any one circumstance stated in the voucher.

Charles Harris, esq. one of the deputy auditors of the impress, tells us the grounds upon which a voucher, for a payment for the extraordinary service abroad, is, and of necessity must be, allowed in that office: if it contains a certain number received; the signature of a per-

son receiving, and a just computation, and agrees with the abstract, it is deemed and admitted as a fair voucher: for the truth of it, they rely upon the oath taken by the accountant before the barons of the exchequer, when he passes his account. In fact, in those accounts, which have been already passed in this office, no inquiry seems to have been made into the truth of the vouchers, whatever questions might arise upon the face of them. By the form of this oath, which we obtained from the office of the auditors of the impress, the accountant swears that the account is just and true, according to the best of his knowledge and belief: these latter words must, as we conceive, be interpreted by him so to qualify the oath, as to enable him to swear with safety to those items of his account, of the transacting of which he has no other knowledge than what the vouchers themselves give him, and where he knows nothing of the persons who transact them, except probably their general characters: no great reliance, then, can be had, for the truth of the voucher, upon the oath of the accountant; because that oath, so worded, is no additional evidence of its truth.

From thus tracing the voucher, from the pay office of the department in North America to the office of its final examination in England, it appears that the public may be defrauded in a transaction, and yet the voucher of that transaction may pass through all its stages of examination unsuspected and unimpeached, and be sworn to by the accountant without the violation of his oath. Various are the ways and means by which the fraud may be committed: the agreement or purchase

share may be made by collusion: the subject matter of the receipt may be false in quantity or quality: the service over-rated, or not performed: the sum inserted may be more than the sum *bona fide* paid: the receipt may be obtained by compulsion, or collusion, upon false or forged certificates: it may have been signed in blank, and filled up afterwards with false sums, or signed with a feigned name; and yet the voucher may be fair upon the face of it; and these gross frauds will escape detection.

These suggestions are not mere surmises; they rest not on bare possibility or imagination: they are warranted by what we have observed in the accounts of the quarter masters general which have been passed in the office of the auditors of the imprest. Certain vouchers have been there admitted as evidence of payments, to persons who never did in fact receive, nor could be supposed likely to be entrusted with the receipt of the sums inserted in these vouchers: the receipts for the hire of the drivers, waggons, and horses (no inconsiderable sum) are not in truth what they purport to be upon the face of them; they carry the appearance of, and are produced as the receipt of, a certain sum by the person whose name or signature is set opposite to that sum; the sum is compounded of the hire of the driver, waggon, and horses, for a certain time; but the man receiving, or signing, or setting his mark to the receipt, is usually the driver only, frequently a negro, or some person in the lowest capacity, to whom nothing would be entrusted: he is the ostensible receiver of the whole, whereas he in truth receives a very trifling part of it, his own wages only; the remainder, being the hire of

the waggon and horses, is paid or accounted for to the officer to whom they belong, but whose receipt does not appear as a voucher for the accountant. The artificers and labourers are paid by lists, in like manner with the drivers; not individually in the office of the department, but by the overseers, who receive the gross amount of the list, and, after having paid it, bring it back to the office, with the names of the persons receiving set opposite to the sums they were to receive.

Since the drivers (and very numerous they are) are prevailed upon or induced by custom to sign receipts for sums they never receive, there may be reasons or inducements for the like practice in various other branches of the expenditure; and in every instance of this kind the voucher is not true.

Having been informed that some measures had been taken by the lords commissioners of the treasury for the purpose of controlling the expenditure of this money in North America, we issued to them our precept for copies of the commissions and instructions given to the commissaries of accounts in North America, and extracts of their correspondence relative thereto: In consequence of this requisition, we received the copy of a commission, dated 15th of February 1779, appointing major Duncan Drummond commissary of accounts, to examine, audit, and certify all accounts whatsoever of money due for forage, bread and provisions, furnished by contract or otherwise, and delivered for the use of the army and hospitals, and for all other extraordinary services. The same power had been before delegated to Daniel Chamier, esq; by commission dated 1st of February

bruary 1777, but does not appear to have been ever executed. We find, by papers transmitted to us with this commission (some of which we have inserted in the appendix) that in pursuance of that commission, and of directions and instructions relative thereto, transmitted from time to time from the lords commissioners of the treasury to the commanders in chief and the commissary of accounts, some progress has been made in carrying the powers of that commission into execution; but how far it has been effectual to the prevention or diminution of the evil, it has not been in our power to discover.

Of the ten millions and upwards that have been issued for these services to North America within the last six years, accounts of a few officers only, amounting to about 1,100,000*l.*, have been as yet rendered in the proper office. The accounts of about 140,000*l.* more are ready: so that the expenditure of 8,760,000*l.* still remain to be accounted for.

By an account of the yearly average number of his majesty's forces serving at New York and its dependencies, from the 1st of January 1776 to the 31st of December 1780, extracted from returns of those forces made to us from the war office, pursuant to our requisition, it appears that the number of the forces decreased every year from 1778; but, from the account of the contractors for remitting, the issue for the extraordinary services of that army greatly increased during the same period.

In the account of the issues to the officers in the four departments, we find that the warrants issued to the quarter masters general since the 16th of July, 1780, and to the bar-

rack masters general since the 29th of June, 1780, and to the commissaries general since the 25th of May, 1778, have been all temporary, for sums on account; that no final warrant has been granted since those several periods: so that these sums have been issued, without even the ceremony of a quarterly abstract, and the confidential reliance on the officer that his vouchers are forthcoming.

Of these ten millions, there have been issued to Canada, between the 1st of June, 1776, and the 23d of October last, 2,236,029*l.* 11*s.* 7*d.*; a province, whose military operations, since the year 1777, the public are not made acquainted with. This issue has been increasing every year, and no apparent reason for it; and upon the expenditure in this province there exists no check or control, that we know of, whatever.

These are circumstances of suspicion and alarm. The ordinary forms of examination and accounting are neither comprehensive nor strong enough to embrace the various circumstances of this expenditure: they call for a minute, accurate, and rigid investigation; but none such can, as we apprehend, be obtained in this kingdom; the evidence essentially necessary for that purpose cannot be procured here. Should it be thought proper to subject these accounts to such a scrutiny, we can devise or suggest no method of obtaining this end, unless the legislature should think proper to refer all of them to an examination in North America, by persons intelligent in the subject matter, and unconnected with the expenditure; who may inquire into every circumstance of the transaction, and have recourse to every person



person concerned in it; and who may be authorized and directed to examine into the whole expenditure, as well of the antecedent as subsequent issues: The commanders in chief may be enjoined to give them their countenance, protection, and support, and not to grant warrants for the payment of any article of these expences without the testimony of their allowance. The disallowance of the voucher comes too late, after payment. By a check and control thus established upon the spot, and by an able and conscientious execution of such a trust, the public might be enabled to obtain restitution where they have been defrauded, and security against imposition and peculation for the future.

Office of Accounts,  
Surrey-Street,  
18th June, 1782.

T. ANGUISH, (L. S.)  
A. PIGGOTT, (L. S.)  
RICH. NEAVE, (L. S.)  
SAM. BEACHCROFT, (L. S.)  
GEO. DRUMMOND. (L. S.)

*The Eighth Report of the Commissioners appointed to examine, take, and state, the Public Accounts of the Kingdom: Presented to the House of Commons 20th December, 1782.*

**I**N all the acts by which we have been constituted, one of the express purposes of our appointment, and, in the last act, the only one particularly mentioned, is "to examine, and state, in what manner, and at what times, the receipts, issues, and expenditures of the public monies are now accounted for; and to consider and report, by what means and me-

thods the public accounts may in future be passed, and the accountants compelled to pay the balances due from them, in a more expeditious, more effectual, and less expensive manner."

In our examination into the pay offices of the navy and army, we found the accounts very far in arrear; 75 millions, the issues of upwards of 24 years, to October 1780, for the navy services; 47 millions, the issues of sixteen years, to the same period (exclusive of the unsettled account of Lord Holland) for the army services, were unaccounted for. So striking a circumstance would have led us, of course, to that office where the public accounts of the kingdom are audited, that we might endeavour to discover the causes of this delay; whether it arises from any want of power to compel persons to come to account, or from any neglect in the exercise of that power; whether from any defect in the constitution, or in the execution of the office that audits the accounts; or whether it is occasioned by any obstructions thrown in the way by the accountable persons themselves.

We inquired, in the first place, whether there exists any compulsive power to bring in public accountants, and what steps are taken previous to their accounting. Upon these points, Mr. John Hughson, clerk of the debentures, in the office of the auditor of the exchequer; Adam Martin, esq. first clerk in the office of the king's remembrancer in the exchequer; and Mr. Alexander Bennet, one of the sworn clerks in the same office, gave us the following information.

The power of compelling public accountants to come to account, is lodged in the court of exchequer;  
it

it is exercised by either an ordinary or an extraordinary process. The ordinary process, is a writ of *distringas ad computandum*, issued by the king's remembrancer periodically, and of course, after every issuable term. The extraordinary process, is a writ of *capias ad computandum*, which issues by special order of the court of exchequer, where the sum to be accounted for is in danger, and upon particular application made to them for that purpose.

The proceedings upon the ordinary process are in the following manner:

All money issued from the exchequer by the auditor of the receipt, is issued either upon account, or without account: it does not depend upon his discretion, which of these forms he shall make use of; he is governed by the authority that directs the issue; that is, either by an act of parliament, or by the king's warrant under the great or privy seal; and by no other authority than these can money be issued out of the exchequer.

Twice in every year, after each of the issuable terms, the auditor of the receipt makes out a roll, called the general imprest roll, which contains all the sums issued from the exchequer upon account, during the preceding half year, with the names of the persons to whom, and for what services, issued. This roll is recorded by the clerk of the pells, and transmitted to the office of the king's remembrancer; a mode of proceeding directed by the act for the better observation of the course anciently used in the receipt of the exchequer.

About the same time that this imprest roll comes to the king's

remembrancer, the auditors of the imprest make out and send to him a certificate of the accounts depending in their office: by these means the king's remembrancer has every half year full information to regulate his proceedings; the general imprest roll tells him what persons are become accountable, and for what sums; and the imprest certificate shews him which of those persons are proceeding to pass their accounts, and how far any of them have proceeded in passing them. This officer exercises a discretionary power, both as to the persons against whom, and the time when, he shall issue the *distringas*: he pays little attention to the general imprest roll, for two reasons; first, because many of the sums mentioned therein to have been issued on account, are nevertheless in their nature not subject, nor intended to be accounted for; as salaries, and payments for small services performed. And, secondly, because those sums which are intended to be accounted for, having been issued so recently as within the last half year only, may not have been applied to the purposes for which they were intended, or, if they have, the accountants can hardly be supposed to be ready with, and to have prepared their accounts for examination, so soon after the application.

The imprest certificate is the instrument by which the king's remembrancer, in consultation with the deputy auditor of the imprest, is governed as to the persons against whom he shall issue this process. Where the accounts therein stated appear to be of very ancient date, or depending and in a train of prosecution, such accountants are not put in process; if the accounts are

of late date, and the accountants, having had a reasonable time for preparation, have taken no steps for the prosecution, against these the *distringas* issues.

All accountants, unless the place of their abode is specified, are supposed to reside, and most of the great accountants do in fact reside, within the jurisdiction of the sheriffs of London and Middlesex: to them, therefore, the *distringas* against these accountants issues. We required from the king's remembrancer the writ of *distringas* that issued to those sheriffs after the last Hilary term, with the return and schedules annexed, for our inspection; a copy of the writ and return is inserted in the appendix.

The schedules annexed to this writ are very numerous; many of them contain large sums. They are of various dates; and some very ancient, as far back as the year 1698. Each contains the name of the accountant, and, frequently, the sum for which he is to account, and the service for which it was issued. The return of the sheriffs to the writ before us is, as to all the accountants in the several schedules thereto annexed, indiscriminately, that none of them had any lands or chattels in his bailiwick by which he could distrain them; nor were they found in the same; that is, in the language of office, a *nihil return*, or *nulla bona* and *non est inventus*.

From the information of Mr. John Benson, the principal clerk in the office of the sheriff of Middlesex, we learn the practice of the office relative to this writ. It is usual not to execute it; it is a process of course; and the return indorsed upon the writ before us, is

the constant regular return upon every one of these periodical writs of *distringas ad computandum*.

The king's remembrancer, after it is returned to his office, takes off from the bundle of schedules the returned writ, together with those schedules in which the purpose of the *distringas* has been satisfied, and files them with the writ: the remainder of the schedules, with the addition of the names and schedules taken from the last imprest certificate, are annexed to the renewed writ, and are issued again to the sheriff. Upon his apposal in the court of exchequer, the new schedules are read to him, and he is questioned upon his oath relative to the execution of this writ: his answer is usually agreeable to his return. Sometimes the baron of the exchequer before whom he is apposed, where the particular case strikes him, directs the sheriff to return issues to a certain amount: in that case, the sheriff alters his return, and indorses upon the writ the issues directed, which are transmitted to the pipe office, to be levied by process from thence; but of this proceeding the instances are rare, and the officer of the sheriff of Middlesex recollects but one instance in thirty-three years, where issues are drawn down to the pipe, and levied.

Having thus examined into the means of compelling public accountants to come to an account, we proceeded, in the next place, to the office where these accounts are audited; that is, to the office of the auditors of the imprest. Of the constitution, authority, and execution of this office, we received information from John Bray, esq. late deputy auditor, and from Charles Harris,

Harris, esq. one of the present deputy auditors in the office of lord Mountstuart.

This office is instituted for the sole purpose of auditing and examining the public accounts: it is executed by two auditors, independent of each other; each having a separate and distinct office, his own deputies, offices, and clerks. He is appointed by letters patent. Upon inspection of those by which lord Sondes and lord Mountstuart now enjoy this office, it appears that he is appointed auditor of the prest or imprest, and foreign accounts, to execute the office by himself, or his deputy or deputies, during his good behaviour. The power therein delegated to him is, to audit and determine, with the advice, authority, and consent of the commissioners of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, the accounts and views of accounts of several officers and duties therein particularly specified, and, in general, of all persons being accountable for any sums of money received by the name of imprest from the king, or any other person in his name, and to be applied about the affairs of the king: it is confined to the examination of the accounts; he has no power to bring the accountants before him; if not compelled by the exchequer process, they come at their own pleasure only. By the general imprest roll from the exchequer every half year, he learns who are become accountable, and for what sums issued from thence. The yearly accounts of some, and the final accounts of other of the great accountants, inform him of the supers or sub-accountants; but in the imprest certificate, which he transmits every half year to the king's remem-

brancer, he inserts those accountants only whose accounts are then depending; and, when once inserted, he has no authority to leave them out; their names must remain upon all subsequent certificates, until their accounts are passed; and from thence it arises that accounts of a very ancient date, debts obsolete and desperate, constantly appear upon these certificates.

The accounts audited in this office are of two kinds; ordinary, and extraordinary. The ordinary accounts are prepared, made up, and presented to the lords of the treasury for declaration, by virtue of the authority vested in the auditor by the letters patent. The extraordinary accounts are prepared, made up, and presented for declaration, in pursuance of a special warrant obtained for that purpose, either from the king or from the treasury: previous to the application for this warrant, the auditor examines the account and vouchers, makes up a state of it, and presents it to the treasury for their approbation and allowance. In consequence of such allowance, a warrant is procured; which directs the auditor to prepare, make up, and present for declaration, the account, conformably to the state of it so approved of and allowed. Which of these extraordinary accounts require the king's, and which a treasury warrant, does not seem to be ascertained by any known distinction; the auditor is taught by the usage of office only, which he is to apply for. The accounts of governors and quarter masters general are passed by the king's warrant; the accounts of contractors by a treasury warrant.

Some of the accounts are annual,  
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and have a continuance; as those of the treasurer of the navy, and paymaster general of the forces; such accounts are usually passed, a year's account alternately in each office; other accounts are carried, at the option of the accountant, to which of the two offices he chuses; but it is in the power of the lords of the treasury to direct an account to be audited in either office; and there are some accounts, such as those of the bank and South Sea company, which are audited by both officers jointly.

Having thus obtained a general knowledge of the mode of transacting the business of this office, we proceeded to inquire into the application of these general rules to the auditing and passing the particular accounts.

We began this inquiry in the same order in which we had examined into the offices themselves; that is, first with the accounts of the treasurer of the navy. We required from the auditors of the imprest the last declared account of a treasurer of the navy, with the ledgers, charge, discharge, and other materials from which that account was made out. The account transmitted to us pursuant to this requisition, was that of the late George Grenville, for one year, ending the 31st of December 1759, with three folio ledgers, and other detached papers; comprehending the total charge upon him for that year, his total discharge, and two abstracts.

The charge consists of two parts; the imprest roll, and the voluntary charge. The imprest roll contains all the sums imprested to him from the exchequer during the period of his account; and is produced by the treasurer to the auditor as his proof

for that charge. The voluntary charge contains all the sums received by him during the same time upon other accounts, and deductions made by him in his payments; that is to say, imprests of former treasurers cleared by him, money arising from the sale of old navy and victualling stores and decayed provisions, abatements from bills, and from ship, yard, and sick and hurt books, from half-pay lists, and Chatham chest.

The discharge consists of entries of the following articles: all the bills paid by him in the year 1759, for the ordinary and extraordinary navy services, for the sick and hurt, and for the victualling service; they are numbered, and entered as paid, either on the 14th or on the last day of every month, these two being the periods on which the treasurer certifies his receipts and payments to the navy and victualling boards. The number of the navy bills in this year's account, is 5,052; of the victualling, 3,348; and of the sick and hurt, 1,040; together, 9,440 bills;—entries of the extra payments, with the receipts for them annexed, being 12 in number;—entries of the payment of 244 ships books made up as paid in that year; each entry is the sum total of the wages of the master, officers, and mariners, during their service on board that ship, for a certain stated period, referring to that ship's book remaining in the navy office;—entries of the total sums paid to the clerk of the cheque, officers, and men, employed in each yard, for their wages during a certain stated period; and of the total sums paid to the hospital ships, and for sick quarters, referring to books; and for the half-pay, refer-  
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ring to lists; all remaining in the navy office.

The two abstracts are, the navy, and the victualling. The navy abstract is an index, in which all the bills are entered under general heads, ranged alphabetically, expressing, for the most part, either the services, or the species of stores or materials, which is the subject matter of the payment. Each entry contains the sum, and the person to whom paid; and the payments under each head are cast up to a total. It contains also the sums paid for the sick and hurt, extra payments, and on the ship, yard, hospital, and sick quarters books, and on the half-pay list. To this is prefixed an alphabetical index of all the heads, with their several totals, cast up into one sum; this is called the abstract abstracted.

The other abstract contains the victualling payments, digested and ranged in a method similar to that of the navy abstract. These materials, collected together, form a complete ledger of a year's account of a treasurer of the navy: from them is composed the formal account, which passes through various offices, and to a state of which the treasurer swears.

Sections of the ledgers, and the other papers, are sent, from time to time, from the pay office of the navy to the office of the auditor of the impress; but none of the vouchers for the entries are sent with them (except the receipts for the extra payments, which are very few); nor does the auditor inspect any of these vouchers; he allows the payments upon a different ground. The last page of the voluntary charge, and every page of

the ledgers, which contain the entries of the navy, victualling, and sick and hurt bills, or the last page, where the entry of a bill takes up more pages than one; every page containing the payments on the ship, yard, hospital, and sick quarters books, and on the half-pay list, is signed at the bottom by three commissioners of the navy. Upon the authority of these signatures; the auditor allows the voluntary charge, and all the payments, without the production of any of the vouchers: he does this in pursuance of a writ of privy seal, which every treasurer of the navy procures soon after his appointment, and which directs the commissioners of the navy, in the first place, to examine the ledger books of accounts of the treasurer, and three of them to sign every page, and orders that these books, so subscribed, shall be taken and allowed a sufficient warrant and voucher to the auditors; and all other officers of the exchequer, to give full allowance of the payments therein mentioned to be made. Hence the ledger alone; thus subscribed, becomes the sole voucher for every payment therein contained; and the only, or at least the principal, business of the auditor, is to prepare and reduce the account into the official form; which he does in the following manner:

The sections and abstracts are generally proceeded upon as soon as they are received in the office. The auditor compares the entry of each article in the section with the entry in the abstract; and where the bill involves a calculation, or consists of many articles, he examines the computation, and casts up the articles. Where the same person has received sums at different

ent times, for the same service, these sums are entered in the ledger at the times they were severally paid; but the auditor alters the disposition of them; he collects them all together, and is thereby enabled to check the ledger entries, and to detect over-payments: being possessed of the warrants and receipts for the extra payments, he examines those entries with the vouchers themselves, and casts up the totals under each head in the abstracts.

After he has received all the materials from the pay office, the official account is compiled, and reduced to the following form:—the first division is the charge; which comprehends the arrears due from the treasurer on the foot of his last account, the money imprest to him from the exchequer, and his voluntary charge. The imprest part is an English translation of the imprest roll (which is in Latin) but retaining the Latin names of the terms in which the sums were issued. The first part of the voluntary charge consists of imprests in former treasurerships, cleared in the time of this account. The auditor ranges the articles under this head in the account in a manner different from that in the ledger. In the latter, they are entered in the order of time in which the imprests are brought to the office to be cleared; but the auditor transposes them into the order of time in which the original bills issued. By this arrangement he can refer more easily to the insuper list in the final account of that treasurer who issued them, in order to mark them off as cleared. The other parts of the voluntary charge are copied from the abstract, and consist of the

total sums only, paid under the several heads. This comprehends the whole charge, unless errors in the account afford matter of surcharge.

The other division of the account is the discharge. Of this the greatest part is taken from the abstract abstracted. The heads are copied into the account, with the total sum paid for each head, not the particular articles composing that total, except in the following instances. In the navy discharge—bounties, disbursements, extra payments, pensions, salaries, sick and hurt payments, ships books, rent, and rewards. In the victualling discharge—extra payments, salaries, rent, and workmanship. Of these heads it has been the usage of office to enter upon the account each particular article; and for this reason; it enables the auditor to refer with greater facility to former accounts, and guard against a second credit of the same payment. He does not range the articles under each head exactly in the order they stand in the abstract; he disposes them as best suits his own ideas and convenience. The fees for passing the account, and the balance due from the treasurer, conclude the account of the year; unless it be his final account, and then the voluntary charge contains several other articles of a similar kind, copied into the account in like manner with the rest; and there is also added at the end a list of the insupers, that is, of those persons to whom sums have been issued upon account, but which have not been cleared during the time of the treasurership, with the sums and dates of the imprest bills. The treasurer has no credit in his annual account for the sums imprest and

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and not cleared by him in each year; they are reserved for, and entered in, his final account, where he has credit for them all, and the responsibility is transferred to the persons themselves who have received the sums, and they are returned accountable. This list, in a long treasurership, swells to a great size; it is transmitted from the pay office of the navy, signed by three commissioners, and admitted upon the authority of that signature. The names on the transmitted list are entered in the order of time in which the imprest bills were paid; but they are transposed upon the account into an alphabetical order, for two reasons; that all the sums imprested to the same person may be brought together; and, that each article may be the more easily found hereafter, to be marked in the margin, when it is cleared in a subsequent account: but in the final accounts that are now making up in the treasurer's office, the mode of ranging the names of the insurers alphabetically is adopted. The last step is, comparing the balance stated by the auditor with the balance of the treasurer; and, if it agrees, the account is completed. A short state of this account is drawn up in the auditors office; this state the accountant swears to, or, if a peer, attests, before the barons of the exchequer, or commissioners appointed by them. The total charge upon Mr. Grenville in this account, for the year 1759, is 6,674,226 *l.*; the total discharge, 4,555,105 *l.*

Of every account two parts are made out in the auditors office; the one on paper, called The Declared Account, or Declaration; the other on parchment, called emphatically The Account; both of them are signed by the deputy audi-

tors, presented to the lords of the treasury for declaration, signed by the chancellor of the exchequer, by two other lords of the treasury, and by the chief baron of the exchequer. The declaration is preserved in the auditors office; and the account is carried to the offices of the king's remembrancer and of the lord treasurer's remembrancer, and then to the pipe; where it remains, and from whence the treasurer receives his quietus.

Such is the progress of an account of a treasurer of the navy through the office of the auditors of the imprest.

As none of the vouchers, except those for the extra payments, are produced to the auditor, but he relies for the existence, as well as for the truth of them, upon the subscription of the three commissioners of the navy, we thought it necessary to enquire what is the examination given in the navy office to these accounts, that warrants the commissioners in stamping so great a credit upon these entries. To this purpose we examined the officers who are employed in those branches of the navy, victualling, and sick and hurt offices, through which these accounts pass.

In the navy office, we examined Mr. Osborne Standert, chief clerk to the controller of the accounts of the treasurer of the navy in the bill office, and Mr. William Paynter, his chief clerk in the ticket office; Mr. Benjamin Holl, chief clerk to the controller of the navy in the branch for the payment of seamen's wages, and Mr. Thomas Davies, his chief clerk in the office for bills and accounts; Mr. Robert Gregson, chief clerk to the clerk of the acts; and Mr. Joseph Poole, chief clerk to the controller of the victualling



victualling accounts. In the victualling office, we examined Mr. Denham Briggs, the accountant for cash; Mr. William Sayer, chief clerk for clearing impreits; and Mr. John Smith, chief clerk for keeping the charge on the treasurer of the navy: and in the sick and hurt office, Mr. Nathan Crow, chief clerk to the commissioners, together with Geo. Swaffield, esquire, cashier of the victualling in the office of the treasurer.—From them we are supplied with the following information:

The year's account of a treasurer of the navy is made out in the three branches of his office, each branch attending to that part of the account which relates to its own business, and transmitting it to the office of the auditors of the impreit. The vouchers both for the charge and discharge, and the entries of those vouchers in the sections, all receive an examination, check, and correction, in some branch or other of the navy, victualling, or sick and hurt offices, previous to their being signed by the commissioners of the navy, and to the transmission of the sections to the office of the auditor.

The charge is checked in the following manner:—as to the impreit part, the exchequer every month, and the treasurer immediately after his receipt, transmit to the navy-board certificates of all the sums impreited to him: twice in every month he certifies to them all his receipts and payments in general; the contents of these certificates are entered in the navy office; with these entries his impreit charge is compared, as well as verified by the impreit roll obtained by him from the exchequer.

As to the other part, which is the

voluntary charge, much the greatest part of it is directed into his hands by letters from either the navy or victualling boards; of which letters entries are made in the respective offices; and as he receives the sums mentioned in those letters, he inserts them in his next certificate; besides which, the sums received by him from impreits cleared, and from abatements on bills or books, appear upon the face of the bills and books themselves, and every bill is registered in its proper office. The voluntary charge consists of three parts; and is made out, one part in each branch of the treasurer's office. That made out in the pay branch, consisting of abatements on ship and yard books, and half-pay lists, is checked and examined in the office of the controller of the navy, by a ledger kept there for the special purpose of entering every one of the articles contained in that charge, and which entries are taken from the books themselves, the sums there inserted having been calculated, examined, and compared in three different offices. That made out in the cashier's branch, consisting of impreits cleared in former treasurer-ships, abatements from bills, money produced by the sale of old stores, and received from the successor, is examined and checked by entries made of every article that composes it in the office of the controller of the treasurer's accounts. That part made out in the victualling branch, consisting of impreits cleared, abatements from bills, sums arising from the sale of old stores, fees of oxen, and decayed provisions, is examined with the entries in the ledger, kept in that branch of the victualling office, for keep-

ing the charge upon the treasurer; in which ledger every article of this charge is entered, either from the letters directing the payment, or from the bills themselves: a copy of this charge is signed by three commissioners of the victualling, which is the warrant for the signature of the three commissioners of the navy, upon that copy which is sent to the auditors office.

The discharge is checked in this manner:—every bill paid by the treasurer is made out in some branch or other of the navy, victualling, or sick and hurt offices, or in the yards or out ports: if made out in one of the offices, it undergoes one, or, if necessary, more examinations in that office: if made out at the yards, it is sent to, and examined by, two clerks in the office of the controller of the navy: if made out at the out-ports, it is sent to, and examined in, the office of the accountant for cash in the victualling office. All bills, wherever made out, are entered in registers; the navy bills in the controller's office; the victualling bills in the office of the controller of the victualling; and the sick and hurt bills in the sick and hurt office; and when assigned for payment, they are entered again in assigning books, kept for those purposes in the several offices. The treasurer's sections, with the original bills themselves, are sent to these several offices, to be compared and examined with the entries made in their books: the navy sections are examined with the entries in the assigning book in the office—of the controller of the treasurer's accounts, and afterwards compared with the original bills themselves; the victualling sections are examined with the entries in the assign-

ing book in the office of the controller of the victualling; the sick and hurt sections, with the entries in the assigning book in the sick and hurt office, and they are afterwards compared with the original bills in the office of the controller of the treasurer's accounts.

For every ship five books are made out, copies of each other, lodged in three different departments of the navy office, one in that branch of the office of the controller of the treasurer's accounts, called the ticket office; two in the office of the controller of the navy, one of them for the commissioner who controls the payments, the other for the controller's clerk who attends him; and two in the office of the treasurer: this book contains the names, the times of service, and the defalcations, of every person belonging to that ship, together with the full and nett wages of all persons who are paid upon that book; all these several sums are calculated, examined, and checked, both in the ticket office and in the office of the controller of the navy; and the full sum to be allowed the treasurer, for the pay of that ship, is entered at the end of the ship's book, and is the same sum in the treasurer's ledger, which he claims to be allowed him for the payment of that ship.

When a ship is paid, a commissioner of the navy, two clerks from the treasurer's office, and one from each of the controller's offices, attend, each with his book; by which means they are a check upon each other: three of these books are made up at the same time, and compared together; and remain afterwards, one in the office of the treasurer, another in that of the controller, and the third in that of  
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the controller of the treasurer's accounts. The treasurer's sections, containing the sums paid upon the ship's books, are taken from the full books, after they are made up and signed by three commissioners of the navy, and are compared, in the office of the controller of the treasurer's accounts, with the sums entered upon the books in that office. The sums for the hospital, half-pay, and sick quarters, are likewise taken from, and compared with, the full books kept for those services. Upon a final account, the insuper list is taken from the imprest ledgers, one kept in the office of the controller of the treasurer's accounts, another in the office of the controller of the victualling accounts; and in some one of which every imprest bill is entered: this list is compared with the entries in these imprest ledgers.

In consequence of this examination of the entries in the treasurer's ledger, with the vouchers for, and entries of, the same articles in the books of the different branches of the navy, victualling, and sick and hurt offices, the commissioners of the navy are authorized to give to the entries in that ledger a credit equal to the credit of original vouchers, and to give to the treasurer a dispensation with the production of those originals in the office where he is finally to pass his accounts.

The information we have thus collected, enables us to form some judgment of the causes of the delay in passing the accounts of the treasurer of the navy, as well as supplies us with matter for regulation, worthy, in our opinion, to be submitted to the attention of the legislature.

The cause of delay that occurs the first in this inquiry, is the not

executing the compulsory process intended to bring in persons to account. This is a source of delay that extends to every account subject to be passed in the auditors office.

A distress is an ancient and legal method of forcing a person to do certain acts, which the law requires of him; and it is an effectual method; for he refuses at the peril of forfeiting to the crown a part of his property; and if he continues refractory, of having that forfeiture increased till he obeys: but the *distingas ad computandum* is a process utterly nugatory; it issues out of mere form; and, though levelled at persons who have millions to account for, it is never executed. The long usage of office warrants the sheriff to give it under his hand, and to confirm it by his oath in the court of exchequer; that the treasurer of the navy is not to be found either in the city of London, or in the county of Middlesex, and that the paymaster general of the forces has neither lands nor chattels in either of those districts by which he can be distrained.

So far as the present system of passing the public accounts shall be retained, this process ought to be made effectual: It cannot be so in its present state. The writ must be disincumbered of that load of old and useless schedules, at present always annexed to it. Authority should be given to inspect and scrutinize the lists of persons, who stand at this time accountable to the crown for money imprested or issued to them on account, and to distinguish those who are of ability and amenable, from the insolvent and those whose accounts are remote and desperate, and who can neither them-

selves nor their representatives ever be prosecuted with any hopes of success. The names and schedules of the latter should all be taken from the writ; the former only should be annexed; and upon all named in the schedules annexed, the writ should be executed, and they should be compelled to appear upon the return, and give the reasons for the delay before the proper judges, the barons of the exchequer.

The certificates of the accounts depending in the office of the auditors of the imprest require the like correction. Public instruments should not be incumbered with useless matter: nothing should be inserted in them but what tends to answer the purpose designed by them; but these certificates are filled with stale accounts that have been depending, many of them, for a century, the accountants forgotten, the line of their representation not to be traced, no vouchers to be found, no vestiges of them whatever remaining, save what are preserved, to no purpose, in these instruments; they puzzle and confound the officers they are intended to inform; they engage the time of clerks that might be usefully employed, and for which the public pay.

The power of discharging accounts of long standing has been exercised by the legislature for the quiet of the subject. In the land tax act of the year 1759, all insurers set in the accounts of the receivers general of the land tax before the year 1746 are absolutely discharged.

Other delays arise in the office of the treasurer of the navy, and flow in a great measure from the present constitution of that office. As the auditor of the imprest cannot pass the account until he has received

all the materials of which it is composed, we required from him a state of the order of time in which the several parts of Mr. Grenville's account for the year 1759 were delivered into his office. By this state it appears, that the first sections of this year came to the auditor in May 1763; that the voluntary charge, and some other papers, which were the parts of the account that came the last, were not received until December 1781; that is, eighteen years after the sections, and near twenty-two years after the expiration of the year to which the account belongs. We required, likewise, from the auditors a state of the accounts of the treasurers of the navy, now depending in each of their offices, with the times when the several parts of the accounts were delivered in to each. These states shew, that the accounts for the two next succeeding years, 1760 and 1761, are ready for declaration; that the accounts of none of the subsequent years are complete in the office, little more than the navy and victualling sections of these years having been as yet received from the treasurer's office.

One of the principal causes assigned for this delay, and the only one that seems to have a foundation, is stated in our third report; it is the necessity of keeping open the ships books for many years, even after the treasurer, in whose time they were first opened, is out of office, for the purpose of completing the payments upon each book, that such treasurer may have his proper voucher for the payment of each ship, and to prevent the difficulty that would arise in distinguishing the payments by each, if the same book was paid upon by more treasurers than one.

Keeping open the ship's books so long, besides the delay it occasions in the accounts, is pregnant with so many inconveniences both to the officer and the office, that the correction of this defect is an object worth attempting.

The difficulty lies in the payment upon recalls; that is, of those persons who remain upon a book unpaid after the day of payment. A ship is said emphatically to be paid, upon that day in which that ship's book is first opened for payment, except where one person only upon a ship's book is paid upon a certain day, in order to put that ship out of commission; and, in that case, payments within the month after, are considered not as recalls, but as payments on the pay day. All payments made subsequent to that day, and before the book is made up, are payments upon recalls, and are now made by or upon the book itself, and by the treasurer in whose treasurer'ship the book was first opened for payment, whether he is in or out of office. If a method can be devised of paying those after-claimants by the treasurer in office, and otherwise than by the ship's book, without delaying or disturbing the pay of the seamen, or confounding the accounts of the treasurers, the ship's books may then be closed at any time, and this difficulty will be removed.

In order to discover such a method, it was absolutely necessary to examine minutely into the manner in which this branch of the business is now conducted in the pay office of the navy; and with this knowledge we are furnished by Mr. Adam Jellicoe, chief clerk in the pay branch in the office of the treasurer of the navy; Mr. John Hunter,

who has long been employed in the office of the controller of the treasurer's accounts at Portsmouth, where by far the greatest number of the ships and recalls are paid; Mr. Edward Falkingham, a clerk in that branch of the office of the controller of the navy that relates to the payment of seamen's wages; and by Mr. William Paynter, the chief clerk in the ticket office.

A ship's book, with its four copies, is made out in the ship; it contains the names, and certain necessary circumstances, of all the persons entitled to wages in that ship; the two opposite pages are divided into a variety of columns, with a title at the top of each column; eighteen of these columns are for defalcations, that is, deductions or abatements that are to be made out of their wages at the time of payment: four of these are constant, certain deductions; they are intitled, the chest, the hospital, the three pence in the pound, and, the marine stoppages. The other fourteen are casual. The wages of an able seaman are twenty-four shillings a month: this is part of the four pounds *per man per month*, voted annually by parliament for the maintenance of the seamen: from this sum of twenty-four shillings, and from the monthly wages of every warrant and petty officer, there are two constant deductions; one shilling for the chest, and sixpence for the hospital. The one shilling is divided into three parts, for three different purposes; sixpence of it is paid to the chest at Chatham, for the support of hurt and disabled seamen; four-pence is paid to the chaplain; and two-pence to the surgeon. The sixpence is applied to the support of

Greenwich hospital; and the monthly pay of the commissioned officers is also subject to the same deduction. The three-pence in the pound is a deduction from the pay of all commissioned and warrant officers, for the purpose of paying the widows pensions. The marine stoppages are, one-penny a week from the wages of the private men, three half-pence of the corporal and drummer, and two-pence of the serjeant, applicable to the same bounty. The casual deductions are either for articles supplied to them, which they are to pay for out of their wages; or for wages that have been advanced to them, or remitted by their order; or certain mulcts incurred by them.

The ship's book, being formed with these divisions, is sent, with the four copies, from the ship to the pay office of the navy at that port where the ship is to be paid, with all the columns filled up except the eight following; the chest, the hospital, the three-pence in the pound, the marine stoppages, the full and nett wages, the sums remitted at the pay of the ship, and, neglect. The first six, depending upon the time of the service of each person, cannot be filled up until that time is fully ascertained by examination, on the day of payment; neither can the next, as being a transaction upon that day. The column of neglect, which contains the mulcts and fines, is filled up some time before the payment.

The officers and seamen, entitled to wages upon any ship's book, may be paid, either before the pay day of that ship, or upon that day, or between the pay day and the making up of the book, or after the book is made up: each of these times of payment is attended with

some difference in the mode. The payments on the pay day are made, and payments upon recalls, that is, between the pay day and the making up of the books, are either made or set off upon the ship's book itself; all the circumstances of each payment being there entered, that book becomes the evidence of such payments: but payments made, either previous to the pay day, or subsequent to the making up of the books, are not made upon the books, but upon lists, or by tickets, which lists or tickets contain all the circumstances, and are the evidence of such payments.

A payment upon the pay day, which is generally the principal payment, is in this manner:—The full wages of each person applying are calculated, and entered in the full column; the open columns of defalcations are filled up: the total of his defalcations, both certain and casual, being cast up, and deducted from his full wages, leaves the nett wages; which are paid to him, and entered in the proper column. No date is set in the book against the names of the persons who are paid upon this day; but the indorsement of the day upon the book, serves for the date of all those payments; after that day, the book, at whatever port it may be, remains in the pay office there, until it is finally closed, for the purpose of paying upon recalls; which is done in the following manner:

A list of the claimants entitled to wages from ships that have been paid, is sent from the ship where they are on board, to the pay office at the port; this list is examined with the ship's books that are in the office; and the persons upon the list who can be paid, are distinguished from those who cannot. The

current number in the ship's book is entered upon the list, opposite the name of the person, that he may be the more easily found upon the book when he comes to be paid. The list, thus corrected, is returned to the captain: who sends on shore, under the care of a commissioned officer, those men who appear upon the list entitled to receive their wages: they are paid each upon the book of that ship to which he belonged, and the date of the day he is paid upon is set opposite to his name.

Where the list contains the names of men belonging to ships whose books are not at that port, the pay clerks apply to the pay officers of those ports where the books are, for extracts; that is, for copies of the entries relative to those men, in the books from which they severally claim their wages: upon the receipt of these extracts, the list is corrected by them, in such a manner as to inform the captain which of those men he may send to be paid; and, that these payments may be set off upon the proper ship's books, the account of the extracts, that is, of the men thus paid, is sent every quarter to the several ports.

In payments by lists, either previous to the pay day of the ship, or after the ship's book is made up, or by tickets, the name, time of service, defalcations, and other circumstances of each person, are transcribed from the book of that ship from which he claims his wages, into the list or ticket. Each entry is an exact copy of the entry relative to the same person in the ship's book; and it must be so; for otherwise the remaining defalcations, and the full and nett wages, could not be calculated. After this is done,

where the payment is by list, previous to the payment of the ship, or by ticket, the wages are calculated; the open columns all filled up; and if by list, the nett wages are paid; or if by ticket, that ticket is assigned upon the treasurer for payment of the nett sum therein mentioned; and in both these modes, to prevent double payments, the ship's book is marked, opposite the name of each person, in what manner paid; and by what treasurer.

A payment, subsequent to the making up of the ship's book, is made upon a list of arrears, that is, a book that contains the name of each ship, and the names and circumstances, extracted from the several ships books, of all persons paid after the books on which they claim wages have been made up and finally closed. All ships books are at present made up and remain afterwards at the navy office in London. A claimant upon such books must first apply for his wages to the navy board: they refer to the ship's book lodged in the ticket office; and if he appears to be entitled, they order him to be entered and paid upon the list of arrears, and his name is marked upon the ship's book as paid in that manner, and by what treasurer.

These different modes of payment vary the vouchers of the treasurer. The previous list or ticket is a voucher for the total of the nett sums contained in the list, or for the single nett sum in the ticket, for that treasurer who pays it, whether he continues in office long enough, or not, to pay the book from whence the list or ticket is extracted.

When a book is finally made up, the defalcations opposite the names of those persons, who have been

[P 4] paid,

paid, either by previous lists or tickets, and of those who remain unpaid, are entered in the proper columns. The defalcations of each are cast up, and the total entered in the column of full wages. Every column is cast up to a total, and the treasurer, whose book it is, is allowed, and that book so filled up is his voucher, for the total sum in the column of full wages; but as he has paid the seamen, not their full but their nett wages only, he discharges himself of the difference, that is, of the defalcations, by the receipts of the purser, or other persons entitled, to whom he has paid them; and if he has not paid all the defalcations, he charges himself with what remains unpaid in his voluntary charge of the year, in which he has credit for that ship's book, and this remainder is afterwards paid by the treasurer in office by a defalcation list.

The keeping open the ships books so long as they are at present, prevents the after-claimants from being very numerous, and consequently the list of arrears from being very long; insomuch that it serves as a single voucher only, for the amount of the nett sum of the payments made upon this list by a treasurer during his whole treasurership, and that nett total sum is entered as one payment in his final account.

From this description of the modes of paying ships now in use in the navy office, it appears, that there does at this time exist a method, by which a subsequent treasurer pays claimants upon ships books paid by and belonging to his predecessor, after they are finally closed and made up; and this method is by a list of arrears. Suppose, then, all the ships books paid upon by a treasurer were, upon his resignation or death, to be immediately laid by,

and all payments upon them to cease: could the succeeding treasurer, by the same means, pay all the remaining claimants upon those books, without any material inconvenience, either to the seamen or to the pay office?

This depends upon the difference which the substitution of the list of arrears in the place of the ships books will occasion in the payments. The previous application by the claimant to the navy board must be dispensed with. The ships books, instead of being sent to the navy office after they are closed, must remain at the out ports as they do now. Lists of arrears, distinguished from those used after the ships books are made up, must be kept there as well as in London. Thus far there seems to be no difficulty. At present, if a single claimant appears upon a recall, his ship's book is examined, his name found, his wages are calculated, the open columns of defalcations and the columns of wages filled up, upon the ship's book. If he is paid upon the list of arrears, his ship's book is equally examined, the same calculations and the same entries are made; but in the one case the entries are made in the ship's book, and in the other, upon the list of arrears; and besides this, the original entries appearing upon the ship's book are copied from thence into the list of arrears: and this is the only difference between the two methods of payment. As this copying takes up time, the payment upon a list of arrears is longer than the payment upon a ship's book, by the length of time it takes to transcribe these entries.

Upon inspection of a ship's book made up, and of a list of arrears, the entries transcribed appear to be, the name of the claimant, the current number,



number, the quality, the times of entry and of discharge, with from three to five casual defalcations; for though there are fourteen columns for casual defalcations, yet there are seldom entries made in more than five of them; and these are usually for cloaths of different kinds, tobacco, and the two months advance. The name of the ship likewise, to which the claimant belonged, is entered upon the list; and, to prevent overpayments, the ship's book is marked, opposite the name, as paid by list of arrears. From these entries arises all the additional trouble to the pay clerks, and delay to the seamen, by the substitution of the list of arrears in the place of the ship's books.

As there are now, at every payment upon recalls, besides the commissioner, his clerk, and a second clerk in the treasurer's office, three pay clerks, with each a ship's book in which the same entries are made; so at a payment upon a list of arrears there must be the like number of clerks and lists, and the same entries made in each list; but transcribing into the three lists will take up no more time than the transcribing into one, if an attending clerk reads the entries in the ship's books, whilst the other three transcribe them into their lists. Where the number of claimants is not great, the time it takes to transcribe these articles cannot be very considerable. Where the payment is in consequence of a list sent from the ship, which is the usual course, and where extracts are to be procured, there is always time enough to transcribe the entries before the list is returned to the captain; and in this case the actual payment is more easily trans-

acted; for where the claims arise upon different ships, as all are entered upon the list of arrears, the trouble of turning to each ship's book is avoided. In payment of these lists care must be taken that the captain sends on shore to be paid all who are returned to him capable of being paid, that the payment upon the list of arrears may be complete. A sick man may be paid afterwards, or if a man is prevented from coming at all, his name may be struck out of the list.

There is one instance, and the only one that occurs to us, in which the time taken up in transcribing may be material; that is, where, upon a ship's being paid off, a number of her men are turned over to a ship under sailing orders, and the captain applies for their immediate payment: in this case, at present, the commissioner goes on board with his pay clerks, and pays the men that are turned over upon the ship's book; was he to pay them upon a list of arrears, it might possibly take up near double the time, and the service would be so far retarded. This case can happen only in time of war; and where the service presses, and the captain has not time to send on shore a list of the seamen who are to be paid; and where the vacancy of the treasurer's office happens between the pay day of the ship's book and the time when the men turned over call for their wages.

As so many circumstances must concur, and consequently the case can rarely exist, we do not think the inconvenience that may arise in this one accidental event, counterbalances the many public advantages that certainly attend it in every other

other event; and consequently, that the proposed regulation ought not therefore to be rejected.

But the time employed in paying the seamen upon the ship's books, as well as upon lists of arrears, may, in our opinion, be shortened, and the pay clerks be relieved from some part of their trouble. The sums applicable to the chest, and the hospital, the three pence in the pound, and the marine stoppages, are deductions, after a certain rate, out of the wages of the officers, seamen, and marines: we applied to the commissioners of the navy, to know by what authority these deductions are made: from their returns to our requisition, we collect the following information.

The copy of an inquisition taken at Rochester in the fifteenth year of James the first, before commissioners of charitable uses appointed to enquire into the state of the fund belonging to the chest at Chatham, recites the origin of the payment of the six pence (part of the deduction of one shilling) to the chest at Chatham: an extract of so much of it as relates to the subject matter before us, we have inserted in the Appendix; and from thence it appears, that this deduction commenced in the year 1590, and was a voluntary gift and contribution of a certain portion of their respective wages, by the masters, mariners, shipwrights, and seafaring men, then employed in the service, to be a perpetual relief for hurt and maimed mariners, carpenters, and seamen.

The four pence to the chaplain, and the two pence to the surgeon, which are the remaining parts of the one shilling deduction under the title of the chest, are very ancient. The commissioners of the navy have

not been able to trace them to their origin. One shilling was the abatement in the chest column in the year 1685.

The deduction of six pence under the title of the hospital, is ordered, by the act of the 7th and 8th of William the third, chap. 21st, to be made from the wages of the seamen, and applied for the better support of Greenwich hospital. An order of the board of admiralty, dated 3d September 1696, directs the navy board to carry this act into execution.

His late majesty king George the second, in consequence of a voluntary agreement of the officers of the navy, by a commission dated the 30th August 1732, directs that the three pence in the pound shall be from that time abated from the personal pay and half pay of officers therein described, for the relief of poor widows of commissioned and warrant officers of the navy, and appoints commissioners for conducting this charity: this commission was carried into execution by an order of the board of admiralty dated 29th September 1732, directed for that purpose to the commissioners of the navy.

The marine stoppages are directed by an order of the same board, dated 2d September 1756.

Where a fund is to be created and established for a public purpose, a gross sum is better calculated for it, than a sum compounded of various deductions: the one is simple, easy, and certain; the other complex, troublesome, and uncertain. The commissioners of the admiralty and of the navy must have full knowledge what sums have been issued every year out of the sea pay, to the chest at Chatham, Greenwich

wich hospital, and the fund for the relief of poor widows, ever since their institution. They may conjecture, from the experience of many years, what will be the wants and supplies, of those charities, in every possible situation of the navy. The wages of the officers and seamen is the fund for them all. No reason, then, occurs to us, why, on settling the navy establishment every year, certain portions of that fund should not be appropriated to the support of these charities, to be issued, from time to time, by the treasurer of the navy. At present, he advances to all of them sums on account, and upon calculation: neither the commissioners, nor trustees for these charities, can know their income from the sea pay for any one year; until seven or eight years after that year is expired. They cannot know it, until the books of all the ships paid in that year are made up; and the books are now in arrear as far back as the year 1775. The same boards must likewise be acquainted with the incomes of the chaplain and surgeon of every ship, of whatever rate in the navy; at least they know what is a proper and adequate compensation for their several services. What objection, then, arises to the allowing to each of them, instead of these deductions, one stated, certain, annual, salary, according to his station, payable out of the fund of wages?

It appears, in our judgment, a general, useful regulation, wherever it is practicable, to take away the distinction between nominal and real wages and salaries, that the reputed compensation for service may be the sum actually received, that every man may know the price of his labour and abilities. Where the no-

nominal exceeds the real, an ignorant mind suspects fraud, and a weak one is deceived by an imaginary income.

As the modes suggested of providing for these charities, and of paying the chaplains and surgeons, appear to us to be practicable, they ought, in our opinion, to be substituted in the place of the modes in use; one consequence of which will be, that the four columns of the chest, the hospital, the three-pence in the pound, and, the marine stoppages, are rendered useless, and may be left out of the ships' books.

There is another defalcation, which, in our opinion, ought to be omitted for the future, as not answering the end proposed; that is, the deduction under the title of veneral cures. This is a payment to the surgeon of 15 *s.* for every cure; and is directed to be charged against their wages by an order of the board of admiralty, dated 9th of April 1756. Before that year, the mulct upon the seaman was 1  $\frac{1}{2}$ . 10 *s.* for every cure; the order reduces it to 15 *s.*; and states, among other reasons for the reduction, "that this great charge on the seamen did not prevent the evil." If a certain pecuniary mulct was not severe enough to prevent the offence in the year 1756, half that mulct can hardly be supposed more efficacious in the year 1782. A punishment that neither corrects the offender, nor deters others; is in itself an evil, from which the subject should be relieved; and therefore, we think the surgeon should attend to every disease of the seamen at the public expence, and be allowed a certain compensation adequate to his skill and trouble.

The omission of these five columns in the ships books, will accelerate the payments,

payments, both upon the books and upon the lists of arrears, by as much time as is now taken up in making the calculations and entries in those columns. The calculations, (however easy they may be to persons accustomed to them) and the entries, though short, yet being numerous, must, like the transcripts into the lists, take up some time. A book of a first rate, for six months, has contained the names of fifteen hundred eighty-six persons: upon the payment of as many of these men as are seamen, sums must be calculated, and entries made in two columns at least. Where time is so valuable, every portion of it is worth saving.

From this examination into the effect that the substitution of the list of arrears, in the place of the ship's books, will have upon the payment of the seamen, we are led to be of opinion, that if, upon the death or resignation of a treasurer, all the ships books paid by him are immediately closed, the successor may pay all the after-claimants left unpaid upon those books, by lists of arrears, without creating either delay or disturbance in the pay of the seamen; especially if the number of entries upon the list of arrears be reduced, by the omission of the five columns of defalcations above mentioned. It remains to be seen, whether this alteration will cause any confusion in the accounts of the treasurer.

A ship's book, paid by him, will be made up in the same manner it is now. It will be paid upon by one treasurer only, and will be his voucher for the total sum contained in the column of full wages; for which sum he will have credit in his account of that year in which the book was paid.

The account of his payments by

lists of arrears will be varied. At present, the books being kept so long open, the after-claimants are few; and one entry serves, in his final account, for the whole sum paid by him for arrears during the time of his treasurership; and one list of arrears suffices for his voucher; but if he pays upon lists of arrears, all the persons left unpaid upon all the books by all his predecessors, these payments must become so very numerous, that instead of one item in his final account of the total sum paid by him for arrears in the course of his whole treasurership, he must insert in his account of every year the total sums paid by him during that year for arrears, at every port where he has a list; and the list made up, annually, at every port, will be his voucher for the sums paid at that port: but this alteration will still leave his accounts clear and undisturbed.

In one branch, this mode will be of advantage to the pay-office, by shortening their accounts. At present the pay clerks at each port transmit every month to the navy office an account, containing the sums paid by them upon the recalls of every ship during that month at their respective ports, distinguishing the treasurer by whom paid, in order that each sum may be posted to the account of the ending of each ship's book in the ledger. From these returns the paymaster of the navy makes out monthly certificates of these payments. The places where payments are made upon recalls being four, and the ships books of three treasurers being open for payment, these certificates for the month of August last were twelve; that of Mr. Ellis contained the payments upon three hundred fifty-two ships; that of Colonel Barre, upon one hundred

hundred and ten; besides that of the treasurer in office. Had these payments been made upon lists of arrears, they would have been all made by the treasurer in office, and there would have been four returns only, each containing a single article, being the amount of all the payments upon the list of arrears at that port during that month, and posted in the ledger to the account of payments on lists of arrears; so that, instead of four hundred sixty-two separate articles inserted in the returns, entered in the certificates, and posted into the ledger, four entries only would have been made in each, and consequently twelve entries would have served instead of thirteen hundred eighty-six, for these payments in that month only.

If the ships books of a treasurer may be closed upon his death or resignation, that which is assigned as the principal cause for the delay in making up his accounts is removed: not that this cause is wide enough to cover the delay. The ships books are in arrear seven years only, but the accounts are in arrear above twenty years; and this delay rests with the office of the treasurer; for the materials which compose the accounts of the year 1762, are not complete in the office of the auditors of the imprest; the reason given for it is, a want of officers and clerks properly qualified to make up the accounts in arrear; for which the remedy is obvious.

This examination has enabled us to form an opinion upon another point of moment to the public. The legislature have, in the last session of parliament, introduced into the office of the paymaster general of the forces a regulation, which, as it seems to us, may be applied as beneficially

to the office of the treasurer of the navy. The custody of the cash applicable to the navy services, may be transferred from the treasurer to the bank of England, and the account only of the receipts and payments be kept in his office. All the sums now received by him may be received by the bank: sums from the exchequer may be imprested to the bank: sums directed by the letters of the different boards to be paid to him, may be directed to be paid into the bank: All bills assigned upon him for payment may be paid, and all extra payments may be made by his drafts upon the bank. The payment of the seamen, the artificers and labourers in the yards, and the persons in the hospital ships, and on the half pay lists, must be carried on in the same manner it is now; these men cannot be paid by drafts; they must have cash; and with that cash the pay clerks must be entrusted, as they are at present, and the treasurer must continue to be responsible for them, as for officers of his appointment and under his control; but this will be no obstruction to the regulation. The money may be all issued to the pay clerks by the drafts of the treasurer upon the bank, according to the requisitions of the navy board, in like manner as many of these sums are issued at this day; and upon the death or resignation of a treasurer, the balances of his cash in the bank, and in the hands of his pay clerks, may be struck immediately, and carried over to the account of his successor. In this situation the treasurer, neither receiving nor paying public money himself, can be neither debtor to nor creditor of the public, except as far as he may be responsible for his clerks.

On passing his accounts, the bill indorsed, or requisition of the navy board, is both his authority and voucher for his draft. The draft indorsed is the voucher for the bank to prove their payment. If these accounts agree (and they ought frequently to be compared together) it is highly probable that they are both right.

The only remaining source of delay, in the accounts of the treasurer of the navy, that has come under our observation, is the necessity, arising from the present course of the exchequer, that these accounts should pass through the office of the auditors of the imprest. Public accounts ought certainly to be fully and accurately examined somewhere. The officer entrusted with public money should give an account what he has done with it; and the public have a right to the satisfaction of knowing, that their money has been applied to the purposes for which they gave it.

The treasurer of the navy is an officer merely ministerial: He neither receives nor pays in consequence of any judgment of his own; but as he is directed, or according to lists prepared for him, and rules prescribed him; and therefore to pass his accounts, is no more than to see that he has an authority, and a correct voucher, for every payment he claims to be allowed.

We learn from the information of George Marsh, esq. one of the commissioners of the navy; and from Jonas Hanway, esq. one of the commissioners of the victualling; and from Mr. Nathan Crow, chief clerk to the commissioners of sick and hurt, that the commissioners of each office are entrusted with the power of making all contracts, whether for the

purchase of stores or materials, or for the performance of services in their several departments: that certain officers are appointed or officially bound to superintend the execution of the contracts; and no payment is directed to be made but upon the certificate or testimony, in some shape or other, of these officers that the contracts have been executed to the amount of the demand with honesty and fidelity, and according to the terms and conditions of the engagement. Certain officers of these boards, in their respective departments, compare the bills with the terms of the contracts, and examine the computations and castings. The commissioners, relying upon their accuracy and fidelity, assign the bill so examined upon the treasurer for payment. The treasurer, before he transmits his account or ledger to the auditors of the imprest, sends the several parts of it to different branches of the navy, victualling, and sick and hurt offices, with the vouchers; the officers whose business it is, in these departments, compare the articles in the ledger with their correspondent vouchers, and with the entries in their books of office; this examination warrants the subscription of the commissioners of the navy to the ledger entries. The auditor compares the abstract with the particular items that compose it: he recasts and recomputes the compound articles, and makes some alteration in the arrangement of others.

From this state of the progress of these accounts, it seems to us that the accounts of the treasurer of the navy are in fact not audited by the auditor of the imprest, but by the commissioners of the navy.

To the commissioners of the several

veral boards is committed the important trust of making and deciding upon the execution of all contracts. They are the sole judges of the reasonableness of the terms, and of the fidelity with which they are fulfilled: they direct the payments or sums to be advanced on account, consequent to the complete or part performance of the contracts. Hence they are the ultimate judges of the ground and consideration of every payment. These powers must be entrusted somewhere without appeal; and where, to all appearance, so properly as with the presiding officers of the several boards, subject to the superintending eye of parliament?

Of this material branch of an audit, the auditor of the imprest has no cognizance: from the nature and constitution of his office, he is not competent to examine into the grounds of these payments; or, if he could examine, can he be qualified to decide upon the propriety of them? Neither does he see any vouchers (except for the few extra payments): he relies upon the testimony of the commissioners of the navy (a testimony he is bound not to call in question) that they exist, and warrant the entries: he does no more, in fact, than what has been previously, and to all appearance sufficiently, done to his hands in the navy office, except the disposing of certain articles in different order; which, as far as it is useful, may easily be adopted in the office of the treasurer; where they are now profiting by his example in the arrangement of the insurers. Errors may certainly escape the navy and other officers. The auditor discovered an error, in the account of the year 1759, of a double charge of

eighty-seven pounds ten shillings: and, extend the chain of re-examination to any given length, the possibility of error must exist in the last link. The auditor himself is not perfect: errors in his accounts have been discovered in the pipe office, and corrected by him.

Since, then, the accounts of the treasurer of the navy are, in effect, passed, and with sufficient care and accuracy, in the offices to which they severally relate, and the most important parts of the examination are intrusted to those officers without control, it seems reasonable to suppose the computations and castings, generally the business of clerks in office, may, with equal safety, be finally committed to the same decision.

We are therefore of opinion, that auditing the accounts of the treasurer of the navy, in the office of the auditors of the imprest, is unnecessary, and may be dispensed with; that the proceedings of that office upon the accounts of the treasurers now before them should cease, and the materials relative thereto be returned to the office of the treasurer, and that the auditors should be relieved and discharged from all attention to them for the future.

Passing public accounts without the intervention of the auditors of the imprest, is no novelty in the exchequer. Thomas Rumsley, esq., deputy auditor of the excise, informed us of the manner in which the accounts of the duties under the management of the commissioners of excise are passed. These commissioners are all jointly accountable for the sums received and paid by them on account of the excise, and other duties committed to their trust: they do not pass their accounts

Counts in the office of the auditors of the imprest, but in that of the auditor of the excise; an office instituted for that special purpose. The accounts they pass every year, are, sixteen cash accounts, and seventeen general accounts. All except the malt are made up to the 5th of July. Each cash account contains the account of the weekly receipts and payments of the commissioners themselves only, relative to one or more duties. It is made out by the accountant general in whose department those duties are. After examination, it is sworn to by all the commissioners, before the cursitor baron of the exchequer, about the May following; after which, it is delivered to the auditor of excise, with all the vouchers: he examines them, and reduces the account into the official form of the exchequer: he makes out two parts, one on parchment, the other on paper, as is done in the office of the auditors of the imprest.

Besides these cash accounts, the general accounts are likewise made up every year by the accountants general, to the same period. These general accounts are more comprehensive than the cash accounts. They contain all the receipts and payments of each particular duty by every collector throughout the kingdom, and at the office in London: they are signed by the respective accountants general, and delivered to the auditor with the vouchers. He examines and reduces them into the like official forms, and makes out similar parts of them. They are not sworn to by any one. Both the cash and general accounts are signed by the deputy auditor of excise, declared every year, usually in June or July, before the chancel-

lor of the exchequer, and signed by him and two lords of the treasury; after which, the auditor delivers the parts on parchment to the king's remembrancer, and retains the declarations in his own office. The total charge upon the commissioners of excise, for the year 1778, was 7,479,613*l.*; the total discharge was 5,656,829*l.*

We find likewise, from the examination of Mr. James Roulands, first clerk in the office of James West, esq. one of the auditors of the land revenue, that the accounts of the receivers general of the land tax, window tax, and of several other duties, are not passed in the office of the auditors of the imprest, but in the office where he is employed.

Since, then, the course of the exchequer does not render it absolutely necessary that all public accounts should be passed in the office of the auditors of the imprest, we see no reason why the navy accounts may not proceed in the like train with those of the excise. Of these duties the commissioners themselves are the accountants; and therefore a distinct office is appointed for the passing them; but in the navy, the treasurer being the accountant, and neither appointed by, nor subject to, the commissioners, his accounts may, without danger of collusion, be completely, as they are now in by far the most material part, passed by the commissioners of the navy; they may be reduced into the exchequer form in the treasurer's office, adopting from the auditor his arrangement of the articles, and may be passed through the exchequer offices.

All these public accounts, in whatever office passed, are drawn up



up in the official form of the exchequer; and, after declaration, the part on parchment passes through the three several offices of the king's remembrancer, the lord treasurer's remembrancer, and the pipe. We endeavoured to learn, from the officers employed in these departments, to what purpose these accounts were passed through so many offices.

Adam Martin, esq. the first clerk in the office of the king's remembrancer; and John Perrott, esq. first secondary in the office of the lord treasurer's remembrancer; and Mr. Peter Sykes, deputy to the first secondary in the pipe-office, inform us, that a state or abstract of every public account, after it is passed, is inrolled in these offices, and in the two first the insupers are inrolled verbatim; but in the last, the gross sum only, set insuper, is entered upon the roll without the names, unless where there are but few of them. This inrollment is the record of the account in each office; and, in the office of the king's remembrancer, warrants the process that issues against the accountant, whether it be the ordinary process of *distingas ad computandum*, or the special process of *capias ad computandum*, or any process for recovering a debt due to the crown. No general process can issue from this office; unless founded on matter of record in the office: but, in the two other offices, the inrollment seems to be of no use; no process issues from either of them, in consequence of, or grounded on that record. The long writ, which is the process that issues out of the office of the lord treasurer's remembrancer, is grounded upon the nihil record transmitted to them from the pipe-office.

On the roll of foreign accounts in the pipe-office, which contains the abstracts of all the public accounts, no process whatever issues. The words, either "*quietus est*," or "*he is quit*," are written at the bottom of every abstract upon the roll, and a copy is delivered to the accountant, which is his quietus.

Public accounts, or abstracts of them, ought to be inrolled, and the records of them, preserved in some office or other: but enrolling them in three different branches of an office, seems to be more than is necessary. In that of the king's remembrancer it is necessary, as the ground for the process; and that inrollment answers all the purposes of a record; it may be consulted for information, or it may be produced, if wanted, in evidence: the other two seem utterly useless, and may, therefore, be dispensed with, and the fees saved to the public. The fees paid to the pipe for the quietus upon Mr. Grenville's account for the year 1759, were eighty-one pounds ten shillings. The account itself being lodged in this office, a very short abstract, with the quietus subscribed, may be delivered to the accountant as his final discharge.

An account in the exchequer form is in English, but contains some Latin terms. The impress roll is all written in an abridgement of the Latin language. The sums in both are expressed in characters that are, in general, corruptions of the old text, and are in use no where, that we can find, but in the exchequer; characters very liable to mistakes, inconvenient and troublesome even to the officers themselves: the sums so expressed cannot

not be cast up. Most of the accounts in the exchequer are made up twice; first in common figures, that they may be added together; and then turned into Latin, and the sums entered in the exchequer figures: and, that the high numbers in a declared account may be understood, they are written in common figures under the characters. They are defective, having no characters to express high numbers, as millions; they are unintelligible to the persons either receiving, or having other money transactions at the exchequer.

The act of the 4th of his late majesty, chapter 26th, "to remedy the mischiefs arising from proceedings in courts of justice being in an unknown language, and in a character not legible to any but persons practising the law," directs that all such proceedings shall be in the English language, and written in a common legible hand and character, and in words at length, and not abbreviated. This act is declared, by the sixth of the same king, chapter 6th, not to extend to the court of the receipt of his majesty's exchequer; but that their officers shall carry on the business according to the usual forms and practice. No reason is stated in the act, or appears to us, for this exemption; and therefore we are at liberty, without the imputation of impeaching the wisdom of those times, to say, that the many inconveniences attending this practice, call for the extension of the act of the fourth of George the second, to the court of the receipt of his majesty's exchequer. It does not seem reasonable, that this should be the only court whose proceedings are

to remain involved in mystery and obscurity.

Simplicity, uniformity, and perspicuity, are qualities of excellence in every account, both public and private; and accounts of public money, as they concern all, should be intelligible to all: nor is this learning in danger of being lost; the bent of the antiquarian, and the interest of the keeper of records will preserve it.

The use of the English language, and of the common figures only, will save the time and trouble of the officers; a consideration of weight, in an office where, at this time, the receipt and issue is of above thirty millions each in the year.

As suggesting means for contracting the public expences is one great end of our institution, to which every act expressly points our attention, we enquired what saving would accrue to the public from this exemption of the accounts of the treasurer of the navy from the jurisdiction of the auditors of the imprest: to this end, we required from that office a list of the expences attending the passing the account of the year 1759, which had been under our consideration.

The list transmitted to us, contains fees to the amount of 1,278*l.* 4*s.* 2*d.*; of which the sum paid in the office of the auditor is 1,091*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.* The auditor himself has a fee of one hundred pounds a year; and at the rate of twenty pounds for every hundred thousand pounds contained in the charge, deducting the balance in the preceding account. Hence, if these accounts are immediately withdrawn from the auditor, the saving will be, in his

his fees alone (omitting those to the deputy and clerks) one hundred pounds for every year since 1761, that is, 2,100*l.* for every 100,000*l.* on above 70 millions, which are yet to pass his office (exclusive of what the voluntary charges of the treasurers may amount to in those years) that is, together, upwards of 16,000*l.* deducting a reasonable compensation for the trouble they have had in examining those parts of the accounts of the years subsequent to the year 1761, which have been delivered into the office. The annual saving for the future will depend upon the navy establishment of the year.

Thus have we endeavoured, by suggesting such regulations as appear to us best calculated for the purpose, to remove the causes of delay that have hitherto retarded the accounts of the treasurer of the navy.

The benefits intended to result from them are—to secure the public money from misuse;—to reduce the outstanding balances for the navy services;—to enable the treasurer to end his business with his office, and to pass his accounts with greater facility and expedition; and, should he retire in disgust, to deprive him of the power of disturbing the pay of the navy, by a refusal to carry on the payment of the ships;—and, finally, to further the plan of œconomy, by lopping off some branches of expence.

The annual saving proposed by the regulation does not appear very considerable; when compared with the supply of the year, it vanishes; but such is the state of the public finances, that savings comparatively

minute are not to be neglected: to reduce an enormous public debt, indispensably requires a system of general œconomy; an œconomy co-extensive with the receipt and expence of the public revenue, and that pervades every branch of both; and, though the savings in each branch, separately considered, may, to minds accustomed to the contemplation of millions, appear beneath attention, yet of such savings is composed an aggregate, that grows to an object, and constitutes the fund for redemption.

Powerful and effectual may be the operation of a principle universally diffused, and steadily adhered to; and upon such an operation only depends the character of national justice, the support of national credit, and the preservation of the public welfare.

Every reform must proceed by degrees; it spreads wider and faster, in proportion as regulations are formed, adopted, and carried into execution. The exigency of these times demands that every regulation, if approved, should, as soon as it is formed, be applied to its proper object, that a stop may be put, as soon as possible, to every unnecessary and improper expence. The weight of debt presses; and procrastination both increases the pressure, and more and more embarrasses the means of relief; and, for this reason, we have thought it incumbent upon us not to defer our report until we had proceeded further in the investigation of the office of the auditors of the impress; but to submit to the wisdom of parliament the regulations that have thus far occurred to us, applicable to the office of the treasurer of the navy,

navy, to the end that no advantage whatsoever, that can be derived from the execution of the important trust reposed in us by the legislature, may, by our neglect or delay, be withheld, for one moment, from the public.

Office of Accounts,  
Surrey Street,  
December 20th, 1782.

T. ANGUISH,	(L.S.)
A. PIGGOTT,	(L.S.)
RICH. NEAVE,	(L.S.)
SAM. BEACHCROFT,	(L.S.)
GEO. DRUMMOND.	(L.S.)

# CHARACTERS.

*Biographical and Literary Anecdotes of Haller; from Coxe's Travels in Switzerland, vol. ii.*

**B**ERNE has produced few men highly eminent in literature; but has established her glory in being the birth-place of the celebrated Haller.

Albert Haller, the youngest of five brothers, was born on the 16th of October 1708. His father, Emanuel Haller, a citizen of Berne, practised the law as an advocate with great success; and in 1713 removed from the capital to Baden, where he was appointed secretary of that bailliage.

Although many accounts are usually related concerning the early genius of distinguished persons, which do not always deserve implicit credit; yet the premature abilities and application of Haller are incontrovertibly proved. When he had scarcely attained his fifth year, he was accustomed to write the new words, which he recollected to have heard in the course of the day. His progress in the languages was so rapid, that in his tenth year he could translate from the Greek, and composed for his own private use a Chaldaic grammar, a Greek and Hebrew lexicon. His passion for letters was also so general and ardent, that,

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about the same period, he abridged from Bayle and Moreri an historical dictionary, comprising above two thousand lives, and distinguished himself by a satire in Latin verse against his preceptor Abraham Bailodtz, a person of considerable learning, but of a capricious and morose disposition.

Such unwearied application, and such astonishing progress, in a youth of his years, ought to have ensured the approbation and encouragement of his family. On the contrary, his father, who had destined him to the law, reproved his growing taste for polite literature, was particularly offended at his inclination for poetry, as likely to draw him from the severer occupations, and objected to the variety of his pursuits as too desultory and superficial. He did not consider, that, during childhood, the principal requisite of education is to infuse a taste for application in general; and, that when the base of education is rendered as broad as possible, it may always, like a pyramid, be reduced to a point. But neither his father's repeated exhortations, nor his preceptor's severe admonitions, could oblige the youth to confine his studies to one object, or check his insatiable thirst for general information.

In this manner he was educated  
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until 1721, when, on his father's death, he was removed to the public school at Berne. He was placed in a class far above his age; and usually wrote in Greek the exercise, which he was expected to compose in the Latin tongue.

In 1723, he obtained permission to accompany a young friend to Bienne, in order to be instructed in philosophy by the father of his companion, who was a celebrated physician. But his new preceptor being a bigot to the Cartesian school, Haller soon rejected with disdain that logic and philosophy, which tended to cramp his genius rather than extend his knowledge; and continued to cultivate history, poetry, and polite literature, but with as little order and method as might be expected from his years.

Haller, during his residence at Bienne, began a custom, which he afterwards followed through life, that of writing his opinion of the books which he perused, and making large extracts from them. His genius being also awakened by the romantic scenery of the country to poetical enthusiasm, he composed various pieces in the epic, dramatic, and lyric styles. He was at this time so entirely absorbed in this favourite study, that, on a fire breaking out in the house in which he resided, he rushed into his apartment, and rescued his poetry from the flames, leaving his other papers, with little regret, to destruction. Afterwards, when a more mature age had ripened his judgment, he was frequently heard to say, that he had preserved from the flames those compositions which he then thought the finest productions of human genius, in order at a future

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period to consign them to destruction as unworthy of his pen.

In this period of life, Haller compares himself to a wild plant, which is left to grow without pruning; and this very circumstance was probably the principal cause of his future proficiency, and the foundation of that universal knowledge, to which he afterwards attained.

He had been originally intended for the law: but his active mind could not submit to follow a profession which would limit his inquiries; which entirely depended on precedent and authority; and which, to use his own quotation from Horace, in a letter to his friend Bonnet, obliged him,

*Jurare in verba magistri.*

And although he could not submit to the shackles of that narrow philosophy, so strongly recommended and enforced by his new preceptor, yet he appears to have been principally determined by his advice to dedicate himself to physic; the study of which comprehends such a variety of literary pursuits, as seemed congenial to the zeal and activity of his capacious mind. He had no sooner formed this resolution, than he adopted a more regular and uniform plan, than he had hitherto been able to pursue. For this purpose he removed, towards the end of 1723, to the university of Tübingen, where he prosecuted his studies with that unwearied application, which never forsook him, under the professors Elias Camerarius and Du Vernoy. From Camerarius he learned those sound principles of rational philosophy, which teach us first to doubt, and afterwards to believe; and which are

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are as far removed from credulity on one hand, as from scepticism on the other. From the lectures of Du Vernoy he imbibed his first taste for botany, and made so rapid a progress in the study of anatomy, that his master predicted, from several dissertations, his future proficiency in that line. Notwithstanding, however, his strong and invariable attachment to these two branches of natural history, he represents himself as studying *invitâ minervâ*, against nature; anatomy though he could not support bad smells, and botany though he was extremely short-sighted. At Tübingen he also distinguished his knowledge in mineralogy, by refuting the error of Tournefort, in ascribing to fossils a vegetating power.

During his continuance in that university, he gave an instance of his early controul over his passions; a difficult conquest for a young man of strong feelings and lively imagination. A single deviation into excess, into which he had been hurried by the example of some of his fellow-pupils, so greatly affected a person like him, no less enamoured of virtue, than susceptible of ingenuous shame, that he instantly formed a resolution to abstain from wine; and adopted a strictness of morals, which renders highly probable the assertion of his French encomiast, the Marquis de Condorcet, that he was descended from a family, in which piety might be said to be hereditary.

In 1725, Haller repaired to Leyden, to which place he was drawn by the great reputation of Boerhaave. Here he found a more ample field for a display of his abilities, and the improvement of his mind.

He became the favourite scholar of Boerhaave, by whose example and encouragement he strengthened his growing inclination for botany. He noted down his master's lectures on the *Institutes of Medicine* with such precision, as afterwards gave birth to one of his most useful publications. He continued his anatomical studies under Albinus, just then rising into fame, and the venerable Ruych, who so highly improved the art of injecting anatomical preparations.

The precarious state of his health, probably occasioned, or at least increased, by his intense application, induced him to accompany two of his countrymen through part of Germany. On his return, in 1726, he received his doctor's degree, though only in the nineteenth year of his age; and published on that occasion his inaugural dissertation *de Ductu salivari Cofchwiziano*.

In 1727 he visited England, was favourably received by Cheselden, Douglas, and Sir Hans Sloane; and improved his knowledge of medicine and surgery under the auspices of those celebrated men, and by diligently attending the hospitals.

At Paris, whither he next directed his course, he studied botany under Geoffroy and Jussieu; anatomy under Le Dran and Winslow, a celebrated surgeon. Winslow was indeed his favourite master, to whom he particularly attached himself; whom he proposed to his disciples as the best model for their imitation, as an anatomist who, shackled by no system, described simply and faithfully what he himself observed in his dissections.

Haller had proposed to continue his travels to Italy, that country where medicinal knowledge first

revived in the darker ages, and where,

“ *Smit with the love of sacred song,*”

he might indulge his enthusiasm and improve his taste in classical literature. The uncertain state of his health, the *maladie du pays*, which so remarkably affects the Swiss in foreign parts, and on which he has composed a poem, together with the advice of his friends, prevailed over his inclination, and induced him to return to his native country.

In his way to Berne he stopped at Basle, in order to study mathematics and algebra under the celebrated John Bernoulli; and in this, as well as every other instance of his life, applied with such indefatigable perseverance, as if those sciences were to form the sole object of his future researches. His proficiency in these studies is sufficiently proved by several treatises still extant in manuscript, which he composed on arithmetic and geometry, and particularly by his remarks on the Marquis de l'Hospital's Analysis of Infinitesimals; and his attachment to them by his being deeply employed in a profound calculation on the day of his marriage. But though he made such a progress as astonished Bernoulli himself, he continued his other pursuits, being appointed to read lectures on anatomy during the sickness of the professor: while he fulfilled the duties of that office, he also attended the lectures of Tzinger on the practical parts of medicine; thus at the same time displaying, with equal propriety, the dignity of a professor, and the humility of a pupil.

During the summer of 1729, he, in company with his friend John Gesner, made an excursion into the

mountains of Switzerland; an excursion rendered memorable by its suggesting to him the plan of a *Flora Helvetica*, and by inspiring his poem on the Alps, which he composed in the 21st year of his age; a poem as sublime and immortal as the mountains which are the subject of his song.

Not to interrupt these biographical anecdotes with a chronological detail of his poetical productions, I shall just mention, that, not long after his poem on the Alps, he wrote his ethic epistles, on the Imperfection of Human Virtue, on Superstition and Infidelity, on the Origin of Evil, on the Vanity of Honour, Various Satires, Doris, a Pastoral on his first wife, and his much-admired Elegy on her death. It is a convincing proof of Haller's versatile genius and extraordinary mental powers, that he should have so eminently excelled in poetry, which, except in his early youth, he never considered otherwise than as an amusement, either to soothe him under afflictions, and in the bed of sickness, or to console him for the envy and neglect of his contemporaries.

The soundest German critics place Haller among the most eminent of their poets; and consider sublimity as the grand characteristic of his writings. They acknowledge, that he improved the harmony and richness of his native tongue; that he possessed the highest powers of invention and fancy; great originality both in his ideas and language; that he is the true colourist of nature; that he founded the depths of metaphysical and moral science; that he equally excels in picturesque descriptions, in soft and delightful imagery, in elevated sentiments, and philosophical precision.

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A few supercilious critics have reproached his poetry with occasional obscurities; and accuse him of having introduced a new language affectedly averse to the common modes of diction. Cold criticism may censure; but twenty-two successive editions of his German poems, and the translation of them into the principal languages of Europe, prove, that they possess the great aim of poetry, that of pleasing and interesting the reader. And it may be remarked with truth, that although Haller's stupendous labours in erudition and science render his poetical talents of inferior account; yet that if he had confined himself to poetry, that alone would have immortalized his name.

But it is time to follow Haller to his native city, where he returned, in 1729, expecting from his countrymen that respect and patronage, he had so liberally received abroad. He had, however, the mortification to experience that neglect, and even envy, to which every man of genius is exposed in his own country, and which he seems to have augmented by his satirical compositions.

He continued three years without having the interest to procure any public employment; and, though he prevailed on government to establish an anatomical theatre, and gave lectures gratis; yet he did not succeed in obtaining the place of physician to the hospital, which he much desired. He also solicited a professorship, and was again repulsed. He seems to have sensibly felt these disappointments, and expressed his impatience and indignation in his satirical poems. Instead, however, of damping his activity or abating the ardour of his genius, he redoubled his application and services

in order to force himself into public notice.

His literary reputation began now to spread itself by various botanical, anatomical, and medical publications, and by a collection of poems, which first made its appearance in 1732.

At length, in 1736, he received, unsolicited on his part, the offer of the professorship of physic, botany, and surgery, in the university of Gottingen, newly established by George the Second. Notwithstanding, however, all the advantages and honours which accompanied this offer, he, for some time, hesitated whether he should accept it. He had, in 1731, espoused a young lady of good family, whose great beauty and accomplishments were rendered still more endearing by her affectionate subserviency to his manner of life. She had brought him three children; and these ties attached him more strongly to his native place, where his merits had procured him many sincere friends; and the air of which he considered as in some respect necessary for the continuance of his health. On the contrary, the honour of being invited by so great a monarch, the dignity of the establishment to which he was called, and the consideration of having a more ample theatre for the improvement of his knowledge, induced him to remove to Gottingen.

During seventeen years, in which he resided at Gottingen, where his abilities expanded in proportion as his opportunities of acquiring knowledge increased; he obtained from government the establishment of a botanical garden, which he superintended, of an anatomical theatre, a school for midwifery, and a col-

lege for the improvement of surgery. He formed the plan for a Royal Society of Sciences, of which he was appointed perpetual president.

The comprehensive mind and versatile genius of Haller, united with his unremitting diligence and ardour, in all his pursuits, enabled him to cultivate with uncommon success, a variety of knowledge. Had not the great Swede pre-occupied the field, it is probable, that Haller would have stood the first among his contemporaries as an improver of botanical knowledge.

In 1742, his great botanical work on the plants of Switzerland, the result of fourteen years study, made its appearance. It was entitled, *Enumeratio Methodica Stirpium Helvetiae*, in 2 vols. folio. It was the most copious Flora the world had ever seen, comprising 1,840 species, and was enriched with several advantages, that rendered it singularly acceptable. The preface contains a compendious geographical description of Switzerland, and of the Alps particularly; an account of all the authors who had written on the plants of that country; the recital of his own journies; acknowledgments to those who had assisted him; concluding with the order and method he means to pursue in this work.

[We must refer our readers for a more detailed account of the botanical and medical works of Haller, to Mr. Coxe's valuable letter, from which these extracts are taken.]

He proceeds to inform us that Haller's emoluments augmented as his merits were displayed; and honours flowed upon him from all quarters. He was elected, in 1748, into the Royal Society of Stock-

holm, into that of London in 1749, and in 1754 chosen one of the eight foreign members in the Academy of Sciences at Paris. In 1739, he was appointed physician to George the Second, and king's counsellor in 1740. In 1749, the emperor Francis conferred on him letters of nobility at the request of George the Second; and about the same time the king, in a visit which he paid to the university, distinguished Haller with particular marks of approbation.

He declined, in 1745, an invitation to Oxford, which would probably have terminated in his nomination to the professorship of botany, vacant by the death of the celebrated Dillenius; a second from the university of Utrecht; and, in 1750, a third from the king of Prussia, with the offer of a very considerable pension.

At length, in 1753, induced by the precarious state of his health, by the desire of removing from Gottingen, which he called the *grave* of his wives, and by his earnest anxiety to dedicate the remainder of his days to the service of his country, he took a journey to Berne, in order to procure an establishment, which, though not adequate to his present appointments, might place him in the bosom of his beloved Switzerland.

His grateful country rewarded this disinterested attachment with the most liberal and unbounded confidence, and employed his talents in the public service.

In 1757, he was sent to reform the academy of Lausanne; and, in the following year, was deputed by the Senate to examine some curious remains of antiquity lately discovered at Culm. About the  
same

same time he was appointed director of the salt-works at Bex and Aigle, with an annual salary of £. 500. During the term of this appointment, which continued six years, he resided at La Roche.

On his return to Berne he was elected member of the chamber of appeal for the German district, of the council of finances, of the committees for matrimonial affairs, and for improving the small livings in the French district of the canton: he was also appointed perpetual assessor of the Council of Health, with an annual salary of about £. 100, as a token of his country's gratitude for having declined so many splendid offers from foreign courts, and for preferring his native place to the advancement of his fortune.

In 1766, and the following years, this great man, who had hitherto enlightened science from his closet, displayed in the theatre of public life the more active and distinguished parts of a patriot and politician. He re-established the harmony and settled the disputes between the Val-lais and the canton of Berne by a successful negotiation, in which he fixed the new boundaries of the two states; he was associated with the most enlightened characters of the republic in terminating the dissensions of Geneva; he drew up the principal dispatches to the court of Versailles on the subject of the changes which had been projected at Verfoi, on which occasion he held a personal conference with the French ambassador; and was employed to prepare the plan of a treaty, which the canton of Berne contracted with the Elector of Bavaria relating to the purchase of salt.

He resumed his literary labours, which had been necessarily interrupted amidst his other more important avocations. He published, in 1768, his history of Swiss plants, mentioned above; and, in 1771, the first part of his *Bibliotheca Medicinæ*, or his Medical Library.

Eight volumes of this work were published during the author's lifetime, between the years 1771 and 1778. The anatomical, including the physiology, the botanical, and the chirurgical, were each comprised in two volumes, and bring down the respective subjects nearly to the present time. Two, on the practice of physic, were published by Haller himself, a third after his decease by Dr. Tribolet, and a fourth by Dr. Brandis of Childensheim, from the manuscript of Haller, which the learned author has considerably augmented.

Haller also employed the latter period of his life in sending extracts from eminent publications for the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*; furnished many of the articles for the supplement to the Paris Encyclopédie, for the quarto improved edition of the same work published at Yverdun, and for the dictionary of natural history printed at the same place. He meditated also a new edition of his great physiological work, of which he put forth the first volume in 1777, only a few months before his death.

His active imagination brooding on the civil and political affairs, in which he had been lately engaged, produced, between 1771 and 1774, his three political romances, *Ufong*, *Alfred*, and *Fabius and Cato*, which treat of the despotic, monarchical, and republican governments. In *Ufong* he sketches, with a masterly

hand, the abuses of absolute authority, and sets forth, in the character of the principal personage, the happy effects which may be derived from a virtuous and intelligent sovereign, even amidst the horrors of oriental despotism. In Alfred he displays the advantages of a limited monarchy, wherein the balance of power is wisely distributed; and which, while it avoids the extremes of either, enjoys the benefits of both. In Fabius and Cato he describes, with an animation and spirit worthy of ancient Rome, but with a partiality natural to a republican, the aristocratical government as most friendly to the display of patriotism, and most congenial to the exertions of genius. In these romances he discovers sound principles of legislation, great political sagacity, a deep insight into human nature, and a most extensive acquaintance with history.

If we consider Haller as a man of piety and a Christian, we shall observe him tracing, from a comprehensive view of the creation in its grandest as well as in its minutest parts, the necessary existence of a Supreme Being, and the great principles of natural religion. We shall see him demonstrating the divine origin of Christianity from a profound study of the New Testament, from the excellence of its morality, its manifest influence over the happiness of mankind, and its tendency to meliorate our nature; and we shall find him proving himself, both in his life and writings, a zealous friend and able advocate of the revealed doctrines.

Haller, at a very early period of his life, undertook the defence of natural and revealed religion on all occasions. In 1732 he declared, in

his preface to his poetry, that he was firmly convinced of their truth; in 1747, he rejected with horror the dedication which La Metrie offered to prefix to his work entitled "*L'Homme Machine*;" and he declared, in various literary journals, that he neither acknowledged as his friend, or his disciple, a man who entertained such impious notions. In a preface which he published in 1751, to Formey's abridgement of Crouzas's "*Examen du Pyrrhonisme*," he paints, in the strongest colours, the dreadful effects of infidelity both on society and individuals. He also put forth, in the German tongue, "*Letters to his Daughter, on the Truth of the Christian Revelation*;" he published an extract from Ditton's "*Truth of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ*," which he acknowledges to have first cleared any doubts he might entertain on that subject. He avows, at the same time, that he received infinite satisfaction from the study of the New Testament, because he was never more certain of holding converse with the Deity, than when he read his will in that divine book.

In 1775, he finally gave to the public, also in the German language, "*Letters concerning several late Attempts of Freethinkers yet living against Revelation*." In this work the author examines and refutes the objections to Christianity, advanced in so lively and dangerous a manner by Voltaire in his "*Questions sur l'Encyclopédie*." "If this latter publication," adds Sennebier, "may be considered as an Index to the Doubts and Arguments against the Christian Religion, the work of Haller may be entitled an Index to the Answers in favour of the same Revelation, to be consulted by those who

who wish impartially to discuss both sides of this important question." When learning and philosophy, instead of being employed in supporting sceptical tenets by artful sophistry, thus lend their united assistance to the cause of religion, they then truly become an honour to the possessor, and a benefit to society.

Even this great and good man was not exempt from a too anxious solicitude for his welfare in a future state. That depression of spirits, which ought justly to be considered as the effects of disease, and the warmth of his imagination conspiring perhaps with the narrow principles of Calvinism, in which he had been educated, led him to reflect rather on the *justice* than the *mercy* of the Deity, and to bewilder himself in the endless mazes of predestination and grace. In one of his desponding fits, he compared himself, as uncertain of salvation, to a man placed on the edge of a precipice without any support, and expecting every instant to fall. At another moment, animated with a passion for science, he breaks out, in a letter to his friend Bonnet, into the following exclamation, expressive of his regret to quit a world which he had improved by his discoveries, and which he might still further illuminate by his zeal and application. "O my poor brain, which must return to dust; and all the knowledge and information which I have been collecting with such unwearied labour, will *fade away* like the dream of an infant."

These little weaknesses of a great mind overpowered by constitutional irritability, and struggling against early prejudices, are more interesting to the man who feels and respects the imperfections of human

nature, even in its most exalted state, than the most pompous and exaggerated accounts of *unerring* wisdom, or *uniform* virtue which never existed. And it is a pleasing satisfaction to learn, that reason and religion rose superior to the gloomy despondency of sickness; and that Haller met death with the calmness of a philosopher, and the faith of a Christian. In the last letter which he wrote, a few days before his decease, he speaks indeed of the tremendous grandeur of eternity; but with hopes rather than with fears; and looks back upon his past life with satisfaction: amidst a few complaints uttered on his painful sufferings, he mentions his country with the most ardent affection, and offers up his last prayers for its preservation and welfare.

He continued his literary labours; and preserved his senses and composure to the last moment; he beheld his end approaching without fear and regret; "My friend," said he to the physician who attended him, "I die, my pulse is stopped," and then expired. He died on the 12th of December 1777, in the seventieth year of his age.—Thus lived, and thus died, the great Haller; a man to whom Michaelis, the eminent orientalist, justly applies an observation which had been made on the genius of Aristotle; "*Neque cælo, neque terrâ, neque mari quicquam relinquere voluit incognitum, indole præterea adeo mirabili, ut ad singula natum præcipuè dicas.*"

In his person Haller was tall and majestic, of a serious and expressive countenance; he had at times an open smile, always a pleasing tone of voice, usually low, and seldom elevated, even when he was most agitated. He was fond of unbending

ing himself in society, was on those occasions remarkably cheerful, polite, and attentive; he would converse with the ladies on fashions, modes of dress, and other trifles, with as much ease as if he had never secluded himself from the world.

Mr. Bonnet informed me, that Haller wrote with equal facility the German, French, and Latin tongues; that he was so well acquainted with all the European languages, except the Russian, Polish, and Hungarian, as to speak with the natives in their respective idioms. When he conversed on any science or subject of literature, his knowledge was so extensive, that he seemed to have made that his particular study. His profound erudition in every branch of science, is well known to all who are conversant with his works: but the variety of his information, and the versatility of his talents, are thus delineated by a person who was his particular friend: "He possessed a fundamental knowledge of natural history; was well read in history both antient and modern, universal and particular; and uncommonly versed in the state of agriculture, manufactures, trade, population, literature, and languages of the respective nations of Europe; he had read with attention the most remarkable voyages and travels; and was particularly conversant in the late discoveries which tend to illustrate the geography of the globe. He had even perused many thousand novels and plays; and possessed such an astonishing memory, that he could detail their contents with the utmost precision."

As it was his custom to make extracts, and to give his opinion of every book which came into his hands, as well for his own private

use, as for the Göttingen Review, he read most new publications; and so eager was he usually in the perusal, that he laid them upon the table even when he was at dinner, occasionally looking into them, and marking those parts with a pencil, which he afterwards extracted or commented upon. He was accustomed to make his remarks on small pieces of paper, of different sizes, which he placed in order, and fastened together; a method he learned from Leibnitz.

He derived from nature extreme sensibility, or rather irritability of temper, which is ever the child of genius. He spoke therefore from his own experience, when, in a letter to Voltaire, he thus expressed himself:—"Providence holds with an equal hand the balance of human happiness. He has loaded you with riches, he has loaded you with glory; but misfortune was necessary, and he preserved the equilibrium by giving you sensibility. If my wishes could take effect, I would bestow upon you that *tranquillity* which flies at the approach of genius, which is inferior to genius in relation to society, but far superior in regard to ourselves: then the most celebrated man in Europe should be at the same time the most happy."

He was always impatient under sickness, as well from his extreme susceptibility of pain, as because he was precluded in that situation from his literary occupations. He was fond, therefore, of taking violent remedies, more calculated to remove the immediate effects of pain, and to check his disorder, than to cure it radically. In his latter years he accustomed himself to opium, which, operating as a temporary palliative,

only

only increased his natural impatience. This restlessness of temper, which occasionally disturbed his tranquillity even in his younger days, and in the full flow of his health and spirits, was considerably heightened by the advances of age, and the disorders which shattered his frame towards the close of his days.

His correspondence in every period of his life was extensive, punctual, and carried on in the English, French, German, Latin, and Italian languages.

Six volumes of Latin epistles, and three in the German tongue, addressed to him from men of learning in various parts of Europe, have been given to the public, but his own have never made their appearance. It is much to be lamented, that he seldom preserved any copies, being himself too much occupied for that purpose; and never sufficiently rich to maintain a secretary. His two principal correspondents, to whom he opened his heart, were Bonnet of Geneva, and John Gessner of Zurich: to the latter he wrote either in German or Latin, to Mr. Bonnet in the French tongue. This celebrated friend of Haller possesses seven manuscript volumes of his letters: it was an uninterrupted correspondence of twenty-three years; begun in March 1754, and finishing only a few days before his death, in December 1777. This epistolary commerce comprehends a great variety of subjects, principally concerning physiology, natural history, the structure of the globe, politics, morality, and religion. Haller being accustomed to consult his friend on all occasions, to disclose his most secret thoughts, and to relate his diurnal occupations;

these effusions of the moment discover the successive train of his studies, the progress of his discoveries, and his gradual advances in knowledge.

“These letters of my most respectable friend,” added Bonnet, “display his genius, his understanding, and the goodness of his heart, more fully than any of his publications. His style, concise, energetic, yet picturesque, corresponds with the strength and originality of his ideas; and he speaks, with no less sublimity than conviction, of the great truths of natural and revealed religion. Though he treats the numerous advocates for infidelity, and particularly Voltaire, with sufficient severity; yet his heat is the ardour of conviction, and did not proceed from either pique or spirit of contradiction: he seemed as if he was personally interested in all questions on revelation, and pleaded its cause as if it had been his own. He is no less severe against those writers, who seem to exclude the intervention of a first intellectual cause in the creation and arrangement of the universe, and particularly censures the materialists, who endeavour to deduce mechanically the formation of organized bodies. In a word, his philosophy was entirely practical, because it was entirely Christian; and nothing secured his approbation, but what tended to improve the understanding, or to amend the heart.”

I am concerned to find, that the publication of this correspondence, between two such enlightened and virtuous philosophers as Haller and Bonnet, which in some works had been announced to the public, should, on account of private reasons, be relinquished. Religion, morality, philosophy,

philosophy, and learning, would be greatly benefited by this epistolary commerce.

Haller's library, consisting of about 4,000 volumes, was purchased for £. 2,000 by the emperor, for the public library of Milan, where I examined it in 1785. The collection is particularly rich in books of natural history, and is rendered invaluable from numerous annotations of Haller, written on the margins.

Haller was three times married, first to Marianne Wytsen, in 1731, who died in 1736. 2. To Elizabeth Buchers, in 1738, who died in childbed the same or the following year; both natives of Berne. 3. In 1739, to Amelia Frederica Teichmeyer, a German lady, who survived him. He has written and published the lives of his two first wives. He left eight children, four sons and four daughters, all of whom he lived to see established. His eldest son, Gotlieb Emanuel, who was born in 1735, followed his father's example in dedicating himself to the service of his country, and to the pursuits of literature. He was elected member of the Great Council, and obtained various employments under government, particularly the bailliage of Nyon, in which situation he died in 1786. He distinguished himself as an author by various publications tending to illustrate the history and literature of Switzerland, and particularly by his *Schweitzer-bibliothek*, or Swiss Library, in 6 volumes 8vo. of which he lived to publish only the first. In this work, deservedly esteemed for its method and accuracy, the indefatigable author enumerates all the books which treat of Switzerland, in all languages, and all the works published by the Swiss on all

subjects. He even descends to the minutest articles which have appeared in reviews and journals; and in most instances, where the publication deserves detail, analyses the contents, corrects the errors, and gives his opinion on the merits of the performance.

I was personally acquainted with the learned author, and am indebted to him for some curious information on Switzerland, and for several anecdotes relative to his illustrious father, which I have introduced into these biographical memoirs.

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*Account of the late Mr. Howard; from the Gentleman's Magazine for March 1790.*

ABOUT the end of the month of February 1790, advice was received, by Mr. Whitbread, of the not unexpected, yet certainly untimely death of the eccentric, but truly worthy, JOHN HOWARD, esq. — This extraordinary man was the son of an upholsterer, or carpet warehousman, in Long-lane, West Smithfield, and was put apprentice to Mr. Nathaniel Newnham, a wholesale grocer, grandfather to the present alderman. — His father died, leaving only this son and a daughter, to both of whom he bequeathed handsome fortunes; and by his will directed that his son should not be considered of age till he was five-and-twenty. His constitution was thought very weak, and his health appeared to have been injured by the necessary duties of his apprenticeship; and therefore, at the expiration of it, he took an apartment in a lodging-house in Church Street, Stoke Newington, Middlesex; but not meeting with the tenderest treatment



ment there, he removed to another lodging-house in the same street, which was kept by a widow named Mrs. Sarah Lardeau. Here he was nursed with the utmost care and attention; and at length he became so fond of his landlady, that he resolved to marry her, out of gratitude for her kindness to him. In vain she expostulated with him upon the extravagance of such a proceeding, he being about 28, and she about 51 years of age, and twenty years older in constitution; but nothing could deter him; and they were privately married about the year 1752. She was possessed of a small fortune, which he presented to her sister. During his residence at Newington, the minister of the dissenting meeting-house there resigned his office, and a successor was elected; and Mr. Howard, who was bred a dissenter, and stedfastly adhered all his life to that profession, proposed to purchase the lease of a house near the meeting-house, and to appropriate it as a parsonage-house for the use of the minister for the time being, and generously contributed 50 l. for that purpose. His wife died November 10, 1755; and soon after he formed a resolution of visiting Lisbon, which had been just before laid in ruins by the earthquake of November 1, 1755. About Midsummer 1756, he set sail for Lisbon, on board the Hanover Packet, which was taken by a French privateer; and he behaved with so much *hauteur*, so much à l'Anglois, to the captain of the privateer, as might probably be the cause of his suffering so severely as it appears he did, (see "State of Prisons," pp. 22 and 23, note): and "perhaps what he suffered on this occasion increased" (if it did not call

forth) "his sympathy with the unhappy people whose cause is the subject of this book."—He afterwards, it is believed, made the tour of Italy; and at his return settled at Brokenhurst, a retired and pleasant villa in the New Forest, near Lymington in Hampshire, having, April 25, 1758, married Harriet, daughter of Edward Leeds, esq. of Croxton, in the county of Cambridge, king's serjeant. Mrs. Howard died in 1765, in child-bed, of her only child, a son, who unfortunately has been for several years lunatic, and now is, or lately was, under the care of T. Arnold, M. D. of Leicester. Before the death of his second wife, he left Lymington, and purchased an estate at Cardington, near Bedford, adjoining to that of his relation Mr. Whitbread. While he resided at Cardington, he very much conciliated the esteem of the poor, by employing them, building cottages for them, &c. Every Sunday he went to Bedford, attended both morning and evening service at one of the dissenting meeting-houses, and then returned home. He was universally esteemed by the Presbyterians, Moravians, and all the other sectaries with which that borough abounds; and at the general election in 1774, offered himself with Mr. Whitbread, as a candidate to represent it in parliament. They were opposed by Sir W. Wake, bart. and R. Sparrow, esq. who were returned; and Mr. Whitbread and Mr. Howard petitioning, the committee determined that Sir W. Wake and Mr. Whitbread were duly elected. In consequence of the act 19 Geo. III. for establishing penitentiary houses, the late Dr. Fothergill, Mr. Howard and Geo. Whatley, esquire, treasurer of the Foundling

Foundling Hospital, were appointed by his majesty supervisors of them. The doctor and Mr. Howard fixed on a spot for the erection of them, near to that whereon Pentonville chapel has since been erected. Mr. Whatley, on the other hand, insisted that they should be built on or near the Isle of Dogs: but being fixed in his own opinion, having lost his friend and co-adjutor Dr. Fothergill, and seeing no prospect of accomplishing the business in any way that would be agreeable to him, in January 1781, Mr. Howard sent a letter to earl Bathurst, lord president of the council, requesting his majesty to accept his resignation of the office. His sister died unmarried, and left him her house in Great Ormond Street, together with a considerable fortune in the funds, which he construed into an approbation; on the part of Providence, of his schemes for the relief of prisoners, and *made use of the money* accordingly. In 1773, he served the office of sheriff of the county of Bedford. This office, as he observes, brought "the distress of prisoners more immediately under his notice;" and with a view to its alleviation, he began his labours by "visiting most of the county gaols in England," and afterwards, "the bridewells, houses of correction, city and town gaols," where he found "multitudes both of felons and debtors" "dying of the gaol fever and the small-pox." Upon this subject he was examined in the house of commons, in March 1774, when "he had the honour of their thanks." This encouraged him to proceed in his design: he travelled again and again through Great Britain and Ireland, and also into France, Flanders, Holland,

Germany, and Switzerland; and published "The State of the Prisons in England and Wales, with Preliminary Observations, and an Account of some Foreign Prisons, 1777," 4to. with a dedication to the house of commons, dated April 5, 1777. In 1780, he published an appendix to this account, in which he extended the narrative of his travels to Italy, and gave some observations concerning the management of prisoners of war, and the hulks on the Thames. This appendix he re-published in 1784; which publication included also an account of his visit to Denmark, Sweden, Russia, Poland, Portugal, and Spain. By this time his character for active benevolence had engaged the public attention. It was proposed that a subscription should be set on foot to erect a statue to his honour, and 1533l. 13s. 6d. was subscribed for that purpose; but some of those who knew Mr. Howard best, never concurred in the scheme, being well assured that he would never countenance nor accede to it: and the event justified their conduct; for the language that he held upon the subject, when first advised of it, was, "Have not I one friend in England, that would put a stop to such a proceeding?" In consequence of two letters from Mr. Howard himself to the subscribers, the design was laid aside; and the contributors were publicly invited, either to recall their money, or to leave it to the disposition of the committee. In 1789, Mr. Howard published "An Account of the principal Lazarettos in Europe, with various Papers relative to the Plague, together with further Observations on some Foreign Prisons and Hospitals, and additional Remarks on the

the present State of those in Great Britain and Ireland," with a great number of curious plates. Besides these, he published, in 1780, "Historical Remarks and Anecdotes on the Castle of the Bastile, translated from the French;" and last year the Grand Duke of Tuscany's "new Code of Criminal Law, with an English Translation."

Not satisfied, however, with what he had already done, he concludes his "Account of Lazarettos," with announcing his "intention again to quit his country, for the purpose of re-visiting Russia, Turkey, and some other countries, and extending his tour in the East. I am not insensible, says he, of the dangers that must attend such a journey. Trusting, however, in the protection of that kind Providence which has hitherto preserved me, I calmly and cheerfully commit myself to the disposal of unerring Wisdom. Should it please God to cut off my life in the prosecution of this design, let not my conduct be uncandidly imputed to rashness or enthusiasm, but to a serious, deliberate conviction that I am pursuing the path of duty, and to a sincere desire of being made an instrument of more extensive usefulness to my fellow-creatures than could be expected in the narrower circle of a retired life." To a man who holds such language, what else can be said, but that the piety and benevolence of his *heart* deserve universal honour? What permanent good may arise from his unwearied, well-intended labours, both in these kingdoms and the rest of Europe, time only can shew. Certain it is, that his plan has been adopted in many of our new-built gaols, and will gradually extend to more. Although the advice of his

friends could not possess that influence to reverse his determination to encounter once more the contagion of the plague, with all its dismal concomitants; yet surely that *incorrupta fides*, that *nuda veritas*, which actuated his undertaking, so elegantly displayed by himself in his last publication, will acquit him of temerity in the progress of his benevolent migration. His great abstemiousness was probably a mean of prolonging his life in the midst of his dangers: for a long time potatoes were almost his whole support; at another time they were succeeded by tea, and bread and butter; consequently it will not be thought wonderful that he never partook of the public or private repasts to which he was so frequently invited. All that remains to be said upon the subject is, that in his second "Tour in the East, it did please God to cut off his life:" for, having spent some time at Cherson, a new settlement of the empress of Russia, in the mouth of the Dnieper or Borysthenes, toward the northern extremity of the Black Sea, near Oczakow, he caught in visiting the Russian hospital of that place, or as some say a young lady who was ill of the same complaint, a malignant fever, which carried him off on the 20th of January, N. S. after an illness of about twelve days: and after having been kept, according to his express directions to his servant, five days, he was buried, by his own desire, in the garden of a villa in the neighbourhood belonging to a French gentleman, from whom he had received great civilities, by his faithful servant who had attended him on his former journeyings, and whom he expressly enjoined not to return home till five weeks

weeks from his death.—In his way to Cherfon, his baggage was found to be missing from behind the carriage while he and his servant refreshed themselves with a nap: On the discovery of this loss, Mr. H. hastened back to the nearest town or village where he recollected to have seen a party of Russian recruits, whom he charged with taking his property. While he waited in the carriage till a magistrate could be applied to, his property was brought in, first a hat-box, and next a trunk; which last had been found half-buried in the road by the side of fields where some men were ploughing; one of whom, startled at seeing the nails of the trunk shine just out of the ground, was afraid to touch it without his companion. When it was opened by Mr. H. every article both of linen and money was found *in statu quo*: but suspicions fell so strong on the recruits, at having concealed it till an opportunity offered for them to carry it off and share the spoil, that the magistrate consigned seven of them to Siberia.

The account given of his death in the London Gazette of the 23d instant is as follows, and is perhaps the first instance of the death of a private individual being so announced.—“Warfaw, March 6. Yesterday arrived in this city a person from Cherfon, who brings an account of the death of Mr. Howard, so well known from his travels, and plans of reform of the different prisons and hospitals in Europe. This gentleman fell a victim to his humanity; for, having visited a young lady at Cherfon, sick of an epidemic fever, for the purpose of administering some medical assistance, he caught the distemper himself, and was carried off in twelve

days.—Prince Potemkin, on hearing of his illness, sent his physician to his relief from Jassy.”

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*Account of the late Mr. Ledyard; from “Proceedings of the Society for promoting the discovery of the interior Parts of Africa.”*

“THIS extraordinary person was recommended to the committee of the association as eminently qualified for undertaking the projected journey into the interior part of Africa. He was an American by birth, and seemed from his youth to have felt an invincible desire to make himself acquainted with unknown or imperfectly discovered regions of the globe. For several years he had lived with the Indians of America, had studied their manners, and had practised in their school the means of obtaining their protection, and of recommending himself to the favour of savages. In the humble situation of a corporal of marines, to which he submitted rather than relinquish his pursuit, he had made, with Capt. Cook, the voyage of the world; and feeling, on his return, an anxious desire of penetrating from the North-western coast, which Cook had partly explored, to the Eastern coast, with which he himself was perfectly familiar, he determined to traverse the vast continent, from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean.

“His first plan for the purpose was that of embarking in a vessel which was preparing to sail, on a voyage of commercial adventure, to Nootka Sound, on the Western coast of America; and with this view he expended, in sea-stores, the greatest part of the money which his chief benefactor, Sir Joseph Banks

Banks (whose generous conduct the writer of this narrative has often heard him acknowledge), had liberally supplied. But the scheme being frustrated by the rapacity of a custom-house officer, who had seized and detained the vessel for reasons which, on legal enquiry, proved to be frivolous, he determined to travel over land to Kamtschatka; from whence, to the Western coast of America, the passage is extremely short. With no more than ten guineas in his purse, which was all that he had left, he crossed the British Channel to Ostend, and, by the way of Denmark and the Sound, proceeded to the capital of Sweden; from whence, as it was winter, he attempted to traverse the Gulph of Bothnia on the ice, in order to reach Kamtschatka by the shortest way; but finding, when he came to the middle of the sea, that the water was not frozen, he returned to Stockholm, and, taking his course Northward, walked into the Arctic Circle, and, passing round the head of the Gulph, descended, on its Eastern side, to Petersburg.

“ There he was soon noticed as an extraordinary man. Without stockings or shoes, and in too much poverty to provide himself with either, he received and accepted an invitation to dine with the Portuguese Ambassador. To this invitation it was probably owing that he was able to obtain the sum of twenty guineas for a bill on Sir Joseph Banks, which he confessed he had no authority to draw, but which, in consideration of the business that he had undertaken, and of the progress that he had made, Sir Joseph, he believed, would not be unwilling to pay. To the Ambassador's interest it might also be

owing that he obtained permission to accompany a detachment of stores, which the Empress had ordered to be sent to Yakutz, for the use of Mr. Billings, an Englishman, at that time in her service.

“ Thus accommodated, he travelled Eastward through Siberia, six thousand miles, to Yakutz, where he was kindly received by Mr. Billings, whom he remembered on board Capt. Cook's ship, in the situation of the astronomer's servant, but to whom the Empress had now entrusted her schemes of Northern discovery.

“ From Yakutz he proceeded to Oczakow, on the coast of the Kamtschatka sea; from whence he meant to have passed over to that peninsula, and to have embarked on the Eastern side, in one of the Russian vessels that trade to the Western shores of America; but finding that the navigation was completely obstructed by the ice, he returned to Yakutz, in order to wait for the conclusion of the winter.

“ Such was his situation, when, in consequence of suspicions not hitherto explained, or resentments for which no reason is assigned, he was seized, in the Empress's name, by two Russian soldiers, who placed him in a sledge, and, conveying him, in the depth of winter, through the deserts of the Northern Tartary, left him at last on the frontiers of the Polish dominions. As they parted, they told him, that, if he returned to Russia, he would certainly be hanged; but that, if he chose to go back to England, they wished him a pleasant journey.

“ In the midst of poverty, covered with rags, infested with the usual accompaniment of such clothing, worn with continued hardship, ex-

hausted by disease, without friends, without credit, unknown, and full of misery, he found his way to Koenigsberg. There, in the hour of his utmost distress, he resolves once more to have recourse to his old benefactor; and he luckily found a person who was willing to take his draft for five guineas on the President of the Royal Society.

“ With this assistance he arrived in England, and immediately waited on Sir Joseph Banks, who told him, knowing his temper, that he believed he could recommend him to an adventure almost as perilous as the one from which he had returned; and then communicated to him the wishes of the Association for discovering the inland countries of Africa. Ledyard replied, that he had always determined to traverse the continent of Africa as soon as he had explored the interior of North America; and, as Sir Joseph had offered him a letter of introduction, he came directly to the writer of these memoirs. Before I had learnt from the note the name and business of my visitor, I was struck with the manliness of his person, the breadth of his chest, the openness of his countenance, and the inquietude of his eye. I opened the map of Africa before him, and, tracing a line from Cairo to Sennar, and from thence Westward in the latitude and supposed direction of the Niger, I told him that was his route, by which I was anxious that Africa might, if possible, be explored. He said, he should think himself singularly fortunate to be entrusted with the adventure. I asked him when he would set out? ‘ To-morrow morning,’ was his answer.

Such a person as Mr. Ledyard

was formed by Nature for the object in contemplation; and, were we unacquainted with the sequel, we should congratulate the Society in being so fortunate as to find such a man for one of their missionaries;—but—the reader will soon be acquainted with the melancholy circumstance to which we allude.

Mr. Ledyard undertook, at his own desire, the difficult and perilous task of traversing from East to West, in the latitude attributed to the Niger, the widest part of the continent of Africa. On this bold adventure he left London June 30, 1781, and arrived at Cairo on the 19th of August.

Hence he transmitted such accounts to his employers as manifest him to have been a traveller who observed, reflected, and compared; and such was the information which he collected here from the travelling slave-merchants, and from others, respecting the interior districts of Africa, that he was impatient to explore them. He wrote to the Committee, that his next communication would be from Sennar (600 miles to the South of Cairo): But death, attributed to various causes, arrested him at the commencement of his researches, and disappointed the hopes which were entertained of his projected journey. A bilious complaint, produced by vexatious delays, induced him to try too strong a dose of the acid of vitriol, which he counteracted by the strongest tartar emetic; the continued discharge of blood produced by which, hastened his death, and he was buried at Cairo.

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*Extracts from the Life of John Elwes, Esq; by Edward Topham, Esq.*

THE family name of Mr. Elwes was *Meggot*: and as his name was *John*, the conjunction of *Jack Meggot*, made strangers sometimes imagine that his intimates were addressing him by an assumed appellation. His father was a brewer of great eminence. His dwelling-house and offices were situated in Southwark; which borough was formerly represented in parliament by his grand-father, Sir George Meggot. Mr. Clowes is now in possession of the above premises. He purchased, during his life, the estate now in possession of the family at Marcham, in Berkshire, of the Calverts, who were in the same line. The father died while the late Mr. Elwes was only four years old; so, little of the character of Mr. Elwes is to be attributed to him; but from the mother it may be traced at once—for though she was left nearly *one hundred thousand pounds* by her husband—she starved herself to death!

The only children from the marriage above, were Mr. Elwes, and a daughter who married the father of the late Colonel Timms—and from thence came the *intail* of some part of the present estate.

At an early period of life he was sent to Westminster School, where he remained for ten or twelve years. During that time he certainly had not misapplied his talents—for he was a good *classical scholar* to the last—and it is a circumstance not a little remarkable, though well authenticated, that he never read afterwards. Never was he seen at any period of his future life with a book, nor has he in all his different houses now left behind him, books that would, were they collected to-

gether, sell for *two pounds*. His knowledge in accounts was still more trifling—and in some measure may account for the total ignorance he was always in as to his own affairs.

From Westminster School, Mr. Elwes removed to Geneva, where he soon entered upon pursuits more agreeable to him than study. The *riding-master* of the academy there, had then to boast, perhaps, three of the best riders in Europe, Mr. Worsley, Mr. Elwes, and Sir Sydney Meadows. Of the three, Elwes was reckoned the most desperate: the young horses were always put into his hands, and he was the *rough-rider* to the other two.

On his return to England, after an absence of two or three years, he was to be introduced to his uncle, the late Sir Harvey Elwes, who was then living at Stoke, in Suffolk, perhaps the most perfect *picture of human penury* that ever existed. The attempts of saving money were, in him, so extraordinary, that Mr. Elwes, perhaps, never quite reached them, even at the last period of his life.

His possessions at the time of his death, were supposed to be, at least *two hundred and fifty thousand pounds*—his annual expenditure was about *one hundred and ten pounds*!

However incredible this may appear, it is yet strictly true; his cloaths cost him nothing, for he took them out of an old chest, where they had lain since the gay days of Sir Jervaise.

He kept his household chiefly upon game, and fish which he had in his own ponds; and the cows which grazed before his own door furnished milk, cheese, and butter,

for the little æconomical household. What fuel he did burn, his woods supplied.

To *this* uncle, and *this* property, Mr. Elwes succeeded, when he had advanced beyond the fortieth year of his age. And for fifteen years previous to this period, it was, that he was known in the fashionable circles of London. He had always a turn for play; and it was only late in life, and from paying always, and not always *being paid*, that he conceived disgust at the inclination.

The theory which he professed, "*that it was impossible to ask a gentleman for money,*" he perfectly confirmed by the practice; and he never violated this feeling to the latest hour of his life.

On this subject, which regards the *manners* of Mr. Elwes, gladly I seize an opportunity to speak of them with the praise that is their due. They were such—so gentle, so attentive, so gentlemanly, and so engaging, that rudeness could not ruffle them, nor strong ingratitude break their observance. He retained this peculiar feature of the *old court* to the last; but he had a praise far beyond this; he had the most gallant disregard of his own person, and all care about himself, I ever witnessed in man.

It is curious to remark, how he then contrived to mingle small attempts at saving, with objects of the most unbounded dissipation. After sitting up a whole night at play for thousands, with the most fashionable and profligate men of the time, amidst splendid rooms, gilt sofas, wax lights, and waiters attendant on his call, he would walk out about four in the morning, *not* towards home, but into Smithfield! to meet his own cattle, which were

coming to market from Thaydon-hall, a farm of his in Essex. There would this same man, forgetful of the scenes he had just left, stand in the cold or rain, bartering with a carcass-butcher *for a shilling!* Sometimes when the cattle did not arrive at the hour he expected, he would walk on in the mire to meet them; and, more than once, has gone on foot the whole way to his farm without stopping, which was seventeen miles from London; after sitting up the whole night.

He always travelled on horseback. To see him setting out on a journey, was a matter truly curious; his first care was to put two or three eggs, boiled hard, into his great coat pocket, or any scraps of bread which he found—baggage he never took—then, mounting one of his hunters, his next attention was to get out of London, into that road where turnpikes were the fewest. Then, stopping under any hedge where grass presented itself for his horse, and a little water for himself, he would sit down and refresh himself and his horse together.

In the life of Mr. Elwes, the luxuriant sources of industry or enjoyment all stood still. He encouraged no art; he bestowed not on any improvement; he diffused no blessings around him; and the distressed received nothing from his hand. What was got from him, was only obtained from his want of knowledge—by knowledge that was superior; and knaves and sharpers might have lived upon him, while poverty and honesty would have starved.

But not to the offers of *high interest* alone, were his ears open. The making him trifling presents, or doing business for him for nothing—were little snug allurements which,  
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in the hands of the needy, always drew him on to a loan of money. A small wine-merchant who had these views—begged his acceptance of some very *fine wine*, and in a short time obtained the loan of some hundred pounds. Old Elwes used ever after to say, “*It was, indeed, very fine wine, for it cost him twenty pounds a bottle!*”

Mr. Elwes, from his father, Mr. Meggot, had inherited some property in houses in London; particularly about the Haymarket, not far from which old Mr. Elwes drew his first breath—for, by his register, it appears, he was born in St. James’s parish. To this property he began now to add, by engagements with one of the Adams, about building, which he increased from year to year to a very large extent. Great part of Marybone soon called him her founder. Portland-place and Portman-square, the riding-houses and stables of the second troop of life guards, and buildings too numerous to name, all rose out of his pocket.

In possessions so large, of course it would happen that some of the houses were without a tenant; and, therefore, it was the custom of Mr. Elwes, whenever he went to London, to occupy any of these premises which might happen to be vacant. He had thus a new way of seeing London and its inhabitants—for he travelled in this manner from street to street; and whenever any body chose to take the house where he was, he was always ready to move into any other. He was frequently an itinerant for a *night’s lodging*; and though master of above an hundred houses, he never wished to rest his head long in any he chose to call his own. A couple of beds, a couple of chairs,

a table, and an old woman, were all his furniture; and he moved them about at a minute’s warning.

The scene which terminated the life of this old woman, is not the least singular among the anecdotes that are recorded of Mr. Elwes. But it is too well authenticated to be doubted. I had the circumstance related to me by the late Colonel Timms himself.

Mr. Elwes had come to town in his usual way—and taken up his abode in one of his houses that were empty. Colonel Timms, who wished much to see him, by some accident was informed that his uncle was in London; but then how to find him was the difficulty. He enquired at all the usual places where it was probable he might be heard of: he went to Mr. Hoare’s, his banker—to the Mount Coffee-house—but no tidings were to be heard of him. Not many days afterwards, however, he learnt from a person whom he met accidentally, that they had seen Mr. Elwes going into an uninhabited house in Great Marlborough-street. This was some clue to Colonel Timms: and away he went thither. As the best mode of information, he got hold of a *chairman*—but no intelligence could he gain of a *gentleman* called Mr. Elwes. Colonel Timms then described his person—but *no gentleman* had been seen. A *pot-boy*, however, recollected that he had seen a poor old man opening the door of the stable, and locking it after him; and from every description, it agreed with the person of old Mr. Elwes. Of course, Colonel Timms went to the house:—he knocked very loudly at the door—but no one answered. Some of the neighbours said they

had seen such a man, but no answer could be obtained from the house. On this added information, however, Colonel Timms resolved to have the stable door opened, and a blacksmith was sent for—and they entered the house together. In the lower parts of it—all was shut and silent. On ascending the stair-case however, they heard the moans of a person, seemingly in distress. They went to the chamber—and there, upon an old *pallet bed*, lay stretched out, seemingly in death, *the figure of old Mr. Elwes*. For some time he seemed insensible that any body was near him; but on some cordials being administered by a neighbouring apothecary, who was sent for, he recovered enough to say—“That he had, he believed, been ill for two or three days, and that there was an old woman in the house, but for some reason or other she had not been near him. That she had been ill herself, but that she had got well, he supposed, and gone away.”

On repairing to the garrets, they found the *old woman*—the companion of all his movements, and the partner of all his journeys—stretched out lifeless on a rug upon the floor. To all appearances she had been dead about two days.

In three successive parliaments, Mr. Elwes was chosen for Berkshire: and he sat as member of the house of commons about twelve years. It is to his honour—an honour in these times, indeed, most rare! that in every part of his conduct, and in every vote he gave, he proved himself to be what he truly was—an *independent* country gentleman.

All this time the income of Mr. Elwes was increasing hourly, and his present expenditure was next to no-

thing; for the little pleasures he had once engaged in, he had now given up. He kept no house, and only one old servant and a couple of horses; he resided with his nephew; his two sons he had stationed in Suffolk and Berkshire, to look after his respective estates; and his dress certainly was no expence to him; for, had not other people been more careful than himself, he would not have had it even mended.

When he left London, he went on horseback to his country seats, with his couple of *hard eggs*, and without once stopping upon the road at any house. He always took the most unfrequented road—but Marcham was the seat he now chiefly visited; which had some reason to be flattered with the preference, as his journey into Suffolk cost him only *two pence halfpenny*, while that into Berkshire amounted to *four-pence!*

When his son was in the guards, he was frequently in the habit of dining at the officers' table there. The politeness of his manners rendered him agreeable to every one, and in time he became acquainted with every officer in the corps; amongst the rest, with a gentleman of the name of Tempest, whose good-humour was almost proverbial. A vacancy happening in a *majority*, it fell to this gentleman to purchase; but as money is not always to be got upon landed property *immediately*, it was imagined some officer would have been obliged to purchase over his head. Old Mr. Elwes heard of the circumstance, and sent him the money next morning. He asked no security—he had seen Captain Tempest, and liked his manners; and he never once afterwards talked to him about the

the payment of it. On the death of Captain Tempest, which happened shortly after, the money was replaced. That Mr. Elwes was no loser by the event, does not take away from the merit of the deed; and it stands amongst those singular records of his character, that reason has to reconcile or philosophy to account for, that the same man, at one and the same moment, could be prodigal of thousands, and yet almost deny to himself *the necessaries of life!*

As no gleam of favourite passion, or any ray of amusement, broke through this gloom of penury, his insatiable desire of saving was now become uniform and systematic. He used still to ride about the country on one of these mares—but then he rode her very economically; on the soft turf adjoining the road, without putting himself to the expence of shoes—as he observed, “The turf was so pleasant to a horse’s foot!” And when any gentleman called to pay him a visit, and the boy who attended in the stables was profuse enough to put a little hay before his horse, old Elwes would slyly steal back into the stable, and take the hay very carefully away.

That very strong appetite which Mr. Elwes had in some measure restrained during the long sitting of parliament, he now indulged most voraciously, and on every thing he could find. To save, as he thought, the expence of going to a butcher, he would have a whole sheep killed, and so eat mutton to the—*end of the chapter.* When he occasionally had his river drawn, though sometimes horse-loads of small fish were taken, not one would he suffer to be thrown in again, for he observ-

ed, “He should never see them again!” Game in the last state of putrefaction, and meat that *walked about his plate*, would he continue to eat, rather than have new things killed before the old provision was finished.

With this diet—the *charnel-house of sustenance*—his dress kept pace—equally in the last stage of *absolute dissolution.* Sometimes he would walk about in a tattered brown-coloured hat: and sometimes in a red and white woollen cap, like a prisoner confined for debt.

When any friends, who might occasionally be with him, were absent, he would carefully put out his own fire, and walk to the house of a neighbour; and thus make one fire serve both. In short, whatever Cervantes or Moliere have pictured, in their most sportive moods, of *avarice in the extreme*, here might they have seen realized or surpassed!

His shoes he never would suffer to be cleaned, lest they should be worn out the sooner.

The scene of mortification, at which Mr. Elwes was now arrived, was all but a denial of the common necessaries of life: and indeed it might have admitted a doubt, whether or not, if his manors, his fish-ponds, and some grounds, in his own hands, had not furnished a subsistence, where he had not any thing *actually to buy*, he would not, rather than have *bought any thing*, have starved;—strange as this may appear, it is not exaggerated.—He, one day, during this period, dined upon the remaining part of a moorhen, which had been brought out of the river by a *rat!* and at another, eat an undigested part of a pike, which the larger one had

swallowed, but had not finished, and which were taken in this state in a net! At the time this last circumstance happened, he discovered a strange kind of satisfaction, for he said to me—"Aye! this was killing two birds with one stone!" In the room of all comment—of all moral—let me say, that at this time, Mr. Elwes was perhaps worth nearly *eight hundred thousand pounds!* and, at this period, he had not made his will, of course, was not saving from any sentiment of affection for any person.

As, in the day, he would now allow himself no fire, he went to bed as soon as day closed, to save candle; and had begun to deny himself even the pleasure of sleeping in *sheets*. In short, he had now nearly brought to a climax the moral of his whole life—the *perfect vanity of wealth*.

On removing from Stoke, he went to his farm-house at Thaydon Hall; a scene of more ruin and desolation, if possible, than either his houses in Suffolk or Berkshire. It stood alone, on the borders of Epping Forest; and an old man and woman, his tenants, were the only persons with whom he could hold any converse. Here he fell ill; and, as he would have no assistance, and had not even a servant, he lay, unattended and almost forgotten, for nearly a fortnight—indulging, even in *death*, that avarice which *malady* could not subdue. It was at this period he began to think of making his will.

The property disposed of to two natural children, may amount, perhaps, to *five hundred thousand pounds*. The *entailed estates* fall to Mr. Timms, son of the late Richard Timms, Lieutenant Colonel of the Second Troop of Horse Guards.

The close of Mr. Elwes's life was still reserved for one singularity more, and which will not be held less singular than all that has passed before it, when his disposition and his advanced age are considered. He *gave away* his affections: he conceived *the tender passion*.—In plain terms, having been accustomed for some time to pass his hours, out of economy, with the two maid servants in the kitchen—one of them had the art to induce him to fall in love with her; and it is matter of doubt, had it not been discovered, whether she would not have had the power over him to have made him marry her.

But good fortune, and the attention of his friends, saved him from this last act—in which, perhaps, the pitiable infirmity of *nature*, weakened and worn down by age and perpetual anxiety, is in some measure to be called to account.

Mr. George Elwes having now settled at his seat at Marcham, in Berkshire, he was naturally desirous, that in the assiduities of his wife, his father might at length find a comfortable home. In London he was certainly most uncomfortable: but still, with these temptations before and behind him, a journey, with any expence annexed to it, was insurmountable. This, however, was luckily obviated by an offer from Mr. Partis, a gentleman in the law, to take him to his ancient seat in Berkshire, with his purse perfectly whole—a circumstance so pleasing, that the general intelligence which renders this gentleman so entertaining, was not adequate to it in the opinion of Mr. Elwes. But there was one circumstance still very distressing—the old gentleman had now nearly worn out his last coat, and he would not buy  
a new

a new one; his son, therefore, with a *pious fraud* that did him honour, contrived to get Mr. Partis to buy him a coat, and make him a present of it. Thus, formerly having had a good coat, then a bad one, and, at last, no coat at all—he was kind enough to accept one from a neighbour.

Mr. Elwes carried with him into Berkshire *five guineas and an half, and half a crown*. Lest the mention of this sum may appear singular, it should be said, that previous to his journey, he had carefully wrapped it up in various folds of paper, that no part of it might be lost. On the arrival of the *old gentleman*, Mr. George Elwes and his wife, whose good temper might well be expected to charm away the irritations of avarice and age, did every thing they could to make the country a scene of quiet to him. But “he had that within” which baffled every effort of this kind. Of his heart it might be said, “there was no peace in Israel.” His mind, cast away upon the vast and troubled ocean of his property, extending beyond the bounds of his calculation, returned to amuse itself with fetching and carrying about a *few guineas*, which in that ocean, was indeed a drop.

The first symptoms of more immediate decay, was his inability to enjoy his rest at night. Frequently would he be heard at midnight as if struggling with some one in his chamber, and crying out, “I will keep my money, I will; nobody shall rob me of my property!” On any one of the family going into his room, he would start from this *fever of anxiety*, and, as if waking from a troubled dream, again hurry into bed, and seem unconscious of what had happened.

At other times, when perfectly awake, he would walk to the spot where he had hidden his money, to see if it was safe. One night, while in his waking state, he missed his treasure—that great sum of *five guineas and an half, and half a crown!* That great sum which he carried down into Berkshire as his last, dearest pleasure! That great sum, which at times solaced and distracted the last moments of a man, whose property, nearly reaching to *a million*, extended itself almost through *every county in England!*

The circumstances of the loss were these:—

Mr. Partis, who was then with him in Berkshire, was waked one morning about two o'clock by the noise of a naked foot, seemingly walking about his bed-chamber with great caution. Somewhat alarmed at the circumstance, he naturally asked, “Who is there?” on which a person coming up towards the bed, said with great civility—“Sir, my name is Elwes; I have been unfortunate enough to be robbed in this house, which I believe is mine, of all the money I have in the world—of *five guineas and an half, and half a crown!*”—“Dear Sir,” replied Mr. Partis, “I hope you are mistaken; do not make yourself uneasy.”—“O! no, no;” rejoined the old gentleman; “it’s all true; and really, Mr. Partis, with such a sum—I should have liked to have seen the end of it.”

This unfortunate sum was found a few days after in a corner behind the window-shutter.

On the 18th day of November 1789, Mr. Elwes discovered signs of that utter and total weakness, which in eight days carried him to his grave. On the evening of the first

first day he was conveyed to bed—from which he rose no more. His appetite was gone—he had but a faint recollection of any thing about him; and his last coherent words were addressed to his son, Mr. John Elwes, in hoping “he had left him what he wished.” On the morning of the 26th of November, he expired without a sigh!—with the ease with which an infant goes to sleep on the breast of its mother, worn out with “the rattles and the toys” of a long day.

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*Anecdotes relative to the English Nation; from D'Archenholz's Picture of England.*

**T**HE national pride of the English is a natural consequence of a political constitution, by which every citizen is exempted from any other dependence than that imposed by the laws.

This pride is carried among them to a great length. Indeed, how is it possible to know and to feel all the merit of such a system of liberty, without attaching an uncommon value to it? This same sentiment, with which we so violently reproach the English of the present times, has always been felt by the most enlightened nations in the world.

The Greeks and Romans carried it still farther. This laudable pride, which with them was united to a lively and fervid patriotism, occasioned those heroic actions which will for ever be engraved in the records of immortality. If the modern history of England be equally filled with glorious achievements, it is to a love of their country that all this ought to be ascribed; a love

which, carried to the extreme, as it has been, by those haughty islanders, cannot be conceived without a certain degree of contempt for those nations who do not possess similar sensations.

This fault, if it is one, is still more common amongst the Spaniards than them; but being founded on no solid grounds, it has become very justly a subject of ridicule. The English themselves are hated on this account, although their very enemies, at the bottom of their hearts, pay tribute to their extraordinary merit.—Envy will glide into nations, as well as individuals.

There are, perhaps, no people in Europe who possess so much natural pride as the French: it will be easy, with a little penetration, to reconcile this with that urbanity and those polite manners for which they are so distinguished. It is under this mask that the sly Frenchman conceals those marks of envy with which he views his English neighbours.

It was this offensive pride of the English that so many nations strove to humble during the American war. Many even of the states of Germany, among whom the spirit of imitation exercises such a despotic rule, that they neither think, live, nor exist but after the French, were animated with the same desire. They carried their madness so far as to forget the blood and the treasures, which that nation, in the present century, has sacrificed for the advantage and repose of their country. They even wished, without knowing why, to see the source of her greatness dried up.

It ought, however, to be remarked, that the principal members of the empire, guided by a more sound and

and judicious policy, trembled for England; even Switzerland, which was neither connected with her by politics nor commerce, offered up continual vows for her preservation.

A traveller, more especially if he passes immediately from France into Great Britain, in looking for that politeness at once so splendid and so trifling, which he has been used to, will not fail to imagine the English rude and uncultivated; and this merely because he does not give himself the trouble to search beyond the surface of their character.

Grosley, a member of the French academy, recounts, with some humour, in one of his letters, a circumstance that happened to him. He had gone to England, prejudiced with the idea, that he was about to visit the most unpolished nation in Europe. A few days after his arrival he went to the theatre. The pit was very crowded; and being there alone, and exceedingly inquisitive, he began to recollect the little English of which he was master, and put several questions to the person next him. His neighbour, who did not understand a word of the jargon which he uttered, rises precipitately, turns his back to him, and departs. Grosley was but little surprised at this conduct, so extremely ungentle in appearance, and which, for some moments, only served to confirm him in his former opinion: but he was soon put to the blush when he saw the Englishman return. This good-natured man had perceived, at the other end of the pit, one of his friends who spoke French; and having pierced the crowd which separated them, he returned with much difficulty, leading him in his hand.—I ask, whe-

ther this is true politeness or not? A Frenchman, by paying him a handsome compliment, would have imagined that he had done enough; the Englishman, on the contrary, thought that he ought to do more, and he accordingly did it. If it is then in actions, and not in simple words, that real urbanity consists, one is obliged to confess that the English are the most polished nation in Europe.

The principle of such actions is there also more pure, because a beggar has no occasion to humble himself before the most wealthy, and a citizen in easy circumstances knows no bounds to his independence.

The moral character of the English has indeed degenerated, but, notwithstanding this, it is still estimable; for it is not from its parliaments, its oriental depredators, and the crews of its privateers, who all aim at a certain end, that we ought to judge of the nation. Many members of parliament aspire at eminent situations, and allow themselves to be corrupted; so also do the adventurers who leave Europe with an intention to plunder Asia; and it is the very nature of pirates to rob and slaughter.

Is it from the refuse of a community that we are to imbibe our opinions of the moral character of a people; or from a multitude of god-like actions, which are performed every day, by thousands in this island?

An extraordinary event, which occurred a few years since, will serve to elucidate the noble and generous manner of thinking among the English. The emigrations from the empire, of which such sad complaints are made, even at this day, and  
which

which are founded on reasons partly just, and partly imaginary, gave an opportunity to a German gentleman to form a very singular scheme.

The name of this projector, and his intentions, are still unknown; the arts also which he practised to put in execution such a well-concerted plan, are equally obscure: it is, however, certain that a common genius durst never imagine, far less be able to put in execution, an enterprise of this nature. In the year 1765, he went to England at the head of 800 adventurers, consisting of men, women, and children, whom he had collected in the Palatinate, Franconia, and Suabia, by promising them that they would be much more happy in the English colonies.

On their arrival at the port of London, this singular man disappeared, and has never since been heard of.

At once miserable and disappointed, these unfortunate wretches, neither knowing the language, nor being acquainted with any of the inhabitants, and with only a few rags to cover them, were entirely bewildered in that extensive capital. Without an asylum, without even bread for their children, who asked for it with the most piercing cries, they knew not to whom they could address themselves.

In hopes of a less cruel destiny, they lay down in the open air, in the midst of those streets nearest to the wharf where they had been landed. In every other city, even in Paris itself, the unexpected arrival of a colony of eight hundred persons, would have been talked of every where, and proper measures taken accordingly: but the landing of such a numerous body was for a long time unknown in London.

The inhabitants, indeed, of that part of the town, and also the passengers, were greatly astonished at the appearance of this singular groupe, who bewailed their misfortunes in an unknown language; but not being able to discover the cause, they gave themselves but little concern on the subject.

Two days passed in this manner, and these poor people remained exposed to the inclemency of the elements, and the cravings of hunger. Some died for want, on the third day. Their misery was now at the extreme, for their arrival was unknown any where else than in this little corner of the suburbs: not a single word of it had transpired either in the city or Westminster.

The inhabitants in the neighbourhood were not, however, unfeeling spectators of so many calamities: they aided them as far as they were able; but what are the feeble succours of poverty at such a crisis?—The bakers were accustomed to send their servants every morning loaded with baskets of bread, which they distributed according to the directions of their masters. One of these happening to pass near the place where these emigrants were encamped, heard that they had been several hours without any subsistence. “If it is so,” says he, at the same time placing his pannier in the midst of them, “our customers must have patience to-day; were my master to lose them all, he would not be angry. I will,” added he, “aid these poor creatures, if I pay for it out of my own wages.”—I trust that the behaviour of this man does not need a commentary.

The Reverend Mr. Waschel, a clergyman of the German church, who lived near to them, at last resolved



solved to advertise this singular event in the newspapers. In a letter which he inserted, and which was signed with his own name, he particularizes, in a most affecting detail, the misery of his countrymen, and implores in their behalf the generous compassion of the English, on which these wretches had so much relied when they left their native country. The effect of this was incredible and beyond expectation.

The morning papers are generally printed at eight o'clock; by nine a man arrives on horseback from one of the most distant parts of Westminster, and brings to Mr. Waschel a bank note for 100*l.* sterling. The messenger would not mention the donor, but it was afterwards found to be the old countess of Chesterfield, who performed so charitable an action.

This might be called the earnest of the whole nation. It seemed to rain bank notes and guineas upon the good priest. Coffee houses were opened for subscriptions, attendants were appointed to supply them with necessaries, as they themselves were not able to buy them; physicians and apothecaries were assigned, and nurses and interpreters appointed to them: in a word, the wants of this deserted band were satisfied, their forlorn situation removed, and they themselves inspired with the sweet hope of better prospects before the middle of that very day.

In the mean time the subscriptions continued open, and there never, perhaps, was such a general contribution. There were but few rich people, of a certain rank, in all the kingdom, who did not assist on this occasion. I myself have

read the list of those benefactors to my countrymen, and have counted more than twenty who gave a hundred pounds each, and some even more. The sum total is unknown to me; it was, however, sufficient to entertain this numerous body of people, during five months, in London; at the end of that period they were carried to Carolina, in vessels hired for the purpose, and provided with proper necessaries. They had a very excellent passage to America, and received, at the instant of their arrival, not only every thing necessary for their establishment, but also the remainder of the money which had been collected for them.

It may be imagined that the Germans, settled in London, shewed themselves equally generous towards their countrymen as the English. — Not only those in easy circumstances, but even opulent people, to whom the nation had confided the care of these unfortunate wretches, received money for their services out of the fund arising from the subscriptions, and charged at the highest rate!

The prisons for confining debtors in England, are such as might be expected in a nation which regards the powerful and sacred rights of humanity.

As it is extremely easy to contract debts in England, it must therefore necessarily follow, that the gaols are always full of prisoners. The poorest people, provided they are not common beggars, labour with the utmost assiduity to hire a small tenement, and become *housekeepers*, because, besides the convenience resulting from it, there are certain privileges annexed to such a situation. In consequence

of this, they prefer the most miserable cottage hired in their own name, to more convenient apartments in another house.

From this proceeds the great number of houses in London, which, on this very account, are as five to three in proportion to those of Paris, where all the inhabitants live heaped upon one another.

The national character is discovered in this very circumstance. It often happens, that a man has nothing in his little house, but a bed, a table, and some chairs; and yet, in quality of a *housekeeper*, he procures a certain degree of credit, and no one makes any difficulty in trusting him. The butchers, the bakers, the taylor, the shoe-makers, &c. &c. furnish him with whatever he may stand in need of, without requiring ready money; people in good circumstances generally make them wait till Christmas: a shorter time is however fixed for the poor; and whenever the debt amounts to the sum of\* forty shillings, the creditor has a right to arrest the debtor.

Nothing is more easy than this. He goes to the sheriffs' office, where there is generally no other person than a clerk; he informs him of his business, and asks for a writ. The clerk, whose duty it is to distribute these writs without making any inquiry, receives his fee, after having first made him kiss the bible, the usual manner of taking an oath in England.

The bailiffs, of whom I made mention in the preceding chapter, are afterwards employed, in virtue of their office, to arrest the debtor. The people detest these men; and

it is very natural, for they lead a lazy life, and inhabit good houses, which serve as temporary prisons. The creditor carries the writ to one of these, and gives him instructions. The bailiff conveys the prisoner to his house, where he remains for twenty-four hours: during this time, he makes use of every art, either to settle the matter, or procure bail. If an accommodation does not take place in that time, the officer conducts him to prison: a fee however, properly applied, will often procure an indulgence for several days.

As there are two prisons, called the King's Bench and the Fleet, which are peculiar to England, and have nothing similar to them in Europe, they usually make choice of one of these. The latter is situated in the middle of the city; the other in St. George's Fields. No traveller that I am acquainted with, has ever given a particular account of these singular and uncommon gaols. They never, indeed, have been mentioned among us but in some English romances, which are very justly rejected as so many fictions and improbabilities. So true it is, that we have only a few vague ideas of a nation concerning which we never cease to speak; which we endeavour to imitate in almost every thing, and which is so very near to us.

It may be said, that these prisons are two republics existing in the bosom of the metropolis, and entirely independent of it. The situation and the largeness of the first render it more commodious than the other. Its boundaries are marked by a wall, which contains a prodigious extent of ground.

\* By a late act, no one can be arrested for any debt below the sum of ten pounds.

Within its circumference a great number of houses are built for the accommodation of the prisoners; a garden where they may walk, a place where they may play at fives, public-houses where beer and wine are sold, a coffee-house, shops, &c. &c.

All the mechanics who follow trades which do not require much room nor long preparation, are allowed here to exercise their respective avocations, which they denote by signs at their doors and windows. You may find taylor, shoe-makers, wig-makers, &c. &c. who not only work for the other prisoners, but also for their customers elsewhere, who still continue to employ them. They generally make their families stay with them, and live very comfortably. Those who are at liberty sometimes surpass in number those who are confined, and the whole often amounts to two or three thousand. There is no guard but at the entrance; the greatest liberty reigns within; neither bars, nor bolts, nor irons, nor gaoler are to be perceived; nothing, in one word, to denote a prison.

As their doors are never locked up, the inhabitants may divert themselves for whole nights together: they have even been known to give balls and concerts. The free-masons have a lodge here. It was in the king's bench that Wilkes was, in the year 1769, received as a member of that society.

The gates are open from seven o'clock in the morning till nine at night. Any person impelled either by curiosity or business, may go and come during those hours, without being asked any questions. During Wilkes's imprisonment, the

avenues were continually choaked up by the number of carriages that were bringing visitors to him.

It sometimes happens, that persons afraid of being arrested, run to this place as to an asylum, where they remain with some of the prisoners whom they are acquainted with, and never depart till they have made terms with their creditors, or taken some other necessary steps. For, according to the constitution of this singular commonwealth, the persons who fly there for refuge, cannot in any manner be molested by those on the outside. The inside is a sanctuary, sacred to liberty, where the bailiff dares not penetrate. He never goes further than the lobby, where he deposits his prisoners. Woe to him if he passes one step beyond it!

In this prison, there are apartments which would not disgrace a palace. These are generally occupied by rich people, who pay for them at a very dear rate: for nothing is more common than to see persons who possess considerable fortunes conducted to this place, who remain there as long as they please, and set out whenever they choose to make the necessary arrangements with their creditors. During their confinement they squander large sums of money, and give a great deal in charity to their fellow-prisoners.

One may here see people dressed in the most fashionable clothes; assemblies of ladies and gentlemen, apartments elegantly furnished, and tables delicately served. The genteel and polite air every where visible, will never allow any one to think that all this is in a goal.

One is almost sure of meeting  
good

good company at this place, as it is frequented by respectable persons, who have lost their fortunes by some unforeseen accidents.

It was here that the Rev. Mr. Horne wrote his excellent book on the government and laws of England; that Wilkes formed the plan of his present grandeur.

The unbecoming assemblage of the two sexes, is one of the greatest abuses of this prison. I have already said, that according to the laws of the country, the husband is obliged to answer for the debts of his wife, so that it is he only that is arrested. One does not therefore meet with married women here, but there are plenty of widows and unmarried ladies. These last, who are all priestesses of Venus, abound in great plenty, and sometimes exceed an hundred. One of these must be very disagreeable, if she does not find, on her arrival, several who will offer to share their apartments with her, and even their beds. When they are tired of each other they separate, and make a fresh choice. It often happens that they remain with their lovers after they are liberated; and it is not at all uncommon to see them forming connections here, which are only dissolved by death.

The voluptuous life which they lead in this gaol, is also augmented by the continual visits which their lovers make them. However, notwithstanding the debauchery which generally prevails, it very rarely happens that it is attended with consequences punishable by the laws.

There are certain districts in the neighbourhood of the king's bench and the fleet, called *rules*, which form a circuit of two English miles.

The prisoner may not only ramble but even live within these, whenever he can find security that he will not escape. It is remarked, that no nation is so credulous as the English.

There are a great many agreeable gardens in the neighbourhood of the king's bench, where tea and coffee are sold, and which in an afternoon are full of prisoners.

The marshal has upwards of three thousand a year, in salary and perquisites; for this he has very little to do, as he never troubles himself about the interior regulations: he is obliged, however, to give large security, as he becomes liable to the debts of all those who escape. About ten years since, four prisoners, whose debts amounted to 1,500*l.* sterling, escaped by means of a hole in the garden wall. Before he paid so much money, the marshal bethought himself of a very singular expedient. He gave notice that he would give them fifty per cent. of the sums for which they had been confined, provided they would surrender themselves. Three of them actually acceded to the agreement, received the stipulated payment, and returned to their former habitation.

Although the care of this gaol is entirely confided to the marshal, yet he is not permitted to interfere in its internal regulations, and is very seldom seen within its walls. Every prisoner, whether man or woman, is a member of this commonwealth, and participates in all its privileges. They choose a lord chief justice, and a certain number of judges, who assemble once a week, and decide controversies.

In this court they terminate all quarrels, make laws concerning the police;

police, hear all complaints, and pronounce final judgment: in a word, every thing is equally attended to as in a well-governed community. Every one has a right to attend and plead his own cause. Those who are not able to express themselves with propriety in public, such as women, for example, employ others to relate their complaints, or defend their interests.

Of all the remarkable objects which England offers to the eye of a foreigner, no one is more worthy of his admiration, than the astonishing beauty of the women.

It produces such a surprising effect, that every stranger must acknowledge the superiority of the English ladies over all others. The most exact proportions, an elegant figure, a lovely neck, a skin uncommonly fine, and features at once regular and charming, distinguish them in an eminent degree. Their private virtues also render them capable of enjoying all the felicity of the marriage state.

The proneness of the whole nation to melancholy, renders the women grave and serious; their minds are less occupied about pleasures, than in solicitude for the happiness of their husbands, and the management of their domestic concerns. Even women of quality suckle their children; they think that the name and duties of a *mother* have nothing in them which they ought to blush at, and that no station on earth is comparable to the pleasures of maternal tenderness, and the agreeable reflections which result from it.

Notwithstanding vice is often pushed to the extreme in the capital, it is very uncommon to see a

married woman become profligate, and give way to infamous pleasures. To this there is always an insurmountable bar in her love for her family, the care of her household, and her own natural gravity. I am of opinion, that there is not a city in the whole world, where the honour of a husband is in less danger than in London.

It is to this serious and melancholy disposition that we ought to attribute the attachment of the English catholics to the cloister, and which has induced so many of them to retire to France, and still more to Flanders. They have even established a species of convents in England, for those who do not like to leave their native country. A certain number of ladies live there in common, perform divine service together, and conform to all the institutions of that order to which their *house* belongs. Like other nuns, they take the vows, and their dress is always plain and modest.

I have already mentioned the prodigious attachment of the English to politics. This passion is actually among them an inducement to marriage. A husband who can talk of nothing but public affairs, is always sure to find in his wife a person with whom he may converse concerning those topics which interest him most. He has no need to go abroad, to satisfy his appetite for this darling subject.

The English are not ungrateful to nature for her prodigality towards them. The children are never bound up in swaddling-clothes, but covered with a thin dress, which gives a perfect freedom to all their motions. The

great advantages arising from inoculation, become every day more perceptible.

The schools for the education of young people of both sexes, are almost always in the country. In walking through the charming villages which surround the metropolis, one is delighted to see three or four houses together, dedicated solely to this purpose. These support a prodigious number of language-masters, dancing-masters, music-masters, &c. &c.

The ladies, trusting perhaps too much to their natural charms, often neglect the means of setting them off to advantage. But a very few even of the women of the town make use of *rouge*. Many women of fashion, when dressed in the most elegant manner, do not use hair-powder; *neatness*, however, which seems actually to be a *rage* amongst them, is never neglected.

The most elegant part of an Englishwoman's apparel is her hat, which is usually adorned with ribbands and feathers. No female, of whatever rank, dares appear in the streets of London on foot, without one of these; the very beggars wear them. The art with which they place them, is but imperfectly imitated by foreigners, who know not how to derive from them all their magical advantages. The charming effect which they produce, made Linguet observe, that if Homer had been acquainted with this enchanting dress, he would not only have given a cestus to Venus, but also a hat.

The fair-sex in that country have a number of customs peculiar to themselves, and among others that of riding on horseback; in this

situation, they may be seen galloping by hundreds along Hyde Park. On these occasions, they are always dressed like Amazons; a practice introduced by queen Anne, the consort of Richard II. and which has continued to the present time. The ladies also think it indecent to shew themselves at the window. It is only an extraordinary circumstance that will make a woman of character open it, to satisfy her curiosity. The women of the town, however, are entirely above such a prejudice.

The education among the English, as far as it regards health, is excellent: I cannot, however, say so much in respect to morals. The abuses which prevail in the great schools are well known; I shall therefore be silent concerning them. After a long contention concerning the advantages and disadvantages of a public or private education, it seems at last to have been decided in favour of the former. The young duke of Bedford, who is the richest peer in the kingdom, was for several years at Westminster, where he was brought up as other young men. His table and his bed were entirely the same as theirs. Two guineas a week were allowed him for pocket money; and out of his income, which amounts to sixty-thousand pounds per annum, five hundred only were expended in his education.

All the exercises which tend to bring the muscles into action, and to make the body healthy and robust, are the daily recreations of these public schools, which, notwithstanding their numberless disadvantages, do not, however, make youth effeminate.

A great

A great number of children of good extraction are destined from the earliest age to commerce, and educated accordingly. This practice, so wise in itself, and which was the source from which the Genoese nobility derived their opulence, and by which the illustrious house of Medicis were raised to a throne, where they became the benefactors of mankind, was not introduced into England until about the middle of the seventeenth century.

The English nobility during the civil war, being almost entirely attached to the king, were banished from all employments by the House of Commons, whose power then preponderated; they therefore had no resource but in trade. Those who possessed abilities amassed immense riches, and contributed by their example to remove the ancient prejudices which still subsisted in their country against the employment of a merchant. Soon after this, some of the first people in the kingdom became the most zealous partizans of commerce, and embarked their fortunes in it, by which means they at once gave activity and vigour to trade. This, it is affirmed, was the origin of that splendour and opulence which England soon after acquired. In our own time, we have seen the son of Sir Robert Walpole, formerly prime minister of England, a private banker, and the brother of lord Oxford, a citizen of London.

I Am now come to the only part of Swift's conduct which is, in my opinion, deserving of censure; I mean his treatment of Stella and Vanessa. But be it remembered, that censure, though merited, should be proportionate to the crime. Had the Dean's accusers taken the trouble of candidly investigating all the circumstances relative to that double connection, they might possibly have found the unfortunate lover not wholly undeserving of pity.

But before I proceed to inquire how far the treatment Stella experienced *was*, or *was not* excusable, I shall inform my reader *who* Stella *really was*. On this point *all* the biographers of Swift have been misinformed. The following account I received a few days ago in a letter from Mrs. Hearn, niece to the celebrated Mrs. Johnson, and who now resides at Brighton near Alresford, Hants, with her daughter Mrs. Harrison, the wife of a most respectable clergyman of that name.

“ Mrs. Esther Johnson, better  
 “ known by the name of Stella, was  
 “ born at Richmond in Surry on  
 “ the 13th of March 1681. Her  
 “ father was a merchant, and the  
 “ younger brother of a good family  
 “ in Nottinghamshire. He died  
 “ young, and left his widow with  
 “ three children, a son and two  
 “ daughters. Whilst Mrs. Johnson  
 “ lived at Richmond, she had the  
 “ happiness of becoming first ac-  
 “ quainted with Lady Gifford, the  
 “ sister of Sir William Temple.  
 “ The uncommon endowments,  
 “ both of body and mind, which  
 “ Mrs. Johnson certainly possessed  
 “ in an high degree, soon gained  
 “ her not only the esteem but the  
 “ warm friendship of that excellent  
 “ lady; a friendship which lasted

" till death. As they seldom were  
 " apart, and lady Gifford lived  
 " much with her brother Sir Wil-  
 " liam, it was through her that  
 " Mrs. Johnson and her two daugh-  
 " ters (her son dying young) were  
 " brought to the knowledge and  
 " friendship of Sir William Temple  
 " and his lady; who discovering so  
 " many excellencies, and such fine  
 " parts, in the *little Hetty*, as she  
 " was always called in the Temple  
 " family, so far took upon them-  
 " selves the care of her education  
 " as to bring her up with their own  
 " niece, the late Mrs. Temple of  
 " Moor Park by Farnham—a most  
 " acceptable piece of kindness and  
 " friendship this to the mother,  
 " whose little fortune had been  
 " greatly injured by the South Sea  
 " bubbles. And here it was that  
 " Dr. Swift first became acquainted  
 " with Stella, and commenced that  
 " attachment which terminated in  
 " their marriage. The cause why  
 " that marriage was not owned to  
 " the world has never been tho-  
 " roughly explained. It is the opi-  
 " nion, however, of her own family,  
 " that their finances not being equal  
 " to the style in which the Dean  
 " wished to move, as a married  
 " man, could be the only one;  
 " Stella's own fortune being only  
 " £. 1,500, one thousand of which,  
 " as a farther mark of friendship,  
 " was left her by Sir William  
 " Temple himself. It was Dr.  
 " Swift's wish at last to have owned  
 " his marriage; but finding herself  
 " declining very fast, Stella did not  
 " choose to alter her mode of life,  
 " and besides fully intended coming  
 " over to England to her mother."

If we attentively survey the situa-  
 tion of Swift from the first moment  
 of his connection with the far-famed

object of his wishes to the period  
 immediately preceding her death,  
 we shall be at a loss to point out the  
 time when, consistently with the dic-  
 tates of prudence, he could have  
 united himself with his amiable  
 mistress.

From the promised munificence  
 of King William, he received no-  
 thing but disappointment. After  
 his retirement from Moor Park  
 till his connection with Lord  
 Berkeley, he had no prospect of  
 preferment. On his promotion to  
 the deanery of St. Patrick, a system  
 of the severest œconomy was neces-  
 sary to liquidate the debt contracted  
 by a long and vexatious attendance  
 on ministry; at the same time that  
 a certain degree of state was a ne-  
 cessary appendage to his station.

To the union of Swift and Stella  
 there was, however, at one period  
 of their connection, a much more  
 formidable obstacle than any that  
 could have arisen from prudence.  
 It is with reluctance I proceed; but  
 during one of the Dean's long mi-  
 nisterial attendances in London,  
 commenced his acquaintance with  
 Vanessa.

This lady possessed wit, youth,  
 beauty, a competent share of wealth,  
 and *universal* admiration. Thus de-  
 corated, she offered herself a willing  
 victim at the shrine of Swift, by  
 whose genius she was completely  
 fascinated.

To behold, without emotion, such  
 a sacrifice, was hardly to be ex-  
 pected from man. But to the ho-  
 nour of Swift be it remembered,  
 that though allured by such attrac-  
 tions as were indeed at once most  
 rare and powerful, he made a long  
 and obstinate defence; and when  
 the death of the queen exiled him  
 as it were from England, he used



all the force of argument to prevail on Vanessa to smother the destructive flame she had so long nourished in her bosom, and which, he wisely apprehended, would at some future period kindle a conflagration, from which effects the most fatal were justly to be dreaded. Dazzled at *first* by the splendor of his conquest, he was prevented from seeing his own conduct in a proper point of view; but when the death of the Queen reminded him that Ireland was to be the scene of his remaining years, the thought of wounding her whom he had invited to that country, by the presence of her rival, shocked the delicacy of his feelings; whilst the idea of Stella, neglected and forsaken, returned with redoubled force, and once more possessed itself of his mind.

Yet at the moment when he recommended to Vanessa forgetfulness of the past, it is certain he taught what he could not practise, and that what was *right* was preferred to what was *pleasant*. In the eye of justice, the claims of Stella were highly forcible. She had, at an early period of life, yielded her affections to the assiduities of Swift. To enjoy his society, she had sacrificed her country and her connections, and had fixed her abode in a part of the world where people were by no means inclined to put the best construction on the face of things.

In circumstances like these, to have *finally* deserted Stella was a piece of cruelty and of villainy of which her lover was utterly incapable. His return to Ireland certainly lessened her anxiety, and rendered her situation more tolerable than it could be during his absence. Whatever she might think

of the state of his affections, she was at least in a situation to attempt the recovery of them; and though disappointment had killed the roses of youth, yet her conversation was still attractive, her mind cultivated, and her manners gentle. But the arrival of the unfortunate Vanessa soon violated the tranquillity of Stella. The anxiety inseparable from such a situation as hers preyed on her spirits, and materially affected her health.

Swift, shocked at the effects his own inconstancy was likely to produce, requested Bishop Ash, the common friend of *both*, to inquire from Stella what could restore her former peace of mind. Her answer was to this effect, "That for many years she had patiently borne the tongue of slander; but that hitherto she had been cheered by the hope of one day becoming his wife: that of such an event she now saw no probability; and that, consequently, her memory would be transmitted to posterity branded with the most unmerited obloquy."

Swift, in his reply to this declaration, observed, that "in early life he had laid down two maxims with respect to matrimony: The *first* was, never to marry unless possessed of a competency: the *second*, unless this was the case at such a period of life as afforded him a probable prospect of living to educate his family; but yet, since her happiness depended on his marrying her, he would directly comply with her wishes on the following terms: That it should remain a secret from all the world, unless the discovery were called for by some *urgent necessity*; and that they should continue in separate houses."

To these terms Stella readily ac-

ceded; and in 1716 they were married by the Bishop of Clogher, who himself related the circumstance to Bishop Berkeley, by whose relist the story was communicated to me.

Swift, by marrying Stella at a time when it is pretty certain he ceased to entertain for her any very impassioned sentiments, is one proof that he thought the laws of honour intitled to the strictest observance. He saw when it was too late, the error of this conduct towards that amiable woman, and made reparation; though, to be sure, his declining to acknowledge her was a step that cannot be justified, and which must be attributed merely to that love of singularity, which in a greater or less degree is inseparable from genius.

With respect to Vanessa I have little to say. Whilst, in justice to Swift, I cannot refrain from observing, that the first advances came from her, I should not forbear recalling to the reader's recollection what is remarked a few pages back, that when Vanessa selected Cademus for her lover, she was *universally followed and admired*; and whatever construction may be put on a celebrated poem, which it is to be wished had never seen the light, I shall venture to assert, that the passion she entertained for Swift was perfectly innocent. She knew of no engagement to prevent their union; and to obtain that union was the sole object of her wishes. Although the encouragement she gave to Swift might be rather inconsistent with the etiquette observed by all *prudent and experienced* women when in a state of courtship; yet for this inattention it is by no

means right to brand her memory with the severest obloquy.

With respect to the Dean's conduct towards this lady, no other apology can be offered than this: That the violence of the passion which he entertained for her, blinded him to the fatal effects that were likely to arise from such a connection; and that he found himself unexpectedly in a situation where *perseverance was wrong*, and where *retreat was impossible*. Swift has been severely blamed for continuing his connection with Vanessa after his marriage with Stella: But be it remembered, that though in this point he erred, his motive was such as, though it could not justify, certainly palliated, the crime. He wanted resolution mortally to wound the peace of one who loved so well. Justice and nature contested the point; and those who in this instance may censure, cannot regret the triumph of the latter. It is likewise more than probable, that one of the motives which induced Swift to conceal his marriage, was a wish to spare Vanessa so severe a pang; the effects produced by the discovery of that fatal secret were foreseen, and are too well known to need recapitulation. Her last will declared whather feelings were: Her appointing Swift's most intimate friend Bishop Berkeley to be one of the executioners of her vengeance, shows the violence of her resentment. At the same time, had the hour of Vanessa's dissolution been less rapid in its approach, had death allowed the storm of passion time to subside, it is more than probable she would have recalled her order respecting the publication of their mutual correspondence. Her passions

passions were violent, and consequently would have been short-lived. Her heart was tender, and her sensibility great; whilst her mind was possessed of a degree of strength not always to be found amongst the fair sex; and her talents in many points eclipsed those of her unfortunate rival.

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*Description of Shirauz, and of the Manners of the Modern Persians; from Francklin's Tour from Bengal to Persia.*

**N**O place in the world produces the necessaries of life in greater abundance and perfection than Shirauz; nor is there a more delightful spot in nature to be conceived, than the vale in which it is situated, either for the salubrity of the air, or for the profusion of every thing necessary to render life comfortable and agreeable. The fields yield plenty of rice, wheat, and barley, which they generally begin to reap in the month of May, and by the middle of July the harvest is completed. Most of the European fruits are produced here, and many of them are superior in size and flavour to what can be raised in Europe, particularly the apricot and grape. Of the grape of Shirauz there are several sorts, all of them very good, but two or three more particularly so than the rest; one is the large white grape, called Reesh Bâba, without seed, which is extremely luscious and agreeable to the taste; the small white grape, called Akkeri, also without seed, and as sweet as sugar; the black grape, of which the celebrated wine of Shirauz is made. This wine is pressed by the Armenians and Jews,

in the months of October and November, and a vast deal is exported annually to Abu Shehr, and other parts in the Persian Gulph, for the supply of the India market. The wine of Shirauz is really delicious, and well-deserving of praise; so much so, that people who have drank it for a space of time, seldom care for any other, though at the first taste it is rather unpleasant to an European. They have another kind of large red grape, called Sahibi, the bunches of which weigh seven or eight pounds each: it is sharp and rough to the taste, and makes vinegar of a very superior quality. The cherries here are but indifferent; but apples, pears, melons, peaches, quinces, nectarines, and the gage plums, are all very good, and in the greatest plenty. The pomegranate is good to a proverb; the Persians call it the fruit of Paradise.

The breed of horses in the province of Fars is at present very indifferent, owing to the ruinous state of the country; but in the province of Dushitaan; lying to the south-west, it is remarkably good. The sheep are of a superior flavour, owing to the excellence of the pasturage in the neighbourhood of Shirauz, and are also celebrated for the fineness of their fleece: they have tails of an extraordinary size, some of which I have seen weigh upwards of thirty pounds; but those which are sold in the markets do not weigh above six or seven. Their oxen are large and strong, but their flesh is seldom eaten by the natives, who confine themselves chiefly to that of sheep and fowls. Provisions of all kinds are very cheap; and the neighbouring mountains affording an ample supply of

snow throughout the year, the meanest artificer of Shirauz may have his water and fruits cooled without any expence worthy his consideration; this snow being gathered on the tops of the mountains, and brought in carts to the city, is sold in the markets. The price of provisions is regulated at Shirauz with the greatest exactness, by the Daroga, or judge of the police, who sets a fixed price upon every article, and no shop-keeper dares to demand more, under the severe penalty of losing his nose and ears; such being the punishment attached to a crime of this nature; by which means the poorest inhabitants are effectually secured from imposition, in so capital an article as the necessaries of life.

Manufactures and trade are at present greatly decayed in Persia, the people having had no interval of peace to recover themselves since the death of Kerim Khan to the present period: but if a regular and permanent government were once again to be established, there is little doubt but they would flourish, as the Persians are very ingenious, of quick capacities, and even the lower class of artificers are industrious and diligent. They work in filligree and ivory remarkably well, and are good turners. They have at Shirauz a glass manufactory, where they cast very good glass, of which great quantities are exported to different parts of Persia; by which the manufacturers acquire considerable profit. Most of the woollen goods, silks and worked linens, are brought from Yezd and Carmania, from both of which places they also export felts and carpets. A great quantity of copper is produced from Tauris, and

other of the more northern parts of Persia. Kòm is remarkable for excellent sword blades; but at present all trade with Europeans is stopped; and the state of the country does not promise a speedy return of it. India goods are imported chiefly from Abu Shehr. In matters of trade amongst the natives, the whole is under the regulation of the Caloónter, or town-clerk, who regulates the duties to be paid to the Khan on all imports: this is sometimes executed with a severity which leaves the merchant little or no profit upon his goods.

The climate of Shirauz is one of the most agreeable in the world, the extremes of heat and cold being seldom felt. During the spring of the year, the face of the country appears uncommonly beautiful. The flowers, of which they have a great variety, and of the brightest hues, the fragrant herbs, shrubs, and plants, the rose, the sweet basil, and the myrtle, all here contribute to refresh and perfume the natural mildness of the air. The nightingale of the garden (called by the Persians *Boolbul Hezar Daftaan*) the goldfinch, and the linnæ, by their melodious warblings, at this delightful season of the year, serve to add to the satisfaction of the mind, and to inspire it with the most pleasing ideas. Their mornings and evenings are cool, but the middle of the day is very pleasant. In summer, the thermometer seldom rises above seventy-three in the day-time, and at night it generally sinks as low as sixty-two. The autumn is the worst season of the year, that being the time when the rains begin to fall, and during the autumnal months it is considered by natives as the most unhealthy; colds,

colds, fluxes, and fevers being very general. In winter, a vast deal of snow falls, and very thick, but ice is rarely to be found, except on the summits of the mountains, or towards Ispahan, and the more northern parts of Persia. One thing, which is most to be esteemed in this country, and renders it preferable to any other part of the world, is their nights, which are always clear and bright; and the dew, that in most places is of so pernicious and dangerous a nature, is not of the least ill consequence here: there is none at all in summer, and in the other seasons it is of such a nature, that if the brightest scimitar should be exposed to it all the night, it would not receive the least rust; a circumstance I have myself experienced. This dryness in the air causes their buildings to last a great while, and is undoubtedly one of the principal reasons that the celebrated ruins of Persepolis have endured for so many ages, and comparatively speaking, in so perfect a state; that place being situated in much such another valley as Shirauz, and but two days journey from thence. The nights in Persia, and more particularly in the southern parts of it, are most excellently adapted for the science of astronomy, being of extraordinary brightness, and far preferable in that point to what I have observed in any country in which it has been my fortune to reside.

In attempting to say any thing of the character of the Persians, I am sensible of the difficulty of the undertaking, from my being so short a time amongst them. An acquaintance with the real character of a people, is only capable of being attained by a very long residence;

yet as, during my stay in Persia, from the situation I was placed in, by living in a native family, I had an opportunity of seeing more of the nature and disposition of the middling sort of people, and their manners and customs, than perhaps has fallen to the lot of most travellers, I am induced to give the few observations I made during that period. The Persians, with respect to outward behaviour, are certainly the Parisians of the East. Whilst a rude and insolent demeanour peculiarly marks the character of the Turkish nation towards foreigners and Christians, the behaviour of the Persians would, on the contrary, do honour to the most civilized nations: they are kind, courteous, civil and obliging to all strangers, without being guided by those religious prejudices so very prevalent in every other Mahomedan nation; they are fond of enquiring after the manners and customs of Europe; and, in return, very readily afford any information in respect to their own country. The practice of hospitality is with them so grand a point, that a man thinks himself highly honoured, if you will enter his house and partake of what the family affords; whereas, going out of a house, without smoking a *Calean*, or taking any other refreshment, is deemed, in Persia, a high affront; they say that every meal a stranger partakes with them, brings a blessing upon the house: to account for this, we must understand it as a pledge of faith and protection, when we consider that the continual wars in which this country has been involved, with very little cessation, since the extinction of the *Sefi* family, have greatly tended to an universal depravity

pravity of disposition; and a perpetual inclination to acts of hostility. This has lessened that softness and urbanity of manners for which this nation has been at all former times so famous; and has at the same time too much extinguished all sentiments of honour, and humanity amongst those of higher rank.

The Persians, in their conversation, aim much at elegance, and are perpetually repeating verses and passages from the works of their most favourite poets, Hafiz, Sâdi, and Jâmi; a practice universally prevalent, from the highest to the lowest; because those who have not the advantages of reading and writing, or the other benefits arising from education, by the help of their memories, which are very retentive, and what they learn by heart, are always ready to bear their part in conversation. They also delight much in jokes and quaint expressions, and are fond of playing upon each other; which they sometimes do with great elegance and irony. There is one thing much to be admired in their conversations, which is the strict attention they always pay to the person speaking, whom they never interrupt on any account. They are in general a personable, and in many respects a handsome people; their complexions, saving those who are exposed to the inclemencies of the weather, are as fair as Europeans.

The women at Shirauz have at all times been celebrated over those of other parts of Persia for their beauty, and not without reason. Of those whom I had the fortune to see during my residence, and who were mostly relations and friends of the family I lived in, many were tall and well-shaped; but their

bright and sparkling eyes was a very striking beauty: this, however, is in a great measure owing to art, as they rub their eye-brows and eye-lids with the black powder of antimony (called *furma*) which adds an incomparable brilliancy to their natural lustre. The large black eye is in most estimation among the Persians, and this is the most common at Shirauz. The women, as in all Mahomedan countries, are, down to the meanest, covered with a veil from head to foot, so that a sight is never to be obtained of them in the street. After marriage, they are subject to the strictest confinement. The husband thinks himself affronted even by the inquiry of a friend after the health of his wife. Calling her by name, is never allowed; the mode of address must be, "May the mother of such a son, or such a daughter, be happy; I hope she is in health." And none, except those of the nearest kin, as a brother, or uncle, are ever allowed to see the females of the family unveiled.

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*Extracts from Observations in a Journey through Italy, by Mrs. Piozzi.*

Turin, Oct. 17, 1784.

WE have at length passed the Alps, and are safely arrived at this lovely little city, whence I look back on the majestic boundaries of Italy, with amazement at his courage who first profaned them; surely the immediate sensation conveyed to the mind by the sight of such tremendous appearances must be in every traveller the same, a sensation of fulness never experienced before, a satisfaction that there is something great to be seen on

on earth—some object capable of contenting even fancy. Who he was who first of all people pervaded these fortifications, raised by nature for the defence of her European Paradise, is not ascertained; but the great Duke of Savoy has wisely left his name engraved on a monument upon the first considerable ascent from Pont Bonvoisin, as being author of a beautiful road cut through the solid stone for a great length of way, and having by this means encouraged others to assist in facilitating a passage so truly desirable, till one of the great wonders now to be observed among the Alps, is the ease with which even a delicate traveller may cross them. In these prospects, colouring is carried to its utmost point of perfection, particularly at the time I found it, variegated with golden touches of autumnal tints; immense cascades mean time bursting from naked mountains on the one side; cultivated fields, rich with vineyards, on the other, and tufted with elegant shrubs that invite one to pluck and carry them away to where they would be treated with much more respect. Little towns sticking in the clefts, where one would imagine it was impossible to clamber; light clouds often sailing under the feet of the high-perched inhabitants, while the sound of a deep and rapid though narrow river, dashing with violence among the insolently impeding rocks at the bottom, and bells in thickly-scattered spires calling the quiet Savoyards to church upon the steep sides of every hill—fill one's mind with such mutable, such various ideas, as no other place can ever possibly afford.

I had the satisfaction of seeing a chamois at a distance, and spoke

with a fellow who had killed five hungry bears that made depredation on his pastures: we looked on him with reverence as a monster-tamer of antiquity, Hercules or Cadmus; he had the skin of a beast wrapt round his middle, which confirmed the fancy—but our servants, who borrowed from no fictitious records the few ideas that adorned their talk, told us he reminded *them* of *John the Baptist*. I had scarce recovered the shock of this too sublime comparison, when we approached his cottage, and found the felons nailed against the wall, like foxes heads or spread kites in England. Here are many goats, but neither white nor large, like those which browse upon the steeps of Snowdon, or clamber among the cliffs of Plinlimmon.

Going down the Italian side of the Alps is, after all, an astonishing journey; and affords the most magnificent scenery in nature, which varying at every step, gives new impression to the mind each moment of one's passage; while the portion of terror excited either by real or fancied dangers on the way, is just sufficient to mingle with the pleasure, and make one feel the full effect of sublimity. To the chairmen who carry one though, nothing can be new; it is observable that the glories of these objects have never faded—I heard them speak to each other of their beauties, and the change of light since they had passed by last time, while a fellow who spoke English as well as a native told us, that having lived in a gentleman's service twenty years between London and Dublin, he at length begged his discharge, chusing to retire and finish his days a peasant upon these mountains, where he first opened his eyes upon scenes

scenes that made all other views of nature insipid to his taste.

This charming town is the *salon* of Italy; but it is a finely proportioned and well-ornamented *salon*, happily constructed to call in the fresh air at the end of every street, through which a rapid stream is directed, that *ought* to carry off all nuisances, which here have no apology from want of any convenience purchasable by money; and which must for that reason be the choice of inhabitants, who would perhaps be too happy, had they a natural taste for that neatness which might here be enjoyed in its purity. The arches formed to defend passengers from the rain and sun, which here might have even serious effects from their violence, deserve much praise; while their architecture, uniting our ideas of comfort and beauty together, form a traveller's taste, and teach him to admire that perfection, of which a miniature may certainly be found at Turin, when once a police shall be established there to prevent such places being used for the very grossest purposes, and polluted with smells that poison all one's pleasure.

### M I L A N.

The phrase of *mistress* is here not confined to servants at all; gentlemen, when they address one, cry, *mia padrona*\*, mighty sweetly, and in a peculiarly pleasing tone. Nothing, to speak truth, can exceed the agreeableness of a well-bred Italian's address when speaking to a lady, whom they alone know how to flatter, so as to retain her dignity, and not lose their own: respectful, yet tender; attentive, not officious; the politeness of a

\* My mistress.

man of fashion *here* is true politeness; free from all affectation, and honestly expressive of what he really feels, a true value for the person spoken to, without the smallest desire of shining himself; equally removed from foppery on one side, or indifference on the other. The manners of the men here are certainly pleasing to a very eminent degree, and in their conversation there is a mixture, not unfrequent too, of classical allusions, which strike one with a sort of literary pleasure I cannot easily describe. Yet is there no pedantry in their use of expressions, which with us would be laughable or liable to censure: but Roman notions here are not quite extinct; and even the house-maid, or *donna di gros*, as they call her, swears by *Diana* so comically, there is no telling. They christen their boys *Fabius*, their daughters *Claudia*, very commonly. When they mention a thing known, as we say, to *Tom o' Styles* and *John o' Nokes*, they use the words *Fizio* and *Sempronio*. A lady tells me, she was at a loss about the dance yesterday evening, because she had not been instructed in the *programma*; and a gentleman, talking of the pleasures he enjoyed supping last night at a friend's house, exclaims, *Eramo pur jeri sera in Appolline* \*! alluding to Lucullus's entertainment given to Pompey and Cicero, as I remember, in the chamber of Apollo. But here is enough of this—more of it, in their own pretty phrase, *seccarebbe pur Nettunno* †.

We have all heard much of Italian

\* We passed yester evening as if we had been in the Apollo.

† Would dry up old Neptune himself.



cicisbeism; I had a mind to know how matters really stood; and took the nearest way to information by asking a mighty beautiful and apparently artless young creature, *not noble*, how that affair was managed, for there is no harm done *I am sure*, said I: "Why no," replied she, "no great *harm* to be sure: except wearisome attentions from a man one cares little about: for my own part," continued she, "I detest the custom, as I happen to love my husband excessively, and desire nobody's company in the world but his. We are not *people of fashion* though you know, nor at all rich; so how should we set fashions for our betters? They would only say, see how jealous he is! if *Mr. Such-a-one* sat much with me at home, or went with me to the Corso; and I *must* go with some gentleman you know: and the men are such ungenerous creatures, and have such ways with them: I want money often, and this *cavaliere servente* pays the bills, and so the connection draws closer—*that's all*." And your husband! said I—"Oh, why he likes to see me well-dressed; he is very good-natured, and very charming; I love him to my heart." And your confessor! cried I.—"Oh, why he is *used to it*."—in the Milanese dialect—*assuefà*.

## V E N I C E.

General knowledge, it must be confessed (meaning that general stock that every one recurs to for the common intercourse of conversation), will be found more frequently in France, than even in England; where, though all cultivate the arts of table eloquence and assembly-room rhetoric, few,

from mere shyness, venture to gather in the profits of their plentiful harvest; but rather cloud their countenances with mock importance, while their hearts feel no hope beat higher in them, than the humble one of escaping without being ridiculed; or than in Italy, where nobody dreams of cultivating conversation at all—as *an art*; or studies for any other than the natural reason, of informing or diverting themselves, without the most distant idea of gaining admiration, or shining in company, by the quantity of science they have accumulated in solitude. *Here* no man lies awake in the night for vexation that he missed recollecting the last line of a Latin epigram till the moment of application was lost; nor any lady changes colour with trepidation at the severity visible in her husband's countenance when the chickens are over-roasted, or the ice-creams melt with the room's excessive heat.

Among the noble Senators of Venice, meantime, many good scholars, many Belles Lettres conversers, and what is more valuable, many thinking men, may be found, and found hourly, who employ their powers wholly in care for the state; and make their pleasure, like true patriots, out of *her felicity*. The ladies indeed appear to study but *one science*;

And where the lesson taught

Is but to please, can pleasure seem a fault?

Like all sensualists, however, they fail of the end proposed, from hurry to obtain it; and consume those charms which alone can procure them continuance or change of admirers; they injure their health too irreparably, and *that* in their earliest

liest youth; for few remain unmarried till fifteen, and at thirty have a wan and faded look. *On ne goute pas ses plaisirs icy, on les avale\**, said Madame la Presidente yesterday, very judiciously; yet it is only speaking popularly that one can be supposed to mean, what however no one much refuses to assert, that the Venetian ladies are amorously inclined: the truth is, no check being put upon inclination, each acts according to immediate impulse; and there are more devotees, perhaps, and more doating mothers at Venice than any where else, for the same reason as there are more females who practise gallantry, only because there are more women there who *do their own way*, and follow unrestrained where passion, appetite, or imagination lead them.

To try Venetian dames by English rules, would be worse than all the tyranny complained of when some East Indian was condemned upon the Coventry act for sitting his wife's nose; a common practice in *his* country, and perfectly agreeable to custom and the *usage du pays*. Here is no struggle for female education as with us, no resources in study, no duties of family-management; no bill of fare to be looked over in the morning, no account-book to be settled at noon; no necessity of reading, to supply without disgrace the evening's chat; no laughing at the card-table, or tittering in the corner if a *lapsus linguæ* has produced a mistake, which malice never fails to record. A lady in Italy is *sure* of applause, so she takes little pains to obtain it.

\* They do not taste their pleasures here, they swallow them whole.

A Venetian lady has in particular so sweet a manner naturally, that she really charms without any fettered intent to do so, merely from that irresistible good-humour and mellituous tone of voice which seize the soul, and detain it in despite of Juno-like majesty, or Minerva-like wit. Nor ever was there prince or shepherd, Paris I think was both, who would not have bestowed his apple *here*.

Mean while my countryman Howel laments that the women at Venice are so little. But why so? the diminutive progeny of *Vulcan*, the *Cabirs*, mysteriously adored of old, were of a size below that of the least living woman, if we believe Herodotus; and they were worshipped with more constant as well as more fervent devotion, than the symmetrical goddess of Beauty herself.

A custom which prevails here, of wearing little or no rouge, and increasing the native paleness of their skins, by scarce lightly wiping the very white powder from their faces, is a method no Frenchwoman of quality would like to adopt; yet surely the Venetians are not behindhand in the art of gaining admirers; and they do not, like their painters, depend upon *colouring* to ensure it.

The longevity of this incomparable commonwealth is a certain proof of its temperance, exercise, and cheerfulness, the great preservatives in every body, *politic* as well as *natural*. Nor should the love of peace be left out of her eulogium, who has so often reconciled contending princes, that Thuanus gave her, some centuries ago, due praise for her pacific disposition, so necessary to the health of a commercial state, and

and called her city *civilis prudentiæ officina*.

Another reason may be found for the long-continued prosperity of Venice, in her constant adherence to a precept, the neglect of which must at length shake, or rather loosen the foundations of every state; for it is a maxim here, handed down from generation to generation, that change breeds more mischief from its novelty, than advantage from its utility:—quoting the axiom in Latin, it runs thus: *Ipsa mutatio consuetudinis magis perturbat novitate, quam adjuvat utilitate*. And when Henry the Fourth of France solicited the abrogation of one of the Senate's decrees, her ambassador replied, That *li decreti di Venezia rassomigliavano poco i Gridi di Parigi* \*, meaning the declaratory publications of the Grand Monarque, — proclaimed to-day, perhaps, repealed to-morrow—“for Sire,” added he, “our senate deliberates long before it decrees, but what is once decreed there is seldom or ever recalled.”

The patriotism inherent in the breasts of individuals makes another strong cause of this state's exemption from decay: they say themselves, that the soul of old Rome has transmigrated to Venice, and that every galley which goes into action considers itself as charged with the fate of the commonwealth. *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*, seems a sentence grown obsolete in other Italian states, but is still in full force here; and I doubt not but the high-born and high-souled ladies of this day, would willingly, as did their generous ancestors in

1600, part with their rings, bracelets, every ornament, to make ropes for those ships which defend their dearer country.

Most of the second rank; and I believe *all* of the first rank among them, have some share in governing the rest; it is therefore necessary to exclude ignorance, and natural to encourage social pleasures. Each individual feels his own importance, and scorns to contribute to the degradation of the whole, by indulging a gross depravity of manners, or at least of principles. Every person lifted one degree from the lowest, finds it his interest as well as duty to love his country, and lend his little support to the general fabric of a state they all know how to respect; while the very vulgar willingly perform the condition exacted, and punctually pay obedience for protection. They have an unlimited confidence in their rulers, who live amongst them; and can desire only their utmost good. *How* they are governed, comes seldom into their heads to enquire; “*Che ne pensa lui* \*,” says a low Venetian, if you ask him, and humorously points at a Clarissimo passing by while you talk. They have indeed all the reason to be certain, that where the power is divided among such numbers, one will be sure to counteract another if mischief towards the whole be intended.

R O M E .

This is the first town in Italy I have arrived at yet, where the ladies fairly drive up and down a long street, by way of shewing their dress, equipages, &c. without even

\* The decrees of Venice little resemble the *edicts* of Paris.

\* Let *him* look to that.

a pretence of taking fresh air. At Turin, the view from the place destined to this amusement, would tempt one out merely for its own sake; and at Milan they drive along a planted walk, at least a stone's throw beyond the gates. Bologna calls its serious inhabitants to a little rising ground, whence the prospect is luxuriantly verdant and smiling. The Lucca bastions are beyond all in a peculiar style of miniature beauty; and even the Florentines, though lazy enough, creep out to Porto St. Gallo. But here at Roma la Santa, the street is all our Corso; a fine one doubtless, and called the *Strada del Popolo*, with infinite propriety, for except in that strada, there is little populousness enough, God knows. Twelve men to a woman even there, and as many ecclesiastics to a layman: all this however is fair, when celibacy is once enjoined as a duty in one profession, encouraged as a virtue in all.

*Au reste*, as the French say, we must not be too sure that all who dress like Abates are such. Many gentlemen wear black as the court garb; many because it is not costly, and many for reasons of mere convenience and dislike of change.

I see not here the attractive beauty which caught my eye at Venice; but the women at Rome have a most Juno-like carriage, and fill up one's idea of Livia and Agrippina well enough. The men have rounder faces than one sees in other towns I think; bright, black, and somewhat prominent eyes, with the finest teeth in Europe. A story

told me this morning, struck my fancy much; of an herb-woman, who kept a stall here in the market, and who, when the people ran out flocking to see the queen of Naples as she passed, began exclaiming to her neighbours—" *Ah, povera Roma! tempo fu quando passò qui prigioniera la regina Zenobia; altra cosa amica, robba tutta diversa di questa reginuccia \*!* "

St. Peter's church is incontestably the first object in this city, so crowded with single figures; that this church should be built in the form of a Latin cross instead of a Greek one may be wrong for aught I know; that columns would have done better than piers inside, I do not think; but that whatever has been done by man might have been done better, if that is all the critics want, I readily allow. This church is, after all their objections, nearer to perfect than any other building in the world; and when Michael Angelo, looking at the Pantheon, said, "Is this the best our vaunted ancestors could do? if so, I will shew the advancement of the art, in suspending a dome of equal size to this up in the air." He made a glorious boast, and was perhaps the only person ever existing who could have performed his promise.

The figures of angels, or rather cherubims, eight feet high, which support the vases holding holy water, as they are made after the form of babies, do perfectly and closely represent infants of eighteen or twenty months old; nor till one comes quite close to them indeed, is it possible to discern that they

\* " Ah, poor degraded Rome! time was, my dear, when the great Zenobia passed through these streets in chains; another's figure from this little Queeny, in good time!"

are colossal. This is brought by some as a proof of the exact proportions kept, and of the prodigious space occupied, by the area of this immense edifice; and urged by others, as a peculiarity of the *human* body to deceive so at a distance, most unjustly: for one is surprised exactly in the same manner by the doves which ornament the church in various parts of it. *They* likewise appear of the natural size, and completely within one's reach upon entering the door, but soon as approached, recede to a considerable height, and prove their magnitude nicely proportioned to that of the angels and other decorations.

The canopied altar, and its appurtenances, are likewise all colossal, I think, when they tell me of four hundred and fifty thousand pounds weight of bronze brought from the Pantheon, and used to form the wreathed pillars which support, and the torques that adorn it. Yet airy lightness and exquisite elegance are the characteristics of the fabric, not gloomy greatness, or heavy solidity. How immense then must be the space it stands on! four hundred and sixty-seven of my steps carried me from the door to the end. Warwick castle would be contained in its middle *aisle*. Here are one hundred and twenty silver lamps, each larger than I could lift, constantly burning round the altar, and one never sees either them, or the light they dispense, till forced upon the observation of them, so completely are they lost in the general grandeur of the whole. In short, with a profusion of wealth that astonishes, and of splendour that

dazzles, as soon as you enter on an examination of its secondary parts, every man's *first* impression at entering St. Peter's church, must be surprise at seeing it so clear of superfluous ornament. Getting on the top of this stupendous edifice, is however the readiest way to fill one's mind with a deserving notion of its extent, capacity, and beauty; nor is any operation easier, so happily contrived is the ascent. Contrivance here is an ill-chosen word too, so luminous, so convenient is the walk, so spacious the galleries beside, that all idea of danger is removed, when you perceive that even round the undefended cornice, our king's state coach might be most safely driven.

The monuments, although incomparable, scarcely obtain a share of your admiration for the first ten times of your surveying the place; Guglielmo della Porta's famous figure, supporting that dedicated to the memory of Paul the Third, was found so happy an imitation of female beauty by some madman here however, that it is said he was inflamed with a *Pigmalion*-like passion for it, of which the Pontiff hearing, commanded the statue to be draped. The steps at almost the end of this church we have all heard were porphyry, and so they are; how many hundred feet long I have now forgotten:—no matter; what I have not forgotten is, that I thought as I looked at them—why so they *should* be porphyry—and that was all. While the vases and cisterns of the same beautiful substance at Villa Borghese attracted my wonder; and Clement X.'s urn, at St. John de Lateran, appeared to me an urn fitter for

the ashes of an Egyptian monarch, Busiris or Sesostris, than for a Christian priest or sovereign, since universal dominion has been abolished. Nothing, however, can look very grand in St. Peter's church; and though I saw the general benediction given (I hope partook it) upon Easter Day, my constant impression was, that the people were below the place; no pomp, no glare, no dove and glory on the chair of state, but what looked too little for the area that contained them. Sublimity disdains to catch the vulgar eye, she elevates the soul; nor can long-drawn processions, or splendid ceremonies, suffice to content those travellers who seek for images that never tarnish, and for truths that never can decay. Pius Sextus, in his morning dress, paying his private devotions at the altar, without any pageantry, and with very few attendants, struck me more a thousand and a thousand times, than when, arrayed in gold, in colours, and diamonds, he was carried to the front of a balcony big enough to have contained the conclave; and there, shaded by two white fans, which though really enormous, looked no larger than that a girl carries in her pocket, pronounced words which on account of the height they came from were difficult to hear.

All this is known and felt by the managers of these theatrical exhibitions to certainly, that they judiciously confine great part of them to the *Capella Sestini*, which being large enough to impress the mind with its solemnity, and not spacious enough for the priests, congregation, and all, to be lost in it, is well adapted for those various functions

that really make Rome a scene of perpetual gala during the holy week; which an English friend here protested to me he had never spent with so little devotion in his life before. The *miserere* has, however, a strong power over one's mind—the absence of all instrumental music, the steadiness of so many human voices, the gloom of the place, the picture of Michael Angelo's last judgment covering its walls, united with the mourning dress of the spectators—is altogether calculated with great ingenuity to give a sudden stroke to the imagination, and kindle that temporary blaze of devotion it is wisely enough intended to excite.

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*Account of a singular Custom at Metelin, with some Conjectures on the Antiquity of its Origin. By the Right Honourable James Earl of Charlemont, President R. I. A. From the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, 1789.*

Though the extreme beauty and amenity of the Grecian islands, especially those on the Asiatic side of the Egean sea, may render it difficult to make a choice among them, yet, if I were desired to declare a preference, I should probably fix on Metelin, the ancient Lesbos.—This enchanting island, proud of the birth of Alcaeus and of Sappho, still retains those charms which gave rise and inspiration to their poetry; and though its groves no more resound with their sacred strains, the cause that inspired them still seems to exist, and love still lingers in his favourite retreat.—

Spirat adhuc Amor  
 Vivuntque commissi Calores  
 Æoliæ Fidibus Puellæ!

The trembling leaves, while universal Pan,  
 Knit with the Graces, and the Hours in  
 dance,  
 Leads on the eternal spring!—

Nature here reigns triumphant, and by shewing what she can perform alone and unassisted, teaches us to despise the weak efforts of her inadequate mimick.—The mountains, whose rugged tops exhibit a pleasing interspersion of rocks and of pine groves, have their green sides, for many miles along the coast, covered with olives, whose less agreeable verdure is corrected, embellished, and brightened by a lively mixture of bays and of laurels aspiring to the height of forest trees, of myrtles, pomegranates, and of arbutes, rich at once in blossom and in berry, of mulberries growing wild, and laden with fruit, and of every other tree

Of noblest kind for sight, smell, taste!

While the luxuriant vine, climbing wild and unrestrained even to their topmost branches, adorns and enriches them with its vivid green, and with its clustering fruit.—Winter is here unknown.—The climate forbids it.—The verdure is perpetual, and the frequency of evergreens gives to December the colour of June.—The parching heat of summer is never felt.—The thick shade of trees, and thousands of crystal springs, which every where arise, and form themselves into unnumbered rivulets, joined to the refreshing sea breeze, the constant companion and corrective of noon-tide heat, qualify the burning air, and render the year a never-ending May—

—————Airs, vernal airs!  
 Breathing the smell of field and grove,  
 accurs

No wonder then if the inhabitants, the better to enjoy these various beauties, should construct their houses in the following peculiar manner:—each house is a square tower neatly built of hewn stone, so high as to overtop the trees, and to command a view of the sea and neighbouring islands.—The lower stories are granaries and store-houses, and the habitable apartments are all at the top, to which you ascend by a stone stair, built, for the most part, on the outside, and surrounding the tower, so that from the apartments the trees are overlooked, and the whole country is seen, while the habitations themselves, which are very numerous, peering above the groves, add life and variety to the enchanting prospect, and give an air of human population to these woodlands, which might otherwise be supposed the region of Dryads, of Naiads, and of Satyrs.

But the charms of this delightful spot have so far transported my imagination, that I have almost forgotten the subject of which, in this essay, I meant to treat, and which is no other than a remarkable and singular custom of this island, peculiar, I believe, to itself, and, as far as I know, never yet detailed by any traveller.

The women here seem to have arrogated to themselves the department and privileges of the men.—Contrary to the usage of all other countries, the eldest daughter here inherits, and the sons, like daughters every where else, are portioned off with small dowers, or, which is

still worse, turned out, pennylefs, to seek their fortune.—If a man has two daughters, the eldest, at her marriage, is entitled to all her mother's possessions, which are by far the greater part of the family estate, as the mother, keeping up her prerogative, never parts with the power over any portion of what she has brought into the family, until she is forced into it by the marriage of her daughter, and the father also is compelled to ruin himself by adding whatever he may have scraped together by his industry.—The second daughter inherits nothing, and is condemned to perpetual celibacy.—She is styled a Calogria, which signifies properly a religious woman or nun, and is in effect menial servant to her sister, being employed by her in any office she may think fit to impose, frequently serving her as waiting maid, as cook, and often in employments still more degrading.—She wears a habit peculiar to her situation, which she can never change, a sort of monastick dress, coarse, and of dark brown. One advantage however she enjoys over her sister, that whereas the elder, before marriage, is never allowed to go abroad, or to see any man, her nearest relations only excepted, the Calogria, except when employed in domestick toil, is in this respect at perfect liberty.—But when the sister is married, the situation of the poor Calogria becomes desperate indeed, and is rendered still more humiliating by the comparison between her condition and that of her happy mistress. The married sister enjoys every sort of liberty—the whole family fortune

is her's; and she spends it as she pleases—her husband is her obsequious servant—her father and mother are dependant upon her—she dresses in the most magnificent manner, covered all over, according to the fashion of the island, with pearls and with pieces of gold, which are commonly sequins\*; thus continually carrying about her the enviable marks of affluence and superiority, while the wretched Calogria follows her as a servant, arrayed in simple homespun brown, and without the most distant hope of ever changing her condition. Such a disparity may seem intolerable, but what will not custom reconcile? Neither are the misfortunes of the family yet at an end.—The father and mother, with what little is left them, contrive by their industry to accumulate a second little fortune, and this, if they should have a third daughter, they are obliged to give to her upon her marriage, and the fourth, if there should be one, becomes her Calogria; and so on through all the daughters alternately. Whenever the daughter is marriageable, she can by custom compel the father to procure her a husband, and the mother, such is the power of habit, is foolish enough to join in teasing him into an immediate compliance, though its consequences must be equally fatal and ruinous to both of them. From hence it happens that nothing is more common than to see the old father and mother reduced to the utmost indigence, and even begging about the streets, while their unnatural daughters are in affluence; and we ourselves have

\* This species of finery, which prevails through many of the islands, is never worn in Metelin, but when full dress is deemed necessary.



frequently been shewn the eldest daughter parading it through the town in the greatest splendour, while her mother and sister followed her as servants, and made a melancholy part of her attendant train.

The sons, as soon as they are of an age to gain a livelihood, are turned out of the family, sometimes with a small present or portion, but more frequently without any thing to support them; and thus reduced, they either endeavour to live by their labour, or, which is more usual, go on board some trading vessel as sailors or as servants, remaining abroad till they have got together some competency, and then returning home to marry and to be hen-pecked. Some few there are who, taking advantage of the Turkish law, break through this whimsical custom, who marry their Calogrias, and retain to themselves a competent provision; but these are accounted men of a singular and even criminal disposition, and are hated and despised as conformists to Turkish manners, and deserters of their native customs; so that we may suppose they are few indeed who have the boldness to depart from the manners of their country, to adopt the customs of their detested masters, and to brave the contempt, the derision, and the hatred of their neighbours and fellow-citizens.

Of all these extraordinary particulars I was informed by the French consul, a man of sense and of indisputable veracity, who had resided in this island for several years,

and who solemnly assured me that every circumstance was true; but indeed our own observation left us without the least room for doubt, and the singular appearance and deportment of the ladies fully evinced the truth of our friend's relation. In walking through the town it is easy to perceive, from the whimsical manners of the female passengers, that the women, according to the vulgar phrase, *wear the breeches*. They frequently stopped us in the streets, examined our dresses, interrogated us with a bold and manly air\*, laughed at our foreign garb and appearance, and shewed so little attention to that decent modesty, which is, or ought to be, the true characteristic of the sex, that there is every reason to suppose they would, in spite of their haughtiness, be the kindest ladies upon earth, if they were not strictly watched by the Turks, who are here very numerous, and would be ready to punish any transgression of their ungallant laws with arbitrary fines. But nature and native manners will often baffle the efforts even of tyranny. In all their customs, these manly ladies seem to have changed sexes with the men.—The woman rides astride—the man sits sideways upon the horse. Nay, I have been assured that the husband's distinguishing appellation is his wife's family name.—The women have town and country houses, in the management of which the husband never dares interfere.—Their gardens, their servants, are all their own; and the husband,

\* In the nineteenth epistle of the first book, Horace applies an epithet to Sappho, which might with great aptness be given to her present countrywomen;

“Temperat Archilochi Musam pede mascula Sappho.”

from every circumstance of his behaviour, appears to be no other than his wife's first domestic, perpetually bound to her service, and slave to her caprice. Hence it is that a tradition obtains in the country, that this island was formerly inhabited by Amazons, a tradition however founded upon no ancient history that I know of. Sappho indeed, the most renowned female that this island has ever produced, is said to have had manly inclinations, in which, as Lucian informs us, she did but conform with the singular manners of her countrywomen; but I do not find that the mode in which she chose to shew these inclinations is imitated by the present female inhabitants, who seem perfectly content with the dear prerogative of absolute sway, without endeavouring in any other particular to change the course of nature; yet will this circumstance serve to shew that the women of Lesbos had always something peculiar, and even peculiarly masculine, in their manners and propensities. But be this as it may, it is certain that no country whatsoever can afford a more perfect idea of an Amazonian commonwealth, or better serve to render probable those ancient relations which our manners would induce us to esteem incredible, than this island of Metelin. These lordly ladies are, for the most part, very handsome in spite of their dress, which is singular and disadvantageous. Down to the girdle, which, as in the old Grecian garb, is raised far above what we usually call the waist, they wear nothing but a shift of thin and transparent gauze, red, green, or brown, through which every thing is visible, their breasts only except-

ed, which they cover with a sort of handkerchief; and this, as we were informed, the Turks have obliged them to wear, while they look upon it as an incumbrance, and as no inconsiderable portion of Turkish tyranny. Long sleeves of the same thin material, perfectly shew their arms even to the shoulder. Their principal ornaments are chains of pearl, to which they hang small pieces of gold coin. Their eyes are large and fine; and the nose, which we term Grecian, usually prevails among them, as it does indeed among the women of all these islands. Their complexions are naturally fine, but they spoil them by paint, of which they make abundant use, and they disfigure their pretty faces by shaving the hinder part of the eyebrow, and replacing it with a strait line of hair, neatly applied with some sort of gum, the brow being thus continued in a strait and narrow line till it joins the hair on each side of their face. They are well made, of the middle size, and, for the most part, plump; but they are distinguished by nothing so much and so universally, as by a haughty, disdainful, and supercilious air, with which they seem to look down upon all mankind as creatures of an inferior nature, born for their service, and doomed to be their slaves; neither does this peculiarity of countenance in any degree diminish their natural beauty, but rather adds to it that sort of bewitching attraction, which the French call *piquant*.

In the sequel of this paper, lord Charlemont has endeavoured with great learning and ingenuity to trace the origin of this extraordinary custom up to the first settlement of the island by the Lycians, accord-

ing to Diodorus, thirty or forty centuries ago; amongst whom we have the authority of Plutarch, that the same usages prevailed. It would indeed, as he adds, be whimsically curious, if we could allow ourselves to imagine that a singular custom at this day subsisting could be traced back to an origin so very remote, and should have taken its rise in a period when the world was yet in its infancy; or that the relations of Diodorus and of Plutarch, which, considering the times of which they treat, might, with much appearance of reason, be deemed fabulous, should be corroborated, and, as it were, authenticated by a custom at this day subsisting.

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*Curious Letter from the Teshoo Lama to Governor Hastings; from Transactions of the Royal Edinburgh Society.*

**M**R. Maconochie communicated from Robert Bogle, of Daldowie, esq. a copy of a letter, written in 1773, by the Teshoo Lama of Thibet, to Warren Hastings, esquire, governor general of Bengal, while a brother of Mr. Bogle's was residing at the Lama's court, as envoy from Mr. Hastings. Mr. Maconochie remarked, that the turn of thought and expression rendered the letter a very great curiosity; but that it was still more interesting on two accounts: 1st, That it established beyond all question, that the Teshoo Lama, though a pontiff of inferior rank to the Dalai Lama, is understood to possess the soul of saints, or divine personages that flourished in former times, and to retain the remembrance of

what happened to them in those past periods of existence. 2dly. That the same places which are regarded in Bengal as peculiarly sacred, are likewise regarded by the religion of Fo as holy; that the Teshoo Lama, in some of his former states of existence, is supposed to have resided in those places; that the Ganges, so revered among the Brahmins, is also revered by the worshippers of Fo; and that the reference by the followers of that religion in Japan to some region in India, as the origin and holy land of their faith, is here ascertained to belong to Bengal. These circumstances, he thought, suggested very important reflections with regard to the history of the religions of Eastern Asia.

The letter is as follows:

From TESHOO LAMA to the Governor.

*Received the 22d July, 1775.*

“ Mr. Bogle, whom, out of your kindness, you were pleased to send into this quarter, having (thank God) arrived here in perfect health, I had, at an auspicious hour, the pleasure of an interview with him, and was rendered so completely happy on the occasion, that it might in reality have been thought an interview with yourself. The letter which you addressed to me, and the presents you sent by Mr. Bogle, I have likewise received safe. May your happiness and prosperity daily increase. All the particulars which Mr. Bogle verbally represented to me, I perfectly understand. You were pleased to write me, that you had sent orders for establishing peace with the Debe Dorin, agreeable to my request. True; the pleasure

pleasure these particulars gave me, it is impossible to express. When you, out of pure friendship, are induced thus readily to comply with a request of mine, what return can I make you for it, but offer you my prayers? You have laid me under an obligation to you for ever; and I hope that you will every where prove victorious and successful. What can I say to you of my own situation? In former ages, I repeatedly received my existence from Allahabad, Benares, Patna, Purnea, and other places in Bengal and Orissa; and having ever enjoyed much happiness from those places, I have imbibed a partiality for them; and a sincere love and affection for their inhabitants are strongly impressed on my heart. The well-known place of Outragund gave me my last existence; and thanks be to God, the inhabitants of this quarter are all content and satisfied with me. Where my spiritual essence will transmigrate to next, will hereafter be seen. At present, here I sit in this icy country, in obedience and subjection to the emperor of China. I have long had a desire of seeing you, and the dominions and people over whom you rule; but hitherto many causes have occurred to prevent me, whatever may happen in future. My travelling so far as your country, to obtain a personal interview with you, must, however, be attended with many unsurmountable difficulties, and Providence has decreed, that we should be at this necessary distance from each other. From this consideration, I am induced to request that you will grant me a piece of ground near the seaside, that I may build a house of

worship thereupon; and for the expences of building it, I have sent an hundred pieces of gold by Mr. Bogle, together with some carpets, cloths, and other necessaries, which he will shew you, for the decoration of it; and I request that you will do me the favour to let the house be immediately built, and the things put up; and as soon as the cold season sets in, I will certainly dispatch to you some of my own people, if not some of the family of the Lama, who is patron of the emperor of China. I hope that you will receive them with kindness, and send some of your own servants with them, to visit every place of worship at Allahabad, Benares, &c. for the discharge of their religious duties. As this country is under the absolute sovereignty of the emperor of China, who maintains an active and unrelaxed control over all its affairs; and as the forming of any connection or friendship with foreign powers is contrary to his pleasure, it will frequently be out of my power to dispatch any messengers to you. However, it will be impossible to efface the remembrance of you out of my mind; and I shall always pray for the increase of your happiness and prosperity, and, in return, I hope you will frequently favour me with accounts of your health. To avoid troubling you, and intruding longer upon your time with my incorrect style, I shall conclude this, but beg you will favour me with an answer; and I shall take an opportunity of addressing you by every person who goes from hence into your part of the world. I have represented all particulars to Mr. Bogle, who will communicate

communicate them to you, and I hope you will consent to them."

[On a separate paper.]

"Having, in compliance with my request, put an end to hostilities with the Debe Raja, and established a peace with him, you have thereby conferred upon me the greatest obligation. As a testimony whereof, I send you a present of a few things; and, although not worth acceptance, I beg you will accept of them, merely upon this consideration, that a green leaf is a present from a hermit.

*List of presents.*

- 8 Pieces of China satin.
- 1 Silver talent of China.
- 1 Pelong handkerchief.

"I can make no suitable return for your friendship from this part of the world, and I hope you will excuse it. Poorun Ker Cushoo will have the honour of paying his respects to you; and I hope you will grant him your favour and protection in the business with which he is entrusted."

# NATURAL HISTORY.

*Account of the Bouquetin, or Mountain Goat; from Coxe's Travels in Switzerland, vol. ii.*

I observed at Michael Paccard's, a guide of Chamouny, a head and horns of the male *bouquetin*, or mountain-goat, and stuffed specimens of a female and a young one.

As this animal is extremely rare, and inhabits the highest and almost inaccessible mountains, the descriptions of it have been very inaccurate and confused. But a new light has been lately thrown on the subject by Dr. Girtanner of St. Gallen, and by M. van Berchem, secretary to the Society of Sciences at Laufanne; and although these two naturalists differ in some instances, yet their joint labours have assisted in ascertaining the nature and œconomy of this curious animal. The following account, therefore, of the *bouquetin*, is drawn principally from their observations in Rozier's Journal, and from additional information obligingly communicated to me by M. van Berchem himself.

This animal is now chiefly found upon that chain which stretches from Dauphiné through Savoy to the confines of Italy, and principally on the alps bordering on Mont Blanc, which is the most elevated part of that chain. Its particular haunts are the valley of Cor-

mayor to the south of Mont Blanc, those heights which lie between Mont Blanc and the frontiers of the Vallais, and the mountains which border the Val Savarenche; but it is met with more abundantly in the mountains of the valley of Cogne, which is the frontier of the valley of Dent in Piedmont; and almost always frequents those parts that have a southern aspect.

The several names by which the *bouquetin* is known in different languages, are, in Greek, by Homer and Ælian, *Αἰξ αἰγιος*; Latin, *Ibex*, which name has been adopted by most modern naturalists; Italian, *Capra Selvatica*; German and Swiss, *Steinbock*, or Rock-goat, the female, *Etagne*, or *Ybschen* and *Ybschgeiß*, perhaps from the Latin *Ibex*; Flemish, *Wildgbeit*; French, *Bouquetin*, anciently *Bouc-estain*, the German name reversed. Belon named it *Hircus ferus*; Brisson, *Hircus Ibex*; Linnæus, *Capra Ibex*; Pennant, the *Ibex*; and Dr. Girtanner, *Capra Alpina*. I have adopted the name of *Bouquetin*, because it is the provincial appellation of the animal in the Alps.

The systematic naturalists agree in taking the specific character of the *bouquetin* from the beard, and the horns, which they describe as knobbed along the upper or anterior surface, and reclining towards the back.

The male bouquetin is larger than the tame goat, but resembles it much in the outer form. The head is small in proportion to the body, with the muzzle thick, compressed, and a little arched. The eyes are large, round, and have much fire and brilliancy. The horns large, when of a full size weighing sometimes 16 or 18 pounds, flattened before and rounded behind, with one or two longitudinal ridges, and many transverse ridges; which degenerate towards the tip into knobs; the colour dusky brown. The beard long, tawny, or dusky. The legs slender, with the hoofs short, hollow on the inside, and on the outside terminated by a salient border, like those of the chamois. The body short, thick, and strong. The tail short, naked underneath, the rest covered with long hairs, white at the base and sides, black above and at the end. Space under the tail in some tawny, in others white. The coat long, but not pendent, ash-coloured, mixed with some hoary hairs: a black list runs along the back; and there is a black spot above and below the knees. Its colour, however, like that of other animals, must necessarily vary according to its age and local circumstances.

The female has been little noticed among naturalists. She is one third less than the male, and not so corpulent: her colour is less tawny: her horns are very small, and not above eight inches long. In these, and in her figure, she resembles a goat that has been castrated whilst young. She has two teats, like the tame she-goat, and never has any beard, unless, perhaps, in an advanced age. The young ones are of a dirty grey colour, and the list

along the back is scarcely discernible.

There is a stuffed specimen of the male bouquetin of the Alps in Mr. Parkinson's, late Sir Ashton Lever's, Museum, of which I have here given some of the principal dimensions, as they are not to be found in any author that has fallen under my observation, except in Buffon's *Histoire Naturelle*; and those were taken by Mr. Daubenton from a young subject.

In a state of tranquillity, the bouquetin commonly carries the head low; but in running holds it high, and even bends it a little forward. He mounts a perpendicular rock of fifteen feet at three leaps, or rather three successive bounds of five feet each. It does not seem as if he found any footing on the rock, appearing to touch it merely to be repelled, like an elastic substance striking against a hard body. He is not supposed to take more than three successive leaps in this manner. If he is between two rocks which are near each other, and wants to reach the top, he leaps from the side of one rock to the other alternately, till he has attained the summit. He also traverses the glaciers with rapidity; but only when pursued, for otherwise he avoids them.

The bouquetins feed, during the night, in the highest woods: but the sun no sooner begins to gild the summits, than they quit the woody region, and mount, feeding in their progress, till they have reached the most considerable heights. They betake themselves to the sides of the mountains which face the east or south, and lie down in the highest places and hottest exposures: but when the sun has finished more than three

three quarters of its course, they again begin to feed, and to descend towards the woods; whither they retire when it is likely to snow, and where they always pass the winter. The bouquetins assemble in flocks, consisting at the most of ten, twelve, or fifteen; but more usually in smaller numbers. The males which are six years old and upwards, haunt more elevated places than the females and younger bouquetins; and as they advance in age are less fond of society; they become gradually hardened against the effects of extreme cold, and frequently live entirely alone.

In summer they feed principally on the *genipi* and other aromatic plants which grow in the high alps; and in winter they eat the lichens, and browse on bushes and the tender parts of trees. They prefer those spots where the dwarf birch and alpine willows grow, and where *rhododendron*, *thalictrum*, and *saxifragas*, abound.

The bouquetins having their fore legs somewhat shorter than the hind legs, naturally ascend with greater facility than they descend; for this reason nothing but the severest weather can engage them to come down into the lower regions; and even in winter, if there are a few fine days, they leave the woods and mount higher.

Winter is the season of love with them, and principally the month of January. The females go with young five months, and consequently produce in the last week of June, or the first of July. At the time of parturition they separate from the males, retire to the side of some rill, and generally bring forth only one young, though some naturalists as-

firm that they occasionally produce two.

The common cry of the bouquetin is a short sharp whistle, not unlike that of the chamois, but of less continuance: sometimes it makes a snort, and when young bleats.

The season for hunting the bouquetin is towards the end of summer, and in autumn, during the months of August and September, when they are usually in good condition. None but the inhabitants of the mountains engage in the chase; for it requires not only a head that can bear to look down from the greatest heights without terror, address and sure-footedness in the most difficult and dangerous passes, and to be an excellent marksman, but also much strength and vigour, to support hunger, cold, and prodigious fatigue. The most determined hunters of bouquetins live in the mountains of the Lower Vallais: for instance, the natives of Servan, a village in a wild and picturesque situation, four leagues from Valorine, and two or three from Martigny, are hunters, and the bouquetins being no longer found in their mountains, they hunt in those of the valley of Aost, obtaining a permission for that purpose from the inhabitants.

The female shows much attachment to her young, and even defends it against eagles, wolves, and other enemies; she takes refuge in some cavern, and presenting her head at the entrance of the hole, thus opposes the enemy.

When a bouquetin is shot, the hunters let it cool upon the spot, and then embowel it, putting the blood into one of the entrails, which is esteemed by the peasants a sovereign



reign remedy in pleurifies and some other disorders. A large bouquetin thus embowelled will weigh 180 or 200 pounds. A female weighs only from 70 to 80 pounds.

Some naturalists are of opinion, that the diminution of the race of bouquetins in the Alps is owing to his size, the monstrous length and weight of the horns, which impede him in his course; because he is driven into places where he can scarcely procure sufficient nourishment during great part of the year, where his sight becomes debilitated, and is frequently lost by the strong reflection of the sun from the ice and snow. They consider this animal rather as a native of the subalpine regions, which are covered during summer with the finest herbage, and where the bouquetins and chamois probably pastured in tranquillity, when only the lower vallies and plains were inhabited.

On the contrary, it is maintained by others, that the bouquetin is endued with strength proportionate to his size; and though he is inferior to the chamois in liveliness and agility, yet he is by no means deficient in activity; that his horns, though large and weighty, yet from their reclined position do not seem to be any impediment, but rather render him essential service when he happens to fall, or purposely throws himself down precipices to avoid his pursuers. They add also, that his natural food is rather lichens than herbs; that he is particularly fond of the young shoots of trees and shrubs; and that in all the places where he inhabits, he is found in the coldest and rudest mountains, and on the steepest rocks. From these circumstan-

ces, it is not improbable, that his present situation and manner of life is an effect of nature rather than necessity. Besides, why do the chamois, who are more hunted than the bouquetin, still inhabit the less elevated regions; and why are they not driven into the glaciers? To account for the present scarcity of the bouquetin, we need only consider the number of its enemies, in men, beasts, and birds of prey. Nor is there much cause for apprehensions, that the race will be extinct even in the Alps. But allowing that the bouquetin was no longer found in his native Alps, still we could not affirm with so much propriety that the race was extinct, as that it had migrated into a milder climate, and, with a state of domestication and more succulent food, had acquired softer manners, a form less rude, smaller and smoother horns. For it is even not improbable, that the *bircus ferus* or boucetailain of Belon, the bouquetin of the Alps, the Siberian ibex, and ægagrus, both so accurately described by Pallas, and the tame goat in all its different forms, are only varieties of the same species. Their difference in shape and manners may be sufficiently accounted for from a change of climate, situation, and food; they are found to couple freely with each other; and are asserted to produce an offspring which is fertile.

They all have a beard, which seems to be the great characteristic distinction of this genus. They differ more or less from each other in the shape of their horns, size, and coat, none of which can be esteemed certain specific distinctions. The greatest difference undoubtedly consists

consists in the horns, none of them, perhaps, except the bouquetin, having a longitudinal ridge, and some of them being even without the transverse ridges. But this difference is less perceptible, in comparing the bouquetin with the Siberian ibex, the ibex with the ægagrus, and the ægagrus with the tame goat. Nor are the horns of the Alpine bouquetin so much weightier, longer, and larger, than those of the above-mentioned animals, as to form a *certain* specific distinction.

But even if this difference should be still greater, it could never be admitted as forming a specific distinction. For the horns not only differ in individuals of the same species, but in the same individuals at different ages. If we were to attempt to arrange animals *solely* by their horns, the discriminations would be as endless as uncertain. But if, in the present instance, the Alpine bouquetin and the other species of the goat genus should be excepted from this general assertion, we have only to add, that M. van Berchen possesses the horns of a young one, produced from the union of the bouquetin and she-goat, that are exactly similar to the horns of the ægagrus, which, as Pallas asserts, resemble those of the tame goat. Climate and nutriment must have a great effect upon the horns of animals. The female of the bouquetin has horns very like those of the tame goat. It is no wonder therefore, if a long servitude, an inactive life, an exchange from the aromatic plants and pure air of the mountains to a gross nutriment and a moister atmosphere, should diminish the horns, alter their shape, subdue

the longitudinal ridge, and convert the knobs into wrinkles.

The count de Buffon extends the goat genus still further, and comprehends under it even the chamois; conjecturing, that the bouquetin is the male in the original race of goats, and the chamois the female. The French naturalist having, at the time when he described the bouquetin, never seen it in a full grown state, was probably induced to entertain this opinion from a faint resemblance between the female bouquetin and the chamois. But there does not seem the least foundation for this notion, the chamois being an animal totally distinct from the goats, never coupling with them, and judiciously classed by Pallas and Pennant in the genus of antelopes. His conjecture, however, that the bouquetin is the original source of all the tame goats, seems to be well founded; and has been adopted by the greatest part of succeeding naturalists. And as, according to the just observations of Pallas, the ægagrus approaches nearer than the bouquetin to the tame goat in its form and horns, the ægagrus may be the link which unites the bouquetin and the tame goat. May not the ægagrus be considered as a race produced from the bouquetin and the she-goat, or the goat and female bouquetin? Pallas also conjectures, that the tame goat may possibly have been propagated from the ægagrus and Siberian ibex, which is allowed by most naturalists to be the same as the bouquetin; and Pennant remarks, with no less sagacity, that the tame goats may be derived from both, as we are assured that the ibex and she-goat will produce a similar offspring.

offspring. It is also probable, that the bouquetin is the origin of all the goat genus, because it is the largest, strongest, and dwells in the most inhospitable regions. For, according to the observation of the same great zoologist\*, whom we have so often quoted, those animals who are natives of the coldest mountains must, on descending into the warm plains, be liable to greater changes than those who are formed for milder climates; and this circumstance seems sufficient to account for the great variety observable in the goat genus.

Some naturalists pretend, that the bouquetin cannot be the original flock from whence the goats have been produced, because, as he inhabits only the loftiest summits and rocks covered with eternal snow, and feeds only on plants peculiar to high regions, he cannot be domesticated in a variety of climates. But this opinion is contradicted by fact and experience. Stumpf, the historian of Switzerland, informs us, that the Vallaisans near Sion bred up tame bouquetins with their goats; and Belon relates, that the Cretans tamed the young bouquetins by giving them to be suckled by the goats. Dr. Pallas also relates, that he has frequently seen the Siberian ibex among the tame goats, and mentions one in particular at Orenburgh, which was leader of a flock, and father of a numerous offspring more resembling the females than himself. He was very different from the tame he-goats, scarcely inferior in size to a bouquetin two years old: in colour and strength he resembled the

wild animal; had thick horns, knobbed, not keeled above, and a long rough coat, but no where pendent, except in the beard: the black list on the back was almost obliterated. And lastly, Mr. van Berchem saw several tame bouquetins at Aigle. They were gentle and familiar; and, without being remarkably lively, were active and graceful in all their motions. They bred with different she-goats, and Mr. van Berchem saw the young ones, which seemed to form a new race.

If these observations should be well founded, the goat genus, or race of the bouquetin, is found in a wild state along the chain of mountains that traverses the temperate parts both of Europe and Asia; on the Alps, Pyrenees, and Carpathian mountains; on the Taurus and Caucasus; on the mountains of Siberia and Tartary; in Kamtschatka; on the islands of the Archipelago; in Hedsjæas in Arabia; in India; perhaps in Ægypt and Lybia.

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*Account of the Tabasheer, in a Letter from Patrick Russell, M.D. F.R.S. From the Philosophical Transactions, Vol. lxxx. Part 2.*

**T**Abasheer, a drug in high repute in many parts of the East, was, I believe, first introduced to the knowledge of the western world through the works of the Arabian physicians, all of whom mention it as an important article in their *Materia Medica*; and, from what I could observe in Syria, it

\* Pallas.

still continues to be in much more general use in Turkey than in this part of India.

The genuine Tabasheer is undoubtedly a production of the *Arundo Bambos* of Linnæus, the *Ily* of the *Hortus Malabaricus*, and the *Arundo Indica arborea maxima*, *cortice spinoso*, of Herman.

The bamboo in which the Tabasheer is found, is vulgarly called the Female Bamboo, and is distinguished by the largeness of its cavity from the male, employed for spears or lances. They are said to be separate trees; but this fact I have not had it in my power to ascertain.

Of the seven pieces of bamboo which accompany this paper, four are from the mountains in the vicinity of Vellore, and three from a place twenty miles from hence. The former were perfectly green on their arrival at Madras; and the others were selected from a large parcel, which were green also when they came to my hands. These were all selected on a conjecture of their containing Tabasheer, from a certain rattling perceived upon shaking the bamboo, as if small stones were contained in the cavity.

In the month of April, one of the bamboos, consisting of six joints, received from Vellore, being cautiously split, each joint was examined separately. In two of them no vestige of the drug was discovered; each of the others contained some, but in various quantity; the whole collected amounted to about twenty-seven grains.

The quality also was various. The particles reckoned of the first quality were of a bluish white colour, resembling small fragments of

shells; they were harder than the others, but might easily be crumbled between the fingers into a gritty powder, and when applied to the tongue and palate, had a slight saline testaceous taste: they did not exceed in weight four grains. The rest were of a cineritious colour, rough on the surface, and more friable; and intermixed with these were some larger, light, spongy particles, somewhat resembling pumice-stones.

In the month of July, forty-three green bamboos, each consisting of five or six joints, were brought from the hills, fifty miles distant from hence. Six, appearing to contain more Tabasheer than the others, were set apart; the remaining thirty-seven were split, and examined in the manner before mentioned. The result was as follows:

In nine out of the thirty-seven, there were no vestiges of Tabasheer. In twenty-eight some were found in one, two, or three joints of each; but never in more than three joints of the same bamboo. The quantity varied, but in all was inconsiderable; and the empty joints were sometimes contiguous, sometimes interrupted, indifferently.

The drug consists of very dissimilar particles at first when taken from the bamboo, as will appear in looking into the small specimen, N<sup>o</sup> 1; which, having collected myself, I am certain has undergone no adulteration.

The whiter, smooth, harder particles, when not loose together with the others in the cavity, were mostly found adhering to the septum that divides the joints, and to the sides contiguous; but never to the sides about the middle of the joints; and it may be remarked, that, instead

of being chiefly found at the lower extremity of the joint, as might be expected from the juice settling there, they were found adherent indifferently to either extremity, and sometimes to both. In this situation they formed a smooth lining, somewhat resembling polished stucco, which usually was cracked in several places, and might easily be detached with a blunt knife.

In some joints the Tabasheer was found thus collected at one or both extremities only, and in such no rattling was perceived upon shaking the bamboo; but generally, while some adhered to the extremities of the joint, other detached pieces were intermixed with the coarser loose particles in the cavity.

The quantity found in each bamboo was very inconsiderable; the produce of the whole twenty-eight reeds, from five to seven feet long, not much exceeding two drams.

Submitting the specimens to examination, I refrain from experiments on them, which may more successfully be made in England, and shall proceed to offer a few observations on the juice of the recent bamboo supposed to form the Tabasheer.

The existence of this fluid in the bamboo is known by shaking the joint. In a considerable number of bamboos split in order to procure it, I never found water in more than two joints, and generally not more than two or three drams in each; the largest quantity procured at one time was one ounce and a half. Very few joints in proportion contained any.

The fluid was always transparent, but varied in consistence; when thicker, it had a whiter colour than common; when more dilute it dis-

ferred little to the eye from common water, or sometimes had a pale greenish cast. Applied to the tongue and palate, it had a slight saline, sub-astringent taste, more or less perceptible in proportion to the consistence of the fluid. After evaporation in the sun, the residuum had a pretty strong saline taste, with less astringency. Some of the fluid, of a darkish colour, thickened in the reed to the consistence of honey; and some, in another joint of the same reed, was perfectly white and almost dry: both had the sharp salt taste, which the Tabasheer itself loses in a great degree by keeping.

In the latter end of October, a green bamboo of five joints was brought to me, which appeared to contain both water and Tabasheer. After three days, the sound of water, upon shaking the reed, could hardly be perceived; on the fifth day it was intirely imperceptible.

Upon splitting the bamboo, about half a dram of the fluid, now thickened into a mucilage, was found at the bottom of the upper joint. The second joint contained some perfect, Tabasheer loose in the cavity. The third joint was empty, excepting a few particles of Tabasheer, which adhered to the sides near the bottom. The fourth joint, at the bottom, contained above a dram of a brownish pulpy substance, adherent. The last joint, in like manner, contained half a dram of a substance thicker and harder in consistence, and nearly of the colour of white wax.

This specimen exhibited at one view the progress of the Tabasheer through its several stages. The sound distinctly perceived in the first joint on the 23d of October, was produced

produced by the water in a fluid state; on the 31st, having become thicker, the sound, upon shaking, was very obscure; on the 2d of November, no sound was perceptible; and when the reed was split, the water was found reduced to a mucilage. The fourth and fifth joints contained the drug in a more advanced state. In the first, it was thicker than a mucilage, of a brownish colour; in the second, more of the fluid part having evaporated, the colour was whiter, and it wanted but little of the consistence of the perfect Tabasheer found in the second joint.

Vizagapatam,  
Nov. 26, 1788.

I am, &c.

P. RUSSELL.

Four of the seven reeds presented to the Society on the night this paper was read, being carefully split, the contents, upon comparing them with the specimens sent from India, then on the table, were found to agree in all respects, as well as with the description of the more recent drug given in the above paper. The specimen, N<sup>o</sup> 3. sent from Hydrabad, and reckoned the prime sort, differed somewhat in hardness, as mentioned above, from the purest particles in the Tabasheer collected by myself; but in the opinion of several of the members present, who compared them, were the same substance with the particles mixed, in a small proportion, in some of the other specimens, as likewise with a few particles taken from the reeds opened in their presence; which puts it beyond doubt, that the substance is produced in the cavity of the bamboo.

The several specimens are now under chemical trial; and the re-

sult of the experiments will, I hope, be communicated to the Society.

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*Account of the Nardus Indica, or Spikenard. By Gilbert Blane, M. D. F. R. S. From the same.*

*Nardus Indica, or Spikenard, is a name familiar in the works of the ancient physicians, naturalists, and poets; but the identity of which has not hitherto been satisfactorily ascertained. My brother says, in a letter dated Lucknow, December 1786, that, "travelling with the Nabob Vizier, upon one of his hunting excursions, towards the northern mountains, I was surpris'd one day, after crossing the river Rapti, about twenty miles from the foot of the hills, to perceive the air perfum'd with an aromatic smell; and, upon asking the cause, I was told it proceeded from the roots of the grass that were bruised or trodden out of the ground by the feet of the elephants and horses of the nabob's retinue. The country was wild and uncultivated, and this was the common grass which covered the surface of it, growing in large tufts close to each other, very rank, and in general from three to four feet in length. As it was the winter season, there was none of it in flower. Indeed the greatest part of it had been burnt down on the road we went, in order that it might be no impediment to the nabob's encampments.*

*"I collected a quantity of the roots to be dried for use, and carefully dug up some of it, which I sent to be planted in my garden at Lucknow. It there thrrove exceedingly, and in the rainy season it shot*

shot up spikes about six feet high. Accompanying this, I send you a drawing of the plant in flower, and of the dried roots, in which the natural appearance is tolerably preserved.

“ It is called by the natives *Terankus*, which means literally, in the Hindoo language, fever-restrainer, from the virtues they attribute to it in that disease. They infuse about a dram of it in half a pint of hot water, with a small quantity of black pepper. This infusion serves for one dose, and is repeated three times a day. It is esteemed a powerful medicine in all kinds of fevers, whether continued or intermittent. I have not made any trial of it myself; but shall certainly take the first opportunity of doing so.

“ The whole plant has a strong aromatic odour; but both the smell and the virtues reside principally in the husky roots, which in chewing have a bitter, warm, pungent taste, accompanied with some degree of that kind of glow in the mouth, which cardamoms occasion.”

Besides the drawing, a dried specimen has been sent, which was in such good preservation as to enable Sir Joseph Banks, P. R. S. to ascertain it, by the botanical characters, to be a species of *Andropogon*, different from any plant that has usually been imported under the name of *Nardus*, and different from any of that genus hitherto described in botanical systems.

There is great reason, however, to think, that it is the true *Nardus Indica* of the ancients. The circumstance, in the account above recited, of its being discovered in an unfrequented country, from the odour it exhaled by being trod up-

on by the elephants and horses, corresponds, in a striking manner, with an occurrence related by Arrian, in his History of the Expedition of Alexander the Great into India. It is there mentioned, lib. vi. cap. 22. that, during his march through the deserts of Gadosia, the air was perfumed by the Spikenard, which was trampled under foot by the army; and that the Phœnicians, who accompanied the expedition, collected large quantities of it, as well as of myrrh, in order to carry them to their own country, as articles of merchandise.

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*Account of some extraordinary Effects of Lightning. By William Withering, M.D. F.R.S. From the same.*

**P**ERMIT me to request the attention of the Royal Society, whilst I mention a few facts relative to a thunder-cloud, the lightning from which fused a quantity of quartzose matter.

This cloud formed in the south, in the afternoon of Sept. 3, 1789, and took its course nearly due north. In its passage it set fire to a field of standing corn; but the rain presently extinguished the fire. Soon afterwards the lightning struck an oak tree, in the earl of Aylesford's park at Packington.

The height of this tree is 39 feet, including its trunk, which is 13 feet. It did not strike the highest bough, but that which projected farthest southward. A man, who had taken shelter against the north side of the tree, was struck dead instantaneously, his cloaths set on fire, and the moss (*lichen*) on the trunk of the tree, where the back of his head

had rested, was likewise burnt. Two men, spectators of the accident, ran immediately towards him upon seeing him fall; and as it rained hard, and a small lake had collected almost close to the spot, the fire was very soon extinguished; but the effects of the fire on one-half of his body, and on his cloaths, were such as to shew, that the whole burning was instantaneous, not progressive.

Part of the electric matter passed down a walking-stick, which the man held in his hand, sloping from him; and where the stick rested on the ground, it made a perforation about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, and 5 inches deep. This hole I examined soon afterwards, and found nothing in it but the burnt roots of the grass. All observation would probably have ended here, had not lord Aylesford determined to erect a monument upon the spot, not merely to commemorate the event, but with an inscription, to caution the unwary against the danger of sheltering under a tree during a thunder-storm. In digging the foundation for this monument, the earth was disturbed at the perforation before mentioned, and the soil appeared to be blackened to the depth of about ten inches. At this depth, a root of the tree presented itself, which was quite black; but this blackness was only superficial, and did not extend far along it. About two inches deeper, the melted quartzose matter began to appear, and continued in a sloping direction to the depth of 18 inches.

The specimens which accompany this paper, and for which I am indebted to the attention of lord Aylesford, will demonstrate the in-

tense heat which must have existed to bring such materials into fusion.

N<sup>o</sup> 1. A quartz pebble, one corner of which has been completely fused.

N<sup>o</sup> 2. Sand, unmixed with calcareous matter, agglutinated by the heat. Within the hollow part of this mass, the fusion has been so perfect, that the melted quartzose matter has run down the hollow, and assumed nearly a globular figure.

N<sup>o</sup> 3. Smaller hollow pieces, and one nearly flat, but all the flat ones have some hollow part\*.

Mr. Watt suggested to me, that the hollows had been occasioned by the expansion of moisture whilst the fusion existed.

I shall conclude with observing, that judging from the damage done to the oak tree, the stroke was not very great; and that having now an inducement to dig where the earth has been perforated by lightning, we may probably hereafter find fossil substances melted by it to a considerably greater extent.

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*Account of a Child with a double Head; in a Letter from Everard Home, Esquire, F. R. S. to John Hunter, Esquire, F. R. S. From the same.*

**T**HE child was born in May, 1783, of poor parents; the mother was thirty years old, and named Nooki; the father was called Hannai, a farmer at Mandalgent near Bardawan, in Bengal, and aged thirty-five.

At the time of the child's birth, the woman who acted as midwife,

\* These specimens were laid before the society when the paper was read.



terrified at the strange appearance of the double head, endeavoured to destroy the infant by throwing it upon the fire, where it lay a sufficient time before it was removed to have one of the eyes and ears considerably burnt.

The body of the child was naturally formed, but the head appeared double, there being, besides the proper head of the child, another of the same size, and to appearance almost equally perfect, attached to its upper part. This upper head was inverted, so that they seemed to be two separate heads united together by a firm adhesion between their crowns, but without any indentation at their union, there being a smooth continued surface from the one to the other. The face of the upper head was not over that of the lower, but had an oblique position, the center of it being immediately above the right eye.

When the child was six months old, both of the heads were covered with black hair, in nearly the same quantity. At this period the skulls seemed to have been completely ossified, except a small space between the ossa frontis of the upper one, like a fontanelle.

*Observations on the superior or inverted Head.*

No pulsation could be felt in the situation of the temporal arteries; but the superficial veins were very evident.

The neck was about two inches long, and the upper part of it terminated in a rounded soft tumor, like a small peach.

One of the eyes had been considerably hurt by the fire, but the other appeared perfect, having its full quantity of motion; but the

eyelids were not thrown into action by any thing suddenly approaching the eye; nor was the iris at those times in the least affected; but, when suddenly exposed to a strong light, it contracted, although not so much as it usually does. The eyes did not correspond in their motions with those of the lower head; but appeared often to be open when the child was asleep, and shut when it was awake.

The external ears were very imperfect, being only loose folds of skin; and one of them mutilated by having been burnt. There did not appear to be any passage leading into the bone which contains the organ of hearing.

The lower jaw was rather smaller than it naturally should be, but was capable of motion. The tongue was small, flat, and adhered firmly to the lower jaw, except for about half an inch at the tip, which was loose. The gums in both jaws had the natural appearance; but no teeth were to be seen either in this head or the other.

The internal surfaces of the nose and mouth were lubricated by the natural secretions, a considerable quantity of mucus and saliva being occasionally discharged from them.

The muscles of the face were evidently possessed of powers of action, and the whole head had a good deal of sensibility, since violence to the skin produced the distortion expressive of crying, and thrusting the finger into the mouth made it shew strong marks of pain. When the mother's nipple was applied to the mouth, the lips attempted to suck.

The natural head had nothing uncommon in its appearance; the

eyes were attentive to objects, and its mouth sucked the breast vigorously. Its body was emaciated.

The parents of the child were poor, and carried it about the streets of Calcutta as a curiosity to be seen for money; and to prevent its being exposed to the populace, they kept it constantly covered up, which was considered as the cause of its being emaciated and unhealthy.

The attention of the curious was naturally attracted by so uncommon a species of deformity; and Mr. Stark, who resided in Bengal during this period, paid particular attention to the appearances of the different parts of the double head, and endeavoured to ascertain the mode in which the two skulls were united, as well as to discover the sympathies which existed between the two brains. Upon his return to England, finding that I was in possession of the skull, and proposed drawing up an account of the child, he very obligingly favoured me with the following particulars; and has likewise allowed me to have a sketch taken from a very exact painting, made under his own inspection from the child while alive, by Mr. Smith, a portrait-painter then in India.

At the time Mr. Stark saw the child, it must have been nearly two years old, as it was some months before its death, which I have every reason to believe happened in the year 1785. At this period the appearances differed in many respects from those taken notice of when only six months old.

The burnt ear had so much recovered itself as only to have lost about one fourth part of the loose pendulous flap. The openings leading from the external ear appeared

as distinct as in those of the other head. The skin surrounding the injured eye, which was on the same side with the mutilated ear, was in a slight degree affected, and the external canthus much contracted, but the eye itself was perfect.

The eyelids of the superior head were never completely shut, remaining a little open, even when the child was asleep, and the eyeballs moved at random. When the child was roused, the eyes of both heads moved at the same time; but those of the superior head did not appear to be directed to the same object, but wandered in different directions. The tears flowed from the eyes of the superior head almost constantly, but never from the eyes of the other, except when crying.

The termination of the upper neck was very irregular, a good deal resembling the cicatrix of an old sore.

The superior head seemed to sympathise with the child in most of its natural actions. When the child cried, the features of this head were affected in a similar manner, and the tears flowed plentifully. When it sucked the mother, satisfaction was expressed by the mouth of the superior head, and the saliva flowed more copiously than at any other time; for it always flowed a little from it. When the child smiled, the features of the superior head sympathised in that action. When the skin of the superior head was pinched, the child seemed to feel little or no pain, at least not in the same proportion as was felt from a similar violence being committed on its own head or body.

When the child was about two years old, and in perfect health, the mother went out to fetch some water;

er; and, upon her return, found it dead, from the bite of a *Cobra de capelo*.

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*Account of a Gentleman living at Milan, in the Year 1786, who had the faculty of chewing the cud. From Mrs. Piozzi's Journey thro' Italy, vol. ii.*

**B**UT a natural curiosity seen at Milan, this 16th day of August 1786, leads my mind into another channel. I went to wait upon and thank the lady, or the relations of the lady, who lent us her house at Varese, and make our proper acknowledgments; and at that visit saw something very uncommon surely: though I remember doctor Johnson once said, that nobody had ever seen a very strange thing; and challenged the company (about seventeen people, myself among them) to produce a strange thing; —but I had not then seen Avvocato B—, a lawyer here at Milan, and a man respected in his profession, who actually chews the cud like an ox; which he did at my request, and in my presence: he is apparently much like another tall stout man, but has many extraordinary properties, being eminent for strength, and possessing a set of ribs and sternum very surprising, and worthy the attention of anatomists: his body, upon the slightest touch, even through all his clothes, throws out electric sparks; he can reject his meals from his stomach at pleasure, and did absolutely in the course of two hours, the only two I ever passed in his company, go through, to oblige me, the whole operation of eating, masticating, swallowing,

and returning by the mouth, a large piece of bread and a peach. With all this conviction, nothing more was wanting; but I obtained beside, the confirmation of common friends, who were willing likewise to bear testimony of this strange accidental variety. What I hear of his character is, that he is a low-spirited, nervous man; and I suppose his ruminating moments are spent in lamenting the singularities of his frame.

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*Experiments on the expansive Force of freezing Water, made by Major Edward Williams, of the Royal Artillery, at Quebec, in Canada, in the Years 1784 and 1785. Communicated in a Letter from Charles Hutton, LL. D. F. R. SS. Lond. & Edin. From the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, vol. ii.*

S I R,

**T**HE following is an extract of a letter to me from major Edward Williams, of the royal artillery, a learned man, and of great professional merit. Being at Quebec in some very cold winters, among various other ingenious experiments, it occurred to him to try the force of congelation in some of the iron bomb-shells, which are usually fired out of mortars in the practice of artillery; by filling the cavity of the shell with water, and then, having plugged up the fuze-hole, exposing it to the cold to freeze the water, in order to find whether the expansion of the ice would be capable of bursting the shell.

The dimensions of the 13 inch shell are as follow:

F 4

Outer

	Inches.
Outer diameter of the shell	12.8
Inner, or diameter of the cavity - - -	9.1
Thickness of metal at the fuze-hole - - -	1.5
Ditto at the bottom or opposite part - - -	2.2
Diameter of the fuze-hole	1.7

pushed it out with great velocity, and a bolt or cylinder of ice, of a considerable length, immediately shot up from the hole. But when the plug was fixed in with springs, which laid hold of the inside of the cavity, so that the plug could not possibly be pushed out, the force of expansion then split the shell, and a fin or plate of ice shot out quite around.

And the dimensions are similar in the other shells. The fuze-hole is conical, the opposite sides of which, when produced, meet at the extremity of the diameter, which passes through the middle of the hole.

He found, that the iron plug could hardly ever be driven so firmly into the fuze-hole as to resist the force of the expansion of the ice, which

*Extract from Major Williams's Letter.*

These experiments were made on iron-shells, from the 13 inch shell to the coehorn, of 4.4 inches diameter, by filling the shell nearly with water, and driving in an iron plug with a sledge hammer.

Time, 1784.	Therm.	Elev. of the Fuze.	Weight of Plug, oz.	Distance.
Dec. 21.	— 10	90	35	Unknown.
22.	— 3	90	37.25	22 feet.
23.	— 16	90	34.5	Unknown.
24.	— 6	80	39.25	62
31.	— 18	45	39.25	387
1785.				
Jan. 2.	— 19	45	41.75	415
4.	— 12	45	42	Burst.
9.	— 4	45	40.5	325

### R E M A R K S.

Dec. 21.—The fuze-axis of the shell lay nearly perpendicular to the horizon. On examining the effect, about 9 o'clock the following day, I observed the plug gone, and a cylinder of ice, of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches high, rising perpendicularly from the fuze-hole, and of equal diameter. I searched carefully for the plug, but

could not find it, as there was about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet of snow on the ground.

Dec. 22.—I watched this shell about an hour, when, being called out on business, I found, on my return, three hours after, the plug gone, and the icy cylinder  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches high. Plug lost.

23.—I had a plug made, and jagged or notched along the sides, to prevent its being forced out so easily;

easily; and watched this shell for upwards of three hours, going into the house at intervals to warm myself. The last time I went in was about half an hour after twelve, when, after a few minutes, I heard a sort of hissing sound, upon which running out, the plug was gone, and a cylinder of ice shot up, exceeding any of the former, being  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches high. Plug lost.

Dec. 24.—A similar plug to the last. I watched this with more success; for although absent at intervals; yet at half past four in the afternoon (therm. at  $6^{\circ}$ ) I saw the plug suddenly forced out by the column of ice, accompanied by the hissing noise; and observing its fall, I found it at 62 feet from the shell. The icy cylinder was 4 inches high, and the fuze-axis of the shell I found lay nearly at an angle of  $80^{\circ}$  with the horizon.

31.—Concluding from the foregoing experiments, that no plug could be so fixed, as to render the resistance at the fuze-hole greater than at the weakest part of the shell, in which case I supposed it would burst (which was the primary object in these experiments) I thought it might be worth while to observe how far the force of congelation would project a plug of a given weight and figure, and forced in with the same number of strokes of the sledge-hammer. For this purpose, I placed the fuze-axis of the shell at an angle of  $45^{\circ}$  with the horizon, and on the 31st of December 1784, being the coldest day of this year, the plug was projected whilst I was absent, a cylinder was shot out, in the direction of the axis, of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches, and not inclining in the least from that direction to the horizon. The plug was lost.

Jan. 2, 1785.—Being colder than 31st December, in order to hasten the effect, I put a mixture of common salt and sal ammoniac to the water, and tied a long pack-thread, with a piece of red rag at its end, to the fuze, in order to find where it fell in the snow. This plug made its escape, like the rest; for at half past six it was flown, and a cylinder of  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches of ice standing over the fuze-hole. The plug was lost; for the red rag appeared no where on the surface of the snow.

4.—Tried a plug made with springs, in the manner of a searcher, only very short and strong. Added the freezing mixture. The shell gave a sudden crack at a quarter after nine, and instantly shot from its surface two thin plates of ice, resembling fins, about 2 inches in the highest parts. On examining the shell I found it burst, and the plug forced up about half an inch; and, on breaking the shell, the springs were considerably bent, so as not to have recovered their first situation.

9.—Repeated the last experiment, with a similar plug and the freezing mixture. It was thrown out, as before, and the projecting icy cylinder was  $3\frac{1}{4}$  inches high.

Similar experiments were afterwards made with all the lesser shells; yet, though one or more of each sort were actually burst, more plugs were projected than produced that effect. As soon as the snow began to disappear from the surface, I searched carefully for the plugs, and found six of them; which, being all marked with notches *after* the first experiment, I easily formed from them the foregoing table.

Such was the result of these experiments,

periments, from which I leave it to you to draw conclusions. I intend to pursue them again this winter; and, if you can suggest any ideas on the subject, that can reach Canada before March 1786, I shall be glad to avail myself of them.

ED. WILLIAMS.

*Remarks on the preceding Extract,*  
by Cha. Hutton, LL. D.

From these ingenious experiments, we may draw several conclusions. As,

First, We hence observe the amazing force of the expansion of the ice, or the water, in the act of freezing; which is sufficient to overcome perhaps any resistance whatever; and the consequence seems to be, either that the water will freeze, and, by expanding, burst the containing body, be it ever so thick and strong; or else, if the resistance of the containing body exceed the expansive force of the ice, or of water in the act of freezing, then, by preventing the expansion, it will prevent the freezing, and the water will remain fluid, whatever the degree of cold may be.

The amazing force of congelation is also obvious from the distance to which the iron plugs were projected. For, if we consider the very small time that the force of expansion acts on the plug in pushing it out, and that the plug, of  $2\frac{1}{8}$  lb. weight, was projected with a velocity of more than 20 feet in a second of time, and thrown to the distance of 415 feet by this force; so acting, the intensity of the force will appear to be truly astonishing.

2dly, We may hence form an

estimate of the quantity which the water expands by freezing. For the longest cylinder of ice was observed to be  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches without the hole; to this add  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , the thickness of the metal, or length of the hole, and the sum, or 10 inches, is the whole length of the cylinder of ice, the diameter of which is  $1\frac{7}{16}$  inches; and hence its solid content is  $1.7^2 \times 10 \times .7854$  cubic inches.

But the diameter of the spherical cavity, filled with water, is  $9\frac{1}{16}$  inches; and therefore  $9.1^3 \times \frac{2}{3} \times .7854$  is the content of the water in cubic inches.

Hence then the content of the water is to the increase by expansion, as  $\frac{2}{3}$  of  $9.1^3$  to 10 times  $1.7^2$ , or as 502.4 to 28.9, or as 174 to 10. So that the water, in this instance, expanded in freezing, by a quantity which is between the 17th and 18th part of itself.

C. H.

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*Case of a Patient who discharged the Pupa of the Musca Cibaria. By W. White, M. D. and F. R. S. With Observations by J. Church, A. M. From Memoirs of the Medical Society of London, vol. ii.*

**J.** WATSON, aged about 30 years, by trade a watchmaker, sober and temperate, but indulging a sedentary life, having been some time ill, came over here to put himself under my care. I found him much emaciated, his complexion very yellow, he had violent pains with foreness and tension about the region of the liver, his body very costive, stools clayey and tenacious, urine in small quantity and high-coloured, pulse quick and tense, he had frequent rigors, and other symptoms

symptoms of pyrexia. But what distressed him the most, was a constant and extreme coldness in the lower extremities, which neither a fire nor the warmest covering had power to relieve for any time together.

It is unnecessary to give a particular detail of the means used for his recovery; suffice it to say, that by repeated bleedings (his blood being very sily) cooling purgatives, nitrous medicines, and blisters over the hepatic region, in about a fortnight he was much recovered, and finding every complaint, except the coldness in his legs and feet, nearly gone, he went home about fifteen miles from this city. My prescriptions now were powders of the columbo root, with a solution of *sal diureticus*, and once a week a calomel bolus at night, with an opening draught next morning.

In about a month I had a letter from his apothecary, from which the following is an extract:

“ Mr. Watson has continued his powders regularly till within this week, when he reduced the number. He finds his appetite encrease even to be deemed voracious, yet is careful not to overload his stomach. Notwithstanding after each meal he complains of pain about the breast, with a sense of fulness. In general he is regular for stools, but last night, being more than usually costive, he took the purgative, with which he had two stools in the morning, and discharged an immense number of worms, two or three of which at his desire I send herewith, they were all very lively. His pulse is good, and he thinks himself in every respect vastly better; his legs have begun to gain their natural warmth, yet he con-

tinues the additional covering and frictions. I hope the worms will reach you alive.”

Thus far his apothecary. I received the worms, which were evidently a species of maggot, in a very lively state; putting them out of the pill box, they crept about with surprising quickness, not with the wriggling motion of the common maggot, but very nimbly upon their numerous feet, in which they seem to differ from the common ones, which I think have no feet.

Being replaced into the box, they were deposited in a desk, when, after some weeks, examining them again, I found them metamorphosed from a worm state into beautiful insects of the fly kind, but these were dead from want of nourishment and air. The chrysales being now become dry and empty husks.

*The following Remarks, with a Drawing of the Insect, were communicated by Mr. Church, One of the Council of the Medical Society.*

The insect mentioned in Dr. White's paper, is the *Musca Cibaria* of Linnæus. The larva of it is found in old culinary substances, especially in old rotten cheese, and it seems highly probable that the patient had swallowed some of them with his food, which passed unhurt through the stomach, into the liver, after having entered by the biliary ducts. This I am the more readily induced to believe was the case from a circumstance which happened to me in practice some years ago: a child discharged per anum, a live worm with feet, which proved to be the larva of the *Phryganea grandis*, or cadworm, used as a bait by anglers; now as this is an aquatic insect,

infect, and feeds under water on other aquatic insects, it is almost certain it must have been swallowed with some water, and passed unhurt through the intestinal tube till it was discharged.

That the action of the stomach will not always kill insects, is evident from the circumstance of the *Ascaris Lumbricoides* living in it unhurt. The *phalena pinguinalis* also not only lives but is nourished, and undergoes several metamorphoses in the stomach, till at length it produces its moth. The worms discharged by Dr. White's patient, appear to have been in the chrysalis state, and though the circumstance of their having feet and moving them is rather singular, as the pupæ of most muscæ are entirely motionless, yet as we know that the pupæ of some other insects as grylli, blattæ, &c. have the same power, it is possible that some muscæ possess it also.

P. S. The supposition that these insects were nourished in the liver, and produced the disease under which the patient laboured, seems to be much strengthened by a case related by Dr. Thomas Bond, of Philadelphia, in vol. i. of the London Medical Observations and Inquiries, where he describes a kind

of leech of an uncommon size which had long had its residence in the liver of a patient, and was at length discharged per anum.

A similar case is likewise related by Mr. Paisley, in vol. ii. of the Edinburgh Medical Essays.

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*Dr. Dancer's Account of the Cinnamon Trees growing in the Island of Jamaica. From Transactions of the Society of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, vol. viii.*

THE cinnamon-trees of this island have been raised from a few plants taken along with a large collection of other oriental exotics in a French ship, bound from the Isle of France to Hispaniola, and presented to the botanic garden by lord Rodney, when he came down here, after his glorious victory of the 12th of April, 1782.

Upon comparing the parts of the tree with the description and figure given by Burman and other botanists, it appears to be the real Ceylon cinnamon, and of the best kind, called by the natives \* Rasse Coronde: but the specimens of bark taken put it out of all doubt, being, in the opinion of the best judges, of

\* Quasi dicas: acre, suave, ac dulce cinnamomum, quod verum et præstantissimum habetur cinnamomum.

*Burmanni Thesaurus.*

Alteræ species sunt,

- |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| <p>2. Cahette Coronde, sine amirum.<br/>3. Cappare Coronde, quia caphuræ saporem odoremque potentissimum reddit.<br/>4. Welle Coronde, sine arenosum.</p> | } | <p>5. Sewel Coronde, vel mucilaginosum.<br/>6. Nicke Coronde.<br/>7. Dawel Coronde, sine tympani.<br/>8. Catte Coronde, seu spinosum.<br/>9. Mace Coronde, sine floridum.</p> |
|---|---|---|

Præter memoratas jam species, aliæ etiam cinnamomi diversitates in Zeylona observantur.



an equal, if not superior quality to any imported from India.

The various and important uses to which the several parts of the plant are applied, make it an invaluable acquisition to the West India colonies; and there can be no impediment, except an impolitic prohibition, to its becoming an article of general cultivation, and of the most lucrative commerce.

None of the botanical writers whom I have had an opportunity of consulting, say much of the cultivation or propagation of the cinnamon; and we have hardly had time to make sufficient observations on the subject of either; but, for the information of the public, to whom it is a matter of some importance, I shall venture the few remarks which my own short experience enables me to offer.

The cinnamon plant, though (according to the account of travellers) it grows to the height of twenty or thirty feet, is, properly speaking, an arborefcient one, and not a tree of the common kind: it puts out numerous side-branches, with a dense foliage from the very bottom of the trunk; which furnishes an opportunity of obtaining a plenty of layers, and facilitates the propagation of the tree, as it does not perfect its seeds in any quantity under six or seven years; when it becomes so plentifully loaded, that a single tree is sufficient almost for a colony.

The cinnamon seems to delight in a loose, moist soil, and to require a southern aspect; the trees, thus planted, flourishing better than

others growing in loam, and not so well exposed to the sun.

When healthy, it is (from layers) of a pretty quick growth, reaching in eight years the height of fifteen or twenty feet, is very spreading, and furnished with numerous branches, of a fit size for decortication. The seeds, however, are a long time in coming up, and the plants make small progress for the first year or two\*.

The best cinnamon bark, according to the different trials I have made, is taken from the small branches, of about an inch diameter, the larger limbs not being so easily decorticated, and not yielding so good, or so strong a cinnamon. The smaller twigs, or those that have not acquired a cineritious bark, are too full of sap and mucilage, and have little *aroma*.

It is the *liber*, or inner bark, that constitutes the cinnamon, from which the two external barks must be carefully and entirely separated, or they vitiate the flavour of the cinnamon. To do this with dexterity, and to raise the bark from the wood, requires some practice; but there may perhaps be an easier method than that which I have made use of; which was that of a common pruning-knife. The bark being thus separated, the smaller pieces are to be placed within the larger; which, by exposure to the sun or the air, presently coil up, and require no further preparation.

A dry season, I apprehend, is the proper one for taking the bark †; as I have found the cinnamon not so strong after long or heavy rains.

\* The birds appear to be very fond of the berries, and will, probably, propagate this tree in the same way they do many others every where over the island; so that in a short time it will grow spontaneously, or without cultivation.

† The month of May is the time for taking it in Ceylon.

Cinnamon seems to be much more retentive of its virtues than any of the other spices; but it will certainly be proper to protect it, when taken, as much as possible, from the air and moisture, by close packing in cedar chests.

Having thus communicated all that I am able from my own observations, respecting the culture and preparation of the cinnamon, I shall add what I know with respect to the uses of its several parts.

The leaves, whether recent or dried, are so strongly impregnated with an *aroma*, similar to the cinnamon, that they are on all occasions a good succedaneum for the bark, both in cookery and medicine. Distilled, they give an excellent simple and spirituous water, and an essential oil, of the nature of oil of cloves. Powdered, they are a good aromatic species, or marschal perfume.

Every part of the tree, according to writers of the best authority, affords some useful product. To them I must refer, till I have had opportunity for experiment.

ear or cone, and preserved it with the flag on it. It had lain by unregarded till last year; when meeting with it, and the date, place, and time of growth being on it, I was induced to try if it would grow. The 28th of February, 1788, I took six grains, soaked them in water twenty-four hours, put them in earth in pots, and then in a hot-house. In about twenty days they began to appear, and four out of six grew to about three feet high; two produced the ear completely formed, a cone of which I send. The pots were taken out of the house the latter end of June, and the ears gathered the beginning of October. Six other grains were planted in the garden without soaking, but did not produce even signs of vegetation.

From this experiment is ascertained a fact that seed kept dry hath vegetated at the distance of thirty-four years from the time of its being gathered.

I am, gentlemen, &c.

Clapham,  
Dec. 27, 1789.

SAMUEL SMITH.

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*On the Vegetation of old Grain. From Transactions of the Bath Society, vol. v.*

Gentlemen,

AS the ascertaining of useful facts in agriculture is the professed design of the society, any thing that may tend to shew how long seed may retain its vegetative quality, cannot be unworthy your attention.

In the year 1754, my brother, a member of the Bath Society, was at Strasburgh, and seeing some Indian corn growing, he gathered an

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*Description of the Kangaroo. From Philip's Voyage to Botany Bay.*

Class I. MAMMALIA.

Order III. Feræ.

Genus XVII. Didelphis.—*Lin. Syst. Nat.* p. 71. N<sup>o</sup> 17.

Genus XXII. Opossum.—*Penn. Hist. Quadr.* p. 301.

KANGUROO.

SYNONYMA.

Jerboa Gigantea, *Zimmern. Zool. Geogr.* 526.  
Kanguroo, *Cook's Voy.* iii. p. 577. pl. 20.  
Kanguru, *Hist. Quadr.* p. 306. pl. 35.

THIS

**T**HIS singular quadruped at first sight, on account of the extreme disproportioned shortness of the fore-legs, seems to belong to the *Ferboa* genus, but a further inspection will immediately prove, that it is related to that of the *Opoffum*. The length of the specimens brought over to England hitherto has varied much; the longest eight feet five inches from the tip of the nose to the end of the tail; and some have been found to weigh as far as 150 pounds, though it is generally believed, that this is by no means the largest size they will arrive at. The greatest circumference of the animal is round the bottom of the belly and hips; being very small about the head and neck, and increasing gradually downwards; the fore legs of the largest yet seen were nineteen inches in length; the hinder ones three feet seven inches; the tail two feet three quarters, pretty thick at the rump, and running tapering to the end. The ears are pretty large, and for the most part stand erect, the make of the head not inelegant, somewhat resembling that of a fawn. In the upper jaw are six cutting teeth and four grinders, with a vacant space between, as there are no canine teeth. In the under jaw are two cutting teeth, which are very long, greatly resembling those of a squirrel, with four grinders, to answer those above. The fore legs are furnished with five toes, and as many claws, but their shortness prevents their being applied to the purpose of walking; and the use the animal makes of them is merely for digging holes, or bringing the food to its mouth. The hinder legs are very strong, and when sitting, the kangaroo rests on them the whole

of their length, the rump being elevated several inches from the ground; the under part of them is callous and bare. The toes are only three in number, the middle one exceeding the others greatly in length and strength, but the inner one is of a peculiar structure; at first sight appearing single, though on further inspection, it is really divided down the middle, as well as the ball of the toe belonging to it, appearing as if separated by a sharp instrument. The tail, when the animal is at rest, seems to lie at ease behind it, but when in motion is carried for the most part quite erect. The general colour of the whole skin is pale brown, inclining to ash-colour, but the under parts are much paler than the upper.

We have reason to believe that the above is only an inhabitant of New Holland, at least none have yet been met with in any other place, and it has been said that there are two sorts, a greater and a smaller, but the last we are inclined to think is not yet sufficiently ascertained. From the make of the animal, it is no wonder that its progressive motion can only be by leaps, which have been known to exceed twenty feet at a time, and this so often repeated, as almost to elude the swiftness of the best greyhound; besides which, it will frequently bound over obstacles of nine feet or more in height, with the greatest ease; and if by chance it is overtaken by a dog, its struggles and strength are so great, that it soon releases itself to act the same part over again; added to which, it will often use the tail as a weapon of offence, striking so hard with it as to make the dog shy of encountering with it. The only method therefore

therefore to obtain them, is to lie in wait with a gun, and shoot them. It is said, however, that the natives have the art of catching them more easily.

The male is immediately known by the size of the scrotum, which is large and distinct. The female, on examination, is furnished with a large bag or pouch, as usual in this genus, within which are two nipples, to which the fœtuses after their first exclusion adhere, being defended in the pouch, till they arrive at full maturity; and even after this have been observed to run into the pouch as a place of shelter, on which occasion the tender mother contracts the part so violently together, that it cannot be opened without the greatest difficulty.

The dimensions of a stuffed kangaroo now in England, are as follow:

Length from the point of the nose to the end of the tail - - - -	Feet. In.
8 5	
Length of the tail - - -	3 1
----- head - - -	0 11
----- fore legs -	2 0
----- hind legs	3 7
Circumference of the fore part by the legs - -	1 9
----- low- er parts - - - -	4 5
Round the thicker part of the tail, which gradual- ly tapers to the end -	1 1

The above is the largest kangaroo that has yet been seen, and there is every reason to believe that even this had not nearly attained its full growth.

Lieutenant Shortland describes them as feeding in herds of about thirty or forty, and assures us, that

one is always observed to be apparently upon the watch, at a distance from the rest.

*Description of the Marmot. From Coxe's Travels in Switzerland, vol: iii.*

THE marmot is extremely common in the mountains of Switzerland, and particularly in this part of the Grisons; and, as many erroneous accounts of this sagacious little animal have been given, I shall send you the following extract, selected from a description written in the German tongue, by Dr. Girtaner; which cannot fail being highly interesting to all, who love to search into the œconomy of nature.

The marmot inhabits the highest and most inaccessible mountains; prefers the small narrow valleys, and particularly the western or southern aspect, as the warmest, and avoids moist places. On the opening of spring, when he issues from his hole, where he has slept during winter, he descends to the lower regions, where vegetation is forward. In summer he again ascends to the rocky heights, and into solitary caverns. He feeds upon herbs and roots, and particularly on the alpine plantain, mountain spingel, alpine ladies mantle, mountain sorrel, alpine toad-flax, alpine trefoil, and alpine starwort. When tame, he eats almost every thing except flesh. On drinking, he raises up his head like fowls at every sip, looking on each side with a timorous watchfulness. He drinks but little, to which Dr. Amstein attributes his fatness. He is extremely fond of butter and milk.

At break of day the old marmots come out of their holes and feed; afterwards they bring out their young ones; the latter scamper on all sides, chase each other, sit on their hind feet, and remain in that posture, facing towards the sun, with an air expressive of satisfaction. They are all particularly fond of warmth, and when they think themselves secure, will bask in the sun for several hours. Before they collect the grass, either for their food, or for their winter habitations, they form themselves into a circle, sitting on their hind legs, and reconnoitre on all sides. On the least alarm, the first gives instantly a shrill cry, which is communicated from one to the other, and they escape without repeating the noise. The chaffeurs, by imitating these successive whistlings, approach so near as to come within shot of them.

The marmot has a quick eye, and discovers the enemy at a considerable distance. He never does the least injury to any other animal, and flies when he is pursued. In fact, when apprehensive of being followed, whole families quit their dwellings, and wander from mountain to mountain, although they must again construct their habitations: but when flight is impossible, they defend themselves with spirit against men and dogs, and attack all who approach them with their teeth and claws.

They always live together in societies. They have both summer and winter dwellings, which are easily distinguished from each other. The former remain open during the whole year; whereas the latter are closed at the end of September. In the summer dwellings is found dung in great abundance, but no hay: on

the contrary, the winter habitations never contain any dung, but much hay. Near the latter is perceived a more considerable quantity of earth, which annually increases, according to the size of the dwelling, and the augmentation of the family.

In the formation of their dwellings they scoop out the earth with great dexterity and expedition: a small part they throw away, and by beating the remainder close, render the passage very compact and solid. The opening being scarcely more than six or seven inches in diameter, is just large enough to admit the animal. The interior is from eight to twenty feet in length; it consists of a passage, which, at about five or six feet from the entrance, divides into two branches: the one leading to a small cavity; the other to the chamber in which they repose. The passage, and the two branches, are always carried in a straight line, unless the intervention of a rock, or any other impediment, obliges them to take another direction. The chamber is round or oval, arched at top, and in its form resembles the shape of an oven. It is from three to seven feet in diameter, being larger or smaller according to the number of the family. It is strewed with hay, in which the marmots lie in a dormant state during the whole winter.

On retiring to this dwelling about the beginning of October, they carefully close the entrance so as to exclude all air, with a cement of earth mixed with stones and hay. On opening this chamber three weeks after it is closed, the marmots are discovered lying on the hay close to each other, and rolled up like hedgehogs, without the least appearance

of life. Usually from five to sixteen are found together; sometimes, but rarely, two families occupy the same dwelling; and occasionally, but very seldom, one has been discovered alone. If exposed to warmth they awaken. The tame marmots do not sleep during winter; but on the approach of that season, excited by instinct, they collect materials towards constructing their dwellings. The wild marmots occupy their winter habitation in October, and quit it towards the latter end of March or the beginning of April. In removing the cement which closes the opening, they do not push it outwards, but draw it

inwards, and probably convey the materials, which would block up the principal passage, into the small cavity.

They copulate soon after coming out: in June or July young ones have been observed, about the size of rats.

It is probable they do not eat during their torpid state; for the same quantity of hay is observed both in spring and autumn in their winter habitations, and those which have been dug out in that season are thin and perfectly empty.

The flesh of the marmot is eatable, and its skin is used for furs.

## USEFUL PROJECTS.

*Of the Cause and Cure of the Disease in the Potatoe Plant called the Curl. From Transactions of the Society of Arts, &c. vol. viii.*

**T**HE curl in potatoes, is a disease which admits of three different stages or degrees.

1st. The half-curl.

2d. The curl.

3d. The corrupted.

1st. The *half-curl'd* plants have leaves somewhat long, and curled only in a moderate degree: they produce a tolerable crop, if the summer be not very dry; but if otherwise, the potatoes will be small and watery.

2d. The *completely-curl'd* plants are seldom more than six or seven inches high: they soon ripen and die. The potatoes are generally smaller than a nutmeg, of a rusty red colour, and unwholesome as food.

3d. The *corrupted potatoes*, or those in which the vegetative power is nearly destroyed, never appear above ground. The seed may be found, at Michaelmas, as fresh, to appearance; as when it was set, with a few small potatoes close to it.

The first cause of the curl in potatoes must be traced to the manner in which the seed was raised the preceding year.

If the potatoes be set late in the

season, that is, from the middle of May to the middle of June, in a rich soil, well manured, having a southern aspect; and if the summer should be hot and dry till (we will suppose) the beginning of August, when the blow of the plants has fallen off, then the seed will be exhausted in feeding the plant only; and very few potatoes will appear. Should the weather now become moist and genial, the plants, especially if they should be earthed, will blow afresh, and a plentiful crop of very large potatoes may yet be produced.

These potatoes are perfectly fit for use as food; but as they were produced from the stalk of the plant, after the seed itself was exhausted, they will be defective in moisture and vegetative power: and the plants which proceed from them the following year, will be found to be curled.

Second cause.—The curl may be produced without manure or earthing, provided the potatoes be sown (at the end of May) thick together, in a rich soil, and covered with green fern, or other litter, before the plants appear. The rain rots the fern or litter, and enables it to penetrate as a manure to the roots; and the plants are forced, as in the preceding experiment, to a second growth and blow. The seed

thus raised produced plants that were curled.

The forcing potatoes by cultivation, as above described, I find to be the cause of the curl, both from my own experiments, repeated for several years successively, and also from the observations I have made upon the practice and ill success of my neighbours.

It is well known that the flowers of many plants, such as the poppy, the rose, and many others, are much altered by cultivation; they become *double*; the stamina are converted into petals, the generic character is lost, they become what botanists call *Monsters*; the parts of generation being changed, no seed is produced. If I may be allowed to consider any part of a plant in which the vegetative power resides as a seed, it will be found that rich cultivation produces, if not absolutely the same, at least a similar imperfection in the potatoe; for the flower and the bulbous root are both enlarged by cultivation. In the flower, little or no seed is produced: in the potatoe, the vegetative power is impaired or destroyed, according to the degree of the disease.

It is observable that, wherever the vegetative power is impaired, there is always a deficiency of moisture; which is proved by the following experiment, from which it appears, that both healthy and curled plants may be raised from the same potatoe.

Dig up, in the beginning of October, some potatoes raised as is described in the preceding pages. Amongst the largest will be found some that have, in different parts, different degrees of moisture, the least at the butt, and the most at the crown end, the quantity of

moisture gradually increasing from the butt to the crown. Take one set from the crown, and another from the butt; the former will produce an healthy, the latter a curled plant. The curl-producing potatoes are also observed to be drier both before and after boiling, and are boiled in a shorter time.

*The Mode of preventing the Curl in Potatoes.*

The following directions for cultivating potatoes, duly observed, will effectually prevent the curl; as I have found by various and repeated experiments, made with great care and attention, during these last seven years.

The best time of setting, is from the beginning of April to the middle of May. Make ridges a yard asunder: put your manure first into the trench, and with moderation: set the potatoes in a triangular form, five or six inches asunder; cover them with the soil to the thickness of five or six inches. There is but little danger of laying on too much of the soil: the deeper are the sets, the better will they be protected from the scorching heat of the sun, if the season should be dry. This distance of five or six inches is so small as to prevent the plants growing too rank, and yet sufficient for each of them to be exposed to the sun and the air.

2dly. When they have grown to the height of six or seven inches above the ground, you must earth them, as is the usual practice. You must take away the weeds, and may draw a little mould to them; but you must be careful to do it before the blossom-buds appear,  
which



which time is generally about the end of June.

They will now require no further care, excepting that of weeding.

I am of opinion that early setting is advantageous, on account of the greater chance of early rain, which will be very beneficial to the plants if the summer should be dry. By this process, the plants will be healthy; the young potatoes will be formed in due season; they will grow gradually; the plant will ripen and die in due time, and will not be forced into a second growth by the rain which may fall in September. The sap being thus left in the potatoe, it becomes a *seed* endued with an unimpaired perfect vegetative power; and the plants which are raised from them will be found to be entirely free from the curl.

N. B. The potatoes may be dug as soon as they can be handled without crushing the peel, that is, about the end of September.

Sound potatoes are procured with the greatest certainty from earth that has been peeled and burnt: the soil thus prepared is well suited to the growth of potatoes. In this they grow gradually, and are not forced beyond their natural size: in doubtful seed, it is safest to plant the smallest potatoes *whole*.

The soil the most likely to produce the curl, is that which is rich in itself, much manured, and has a southern aspect. In other situations, where the soil is not rich, and the garden is cold, either from its being upon the side of a hill, or exposed to the north, the curl has not yet appeared; which is known to be the case in the mountainous parts of Radnorshire and Montgomeryshire. This is perfectly consonant with my theory; for where the soil is poor,

and the situation cold, the plants cannot be forced into a second growth by earthing and manure.

I do not mean to dissuade those who are anxious to raise large crops for immediate use, from earthing and manuring to the utmost extent; I only caution them against using potatoes so raised, for seed. By earthing and manuring, you will doubtless raise large crops of large potatoes perfectly good, as food, but imperfect as seed; for the vegetative power will be impaired by this forcing cultivation. Hence it will be the interest of every prudent cultivator, to allot a portion of his potatoe-garden to the raising of seed-potatoes. If the directions which I have given be followed, I have not the least doubt of success; at least I am certain that the curl will not make its appearance.

The potatoe is also liable to other disorders: in very dry seasons, excrescences will arise, vulgarly called the scab; in moist seasons, little holes or cavities appear, called the canker; and both these disorders increase according to the length of time they remain in the earth, after having acquired maturity. It is more than probable, that these disorders may hasten the decay, and cause the curl.

One method of preventing the disease, namely, by changing the seed, has been already mentioned: another source of prevention offers, from raising new kinds from the seed or apple of the plant, or the same kinds renewed again from the seed. Raising new kinds from seed, however, requires no small portion of discernment; for the seed from the same plant will produce so many varieties, that it requires nice judgment of the cultivator properly

to select. Great numbers, from inspection only, will be weeded out and rejected; and of those retained, more will be again rejected, the succeeding and following years: of the remaining few, there may different characters still exist; such as ill or well flavoured, close or coarse grained, productive, non-productive, &c. &c. Each may have their respective value: but I think it may be generally asserted, that the finer kinds sooner degenerate; the coarse kinds, which are almost, if not always, more productive, retain their vigour the longest. The following example confirms this opinion.

Spring, 1785.—I procured a new kind of potatoe, called a *DABB*, lately raised from seed; where, I know not: the character of which was, large, coarse-grained, strong-flavoured, and of course rejected from the table; but being very productive, was useful for cattle. The last year, it was so much improved, as to be no longer rejected; it still retains the quality of being productive, even so much as yielding, this present year, six bushels from every statute perch. It should be observed, that the present very luxuriant crop may be in great measure owing to having been planted on a virgin soil, which was never before improved, or broken up; very little dung was used. Here is an evident change for the better; the plants are vigorous, and there is at present no appearance of decay: this new soil may be a means of preserving the plant a few years longer; but a total change of seed will, in time, become absolutely necessary.

Hence it should appear, that although the disease, after the present stock has been, to a certain degree,

infected, can never be cured, yet means may be taken for prevention: and that this is the case in this district, is evident; few crops, of late years, having failed, by being much infected with this disorder; for, wherever the curl has appeared, in ever so small a degree, that stock has been rejected by the attentive cultivator, and new seed obtained.

I am the more encouraged to offer you these hints, for that, after having drawn them up, in the manner here sent, I read them over to a very intelligent farmer in this neighbourhood, who said that these thoughts totally corresponded with his own. I have shewn them also to a respectable clergyman, who, to his other many excellent qualities, is always ready to communicate information, and has favoured me with the following extract from a private letter.

“A labouring man in my neighbourhood has got a very good potatoe: the only fault is, that out of four plants, three of them are abominably curled; on which account, I desired he would give me four potatoes. From each potatoe I took a *shoot*, not a *set*, in order to see if the shoots would be curled; they were not: so, possibly, their not being curled may be accidental, or possibly the curl may arise from the *set* planted. Another year, I will plant a dozen, or more, of these potatoe shoots: then, if there should be no curl, I shall be clearly of opinion, that the curl arises from some disease in the *set*. What I mean by a shoot, is—I put three or four sets into a flower-pot; when they have shot to be about two inches high, and have fibres, I take the sets up, and, with a knife, cut the

the shoots off, leaving not the least piece of a set on the shoot. I then plant the shoots.

Hurfeley,  
22d July, 1789.

S. H."

It should appear, from the above ingenious experiment, of which future trials will confuse or confirm the fact, that it corroborates the above theory, by proving the disease in the set; and which, when the cause or seat of disorder is lopped away, the cure is effected by the force of nature to heal itself, and the power of vegetation on the small fibres, which retain newly-acquired life, though from an infected parent stock.

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*Method of cultivating and curing  
Turkey Rhubarb from Seed. From  
the same.*

**I** HAVE usually sown the seed about the beginning of February, on a bed of good soil (if rather sandy, the better) exposed to an east or west aspect, in preference to the south; observing a full sun to be prejudicial to the vegetation of the seeds, and to the plants whilst young.

The seeds are best sown moderately thick (broad-cast) treading them regularly in, as is usual with parsneps and other light seeds, and then raking the ground smooth. I have sometimes, when the season has been wet, made a bed for sowing the rhubarb seeds upon, about two feet thick, with new dung from the stable, covering it near one foot thick with good soil. The intent of this bed is not for the sake of warmth, but solely to prevent the

rising of earth-worms, which, in a moist season, will frequently destroy the young crop.

If the seed is good, the plants often rise too thick; if so, when they have attained six leaves, they should be taken carefully up (where too close) leaving the standing crop eight or ten inches apart: those taken up may be planted at the same distance, in a fresh spot of ground, in order to furnish other plantations. When the plants in general are grown to the size that cabbage-plants are usually set out for a standing crop, they are best planted where they are to remain, in beds four feet wide, one row along the middle of the bed, leaving two yards distance betwixt the plants, allowing an alley between the beds about a foot wide, for convenience of weeding the plants.

In the autumn, when the decayed leaves are removed, if the shoveling of the alleys are thrown over the crowns of the plants, it will be found of service.

*Cultivation of Turkey Rhubarb by  
off-sets.*

On taking up some plants the last spring, I slipped off several off-sets from the heads of large plants: these I set with a dibble, about a foot apart, in order, if I found them thrive, to remove them into other beds. On examining them in the autumn, I was surprised to see the progress they had made, and pleased to be able to furnish my beds with forty plants in the most thriving state.

Though this was my first experiment of its kind, I do not mean to arrogate the discovery to myself, having

having known it recently tried by others, but without being informed of their success. I have reason to think this valuable drug will, by this method, be brought much sooner to perfection than from seed.

*Method of curing Rhubarb.*

The plants may be taken up either early in the spring, or in autumn, when the leaves are decayed, in dry weather if possible, when the roots are to be cleared from dirt (without washing): let them be cut into pieces, and with a sharp knife freed from the outer coat, and exposed to the sun and air for a few days, to render the outside a little dry.

In order to accelerate the curing of the largest pieces, a hole may be scooped out with a penknife: these and the smaller parts are then to be strung on packthread, and hung up in a warm room (I have always had the convenience of such a one over a baker's oven) where it is to remain till perfectly dry. Each piece may be rendered more tightly by a common file, fixing it in a small vice during that operation: afterwards rub over it a very fine powder, which the small roots furnish in beautiful perfection, for this and every other purpose where rhubarb is required.

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*Account of a new Method of generating Yeast; in Two Letters, from the Rev. William Maſon of Aſton. From the ſame.*

**L**AST spring, I requested a friend to inquire of you some particulars concerning the premium

which the society had offered on the production of yeast, of which you obligingly gave him full information. As I found November was the month in which the matter was to be decided, I deferred troubling you any more till I had caused an experiment to be repeatedly tried; which a domestic of mine, who brews for me, had at that time first made.

I had just before, with his assistance, impregnated wort with fixed air, or rather a decoction of malt in water, according to Dr. Henry's ingenious method\*, and by the yeast thereby obtained, produced good bread. This led him, unknown to me, to try whether the experiment would not succeed full as well without fixed air; which he found it did. He accordingly brought me a small vessel with a full head of yeast upon it, assuring me with some degree of exultation, that neither oil of vitriol with chalk, nor any portion of old yeast, had been employed on the occasion. This greatly surprised me; and I then desired he would proceed with the experiment in his own way, and endeavour to increase the quantity already made, by what additional decoction of malt and water he might think proper; insisting only that nothing but malt, water, and heat, should be employed for the purpose. He did so, and in a few days increased the original quantity till it became sufficient to work a hoghead of small-beer, which produced ten pounds weight of perfect yeast; and this, being soon after put on a vat for a hoghead of ale, was found to be augmented to forty-two pounds.

\* See Annual Register for the year 1786, *Useful Projects*, p. 74.

The discovery therefore is simply this: "that yeast is not (as has, I believe, been hitherto thought) some peculiar and unknown substance, necessary to be added to wort, in order to put it into a fermenting state; but that malt boiled in water will generate it (as the chemists say) *per se*, if the following circumstances be attended to:

" 1st. That the process be begun with a small quantity of the decoction.

" 2dly. That it be kept in an equal degree of heat. And,

" 3dly. That, when the fermentation is begun, it should be assisted and augmented with fresh decoctions of the same liquor."

The proportions and method which my servant has found generally to succeed, I will now give you, as taken from his own words, in the form of a recipe.

Procure three earthen or wooden vessels of different sizes and apertures, one capable of holding two quarts, the other three or four, and the third five or six: boil a quarter of a peck of malt for about eight or ten minutes, in three pints of water; and when a quart is poured off from the grains, let it stand in a cool place, till not quite cold, but retaining that degree of heat which the brewers usually find to be proper when they begin to work their liquor. Then remove the vessel into some warm situation near a fire, where the thermometer stands between 70 and 80 degrees (Fahrenheit) and there let it remain till the fermentation begins, which will be plainly perceived within thirty hours; and then two quarts more of a like decoction of malt, when cool, as the first was; and mix the whole in the larger-sized vessel, and stir it well in,

which must be repeated in the usual way, as it rises in a common vat: then add a still greater quantity of the same decoction, to be worked in the largest vessel, which will produce yeast enough for a brewing of forty gallons.

P. S. It may be proper to add, that my servant is of opinion, that a proper quantity of hops boiled in the liquor, makes the fermentation proceed better; but as it may, and has actually succeeded without such addition, I would willingly wish them to be omitted, to prevent the bread baked with it from tasting bitter. Experience only can decide this; and farther experience is still wanted, to make a perfect recipe for the operation.

Dear Sir,

ACCORDING to my promise, I write to inform you of the result of some more experiments which have been made here, under my direction, relative to yeast; and the rather, because they were made by means of a very simple apparatus, which I think will be found very convenient on ship-board, and also in cottages, &c. It is merely a wooden box, of about twelve or fourteen inches square, open on one side, in which a vessel containing the wort is placed; and then the box is set with the open side close to a wall, heated by a fire on the other side, when the thermometer indicates the wall to be about 80°: so that I imagine the back of a chimney in a ship, or behind an oven or kitchen-fire in a cottage, would be found very convenient for the process; as the vessel might be there surrounded with a small atmosphere of air, sufficiently warm at the first, and capable of being continued at the same

same equable temperature for a sufficient time.

A box of this kind, in which the following experiments were made, was placed on a dresser in my kitchen, more than eighteen feet from the kitchen-fire, but against a thin wall, which divides the kitchen from the servants hall, just behind the fire-place of that room; and the open side of the box turned to the heated wall, the vessels themselves uncovered. If you recollect the trouble you so obligingly took in heating your office, you will think this method, since discovered, of performing the same experiment, of considerable utility.

Experiment 1st.—Three vessels were set at the same time in the warm box, containing a quart of liquor each, and of equal strength with respect to malt: one was a decoction without hops, another with hops, the other a simple infusion of malt: in about twenty-four hours the hopped decoction produced a fine head of yeast; the other decoction fermented as well, but was twenty-four hours later; the simple infusion was near thirty-six hours later, and the yeast appeared dark and ill-coloured, so that my house-keeper thought it spoiled; but this bad appearance was merely owing to its not having been boiled and cleared, for it made very light breakfast rolls.

This experiment, you will perceive, was made to try whether hops (as my servant imagined) were necessary; and it certainly proves that they accelerate the fermentation; but it proves also, that neither hops nor boiling are essential to the process.

Experiment 2d.—Four vessels from a common brewing of ale

were placed in a box of longer dimensions; one contained two quarts; a second, one; a third, a pint; a fourth, half a pint: they all shewed signs of fermentation at the same time, viz. in about twenty-four hours; but that in the mug or pot holding a pint appeared the strongest, which my servant thought was owing to the smaller diameter of the vessel, which was smaller in proportion to the half-pint; but as it stood more centrally to the heat of the fire behind, I am persuaded the excess of fermentation proceeded from that cause. This proves that the quantity you begin the process with is not very material: though two quarts seem to be most convenient for the purpose of baking.

Experiment 3d, Was instituted merely to find whether an addition of sugar would accelerate the fermentation; for which purpose, two quarts of hopped liquor were tried in separate vessels, a quart in each: and the result was, that the decoction, in which two large spoonfuls of coarse sugar were stirred in, did not ferment in the least, though continued in the warm box five days and nights; the other fermented in about thirty-six hours. The reason of this later fermentation than of that in the former experiments, was, that the liquor used was from a brewing of small-beer. Hence we may conclude, that a decoction of the strength of ale, if not of strong beer, is the best to begin with.

*Account of Experiments on the Generation of Yeast, made under the Inspection of the Committee of Chymistry, in the Month of November 1789.*

FOUR quarts of ground malt were put into a new stone ware vessel, and mashed with about an equal quantity of hot water in the usual manner for brewing. When the mash had stood about an hour, the wort was drawn off, and three quarts of boiling water poured on the grains; when this had stood a due time, the liquor was suffered to run off, and the whole liquor boiled half an hour; being then set to cool, was poured clear from the sediment, and then put in a room where the heat was regularly kept up to summer heat, or near  $80^{\circ}$  of Fahrenheit's thermometer. It stood in this degree of heat till some signs of fermentation appeared on the surface; which came on in about three days.

Another brewing was then made as above described; and, when of a due heat, stirred into the former liquor. In about twenty-four hours some yeast appeared, and another brewing was then made; and, when of a due heat, mixed with the two former ones, and well beat in, the heat being still kept up to the degree above mentioned: in about two days more, five ounces of excellent yeast were collected from the surface of the liquor.

Some of this yeast being mixed with a due proportion of flour, water, and salt, answered all the purposes intended for bread; and might certainly have been equally well applied to brewing, in the common method. In fine, being pure and good yeast, it will answer all the intentions of that useful article.

*rots. From Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, vol. ii.*

WE have examined the sample of spirits, which was sent by Dr. Hunter of York to the Royal Society, and we have read the account of the experiment on the fermentation and distillation of carrots, by which the said spirit was produced. The experiment was made by Mr. Thomas Hornby, druggist in York, with one ton and eight stone of carrots, which, after being exposed to the air a few days to dry, weighed 160 stone, and measured 42 bushels; they were washed, topped and tailed, by which they lost in weight 11 stone, and in measure seven bushels; being then cut, they were boiled with the proportion of 24 gallons of water to one third of the above quantity of carrots, until the whole was reduced to a tender pulp, which was done in three hours boiling. From this pulp, the juice was easily extracted by means of a press, and 200 gallons of juice were produced from the whole. This juice was boiled again, with one pound of hops five hours, and then cooled to  $66^{\circ}$  of Fahrenheit, and six quarts of yeast being added, it was set to ferment. The strong fermentation lasted 48 hours, during which time the heat abated to  $58^{\circ}$  of Fahrenheit; 12 gallons of unfermented juice, which had been reserved, were then heated and added to the liquor, the heat of which was thus raised again to  $66^{\circ}$ , and the fermentation was renewed for 24 hours more, the air of the brewhouse being all this time at  $46^{\circ}$  and  $44^{\circ}$ . The liquor was now turned, and continued to work three days from the bung; and, lastly, it was

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*Report of the Committee on Dr. Hunter and Mr. Hornby's Process for producing an ardent Spirit from Car-*

was

was distilled, and the first distillation was rectified next day without any addition. The produce was twelve gallons, of the same quality with the sample.

In our examination of this sample, we found it resembled a corn spirit in flavour, but was equal to a corn spirit of the best kind, and it was a proof spirit.

The refuse of the carrots weighed 48 stone, which, added to the tops and tails, made provision for hogs, beside the wash from the still, which measured 114 gallons.

From this experiment, Dr. Hunter draws the following comparison between the distillation of carrots and that of grain.

Twenty tons of carrots, which will make 200 gallons of proof spirits, may be bought for 16l

Eight quarters of malt, or rather the materials for distillation, consisting of malt, wheat and rye, may be bought for 16l. and will also make 200 gallons of proof spirit.

The refuse from the carrots will be 960 stone, which, at 1d. per stone, will sell for 4l.

The refuse or grains from the malt, &c. will be 64 bushels, each bushel weighing about three stone, which, at 1d. per stone, will sell for 16s.

The Doctor, however, supposes, that the manufacturing of the spirit from carrots, may be attended with more expence than the manufacturing of it from malt; but imagines that the greater value of the refuse may compensate for that expence, and that the saving of corn for other purposes, is an object worthy of attention and of encouragement.

(Signed) JOSEPH BLACK.  
JAMES RUSSELL.  
19th May, 1788. JAMES HUTTON.

*Successful Experiment of rearing Calves without Milk. From Transactions of the Bath Society, vol. v.*

Tytherton, Dec. 3, 1789.

S I R,

THE following is as near a calculation of the expences of rearing my calves without milk, as I can at present assert. In the year 1787, I weaned seventeen calves, in 1788 twenty-three, and in 1789, fifteen ditto. I bought in 1787, three sacks of linseed; I put one quart of the seed to six quarts of water, which, by boiling ten minutes, became a good jelly; this jelly is mixed with a small quantity of the tea of the best hay steeped in boiling water.

Having my calves drop at different times, I did not make an exact calculation of the expence of this hay tea, but out of my three sacks of seed, I had better than two bushels left at last. I gave them the jelly and hay tea three times a day; to the boy who looked after them 6d. per day; the price of the linseed was 4s. 6d. per bushel; the whole three years seed 2l. 5s.

My calves are kept in a good growing state, and are much better at this time than my neighbours' that are reared by milk; they do not fall off so much when they come to grass.

I am your obedient servant,  
THOMAS CROOK.

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*General Rules for the Choice of Spectacles, and for the Preservation of the Sight. From Adam's Essay on Vision.*

THE most general, and perhaps the best rule that can be given,



given, to those who are in want of assistance from glasses, in order to choose their spectacles, that they may suit the state of their eyes, is to prefer those which shew objects nearest their natural state, neither enlarged nor diminished, the glasses being near the eye, and that give a blackness and distinctness to the letters of a book, neither straining the eye, nor causing any unnatural exertion of the pupil.

For no spectacles can be said to be properly accommodated to the eyes, which do not procure them ease and rest; if they fatigue the eyes, we may safely conclude, either that we have no occasion for them, or that they are ill made, or not proportioned to our sight.

Though, in the choice of spectacles, every one must finally determine for himself, which are the glasses through which he obtains the most distinct vision; yet some confidence should be placed in the judgment of the artist, of whom they are purchased, and some attention paid to his directions. By trying many spectacles the eye is fatigued, as the pupil varies in size with every different glass, and the eye endeavours to accommodate itself to every change that is produced. Hence, the purchaser often fixes upon a pair of spectacles, not the best adapted to his sight, but those which seem to relieve him most, while his eyes are in a forced and unnatural state; and consequently, when he gets home, and they are returned to their natural state, he finds what he has chosen fatiguing and injurious to his sight.

*Of Preservers, and Rules for the Preservation of the Sight.*

Though it may be impossible to prevent the absolute decay of sight, whether arising from age, partial disease, or illness, yet by prudence and good management, its natural failure may certainly be retarded, and the general habit of the eyes strengthened, which good purposes will be promoted by a proper attention to the following maxims.

1. Never to sit for any length of time in absolute gloom, or exposed to a blaze of light. The reasons on which this rule is founded, prove the impropriety of going hastily from one extreme to the other, whether of darkness or of light, and shew us, that a southern aspect is improper for those whose sight is weak and tender.

2. To avoid reading a small print.

3. Not to read in the dusk; nor, if the eyes be disordered, by candle-light. Happy those who learn this lesson betimes, and begin to preserve their sight, before they are reminded by pain, of the necessity of sparing them; the frivolous attention to a quarter of an hour of the evening, has cost numbers the perfect and comfortable use of their eyes for many years: the mischief is effected imperceptibly, the consequences are inevitable.

4. The eye should not be permitted to dwell on glaring objects, more particularly on first waking in a morning; the sun should not of course be suffered to shine in the room at that time, and a moderate quantity of light only be admitted. It is easy to see, that for the same reasons, the furniture of a bed should be neither altogether of a  
white

white or red colour; indeed, those whose eyes are weak, would find considerable advantage in having green for the furniture of their bed-chamber. Nature confirms the propriety of the advice given in this rule: for the light of the day comes on by slow degrees, and green is the universal colour she presents to our eyes.

5. The long-sighted should accustom themselves to read with rather less light, and somewhat nearer to the eye, than what they naturally like; while those that are short-sighted, should rather use themselves to read with the book as far off as possible. By this means, both would improve and strengthen their sight; while a contrary course will increase its natural imperfections.

There is nothing which preserves the sight longer, than always using, both in reading and writing, that moderate degree of light which is best suited to the eye; too little strains them, too great a quantity dazzles and confounds them. The eyes are less hurt by the want of light, than by the excess of it; too little light never does any harm, unless they are strained by efforts to see objects, to which the degree of light is inadequate; but too great a quantity has, by its own power, destroyed the sight. Thus many have brought on themselves a cataract, by frequently looking at the sun, or a fire; others have lost their sight, by being brought too suddenly from an extreme of darkness into the blaze of day. How dangerous the looking upon bright luminous objects is to the sight, is evident from its effects in those countries which are covered the greater part of the year with snow, where blindness is exceeding frequent, and where

the traveller is obliged to cover his eyes with crape, to prevent the dangerous, and often sudden effects of too much light: even the untutored savage tries to avoid the danger, by framing a little wooden case for his eyes, with only two narrow slits. A momentary gaze at the sun will, for a time, unfit the eyes for vision, and render them insensible to impressions of a milder nature.

The following cases from a small tract on the "*Fabric of the Eye*," are so applicable to the present article, as to want no apology for their insertion here; though, if any were necessary, the use they will probably be of to those whose complaints arise from the same or similar causes, would, I presume, be more than sufficient.

"A lady from the country, coming to reside in St. James's Square, was afflicted with a pain in her eye, and a decay of sight. She could not look upon the stones, when the sun shone upon them, without great pain. This, which she thought was one of the symptoms of her disorder, was the real cause of it. Her eyes, which had been accustomed to the verdure of the country, and the green of the pasture grounds before her house, could not bear the violent and unnatural glare of light reflected from the stones; she was advised to place a number of small orange trees in the windows so that their tops might hide the pavement, and be in a line with the grass. She recovered by this simple change in the light, without the assistance of any medicine; though her eyes were before on the verge of little less than blindness."

"A gentleman of the law had his lodgings in Pall Mall, on the north

north side, his front windows were exposed to the full noon sun, while the back room, having no opening, but into a small close yard, surrounded with high walls, was very dark; he wrote in the back room, and used to come from that into the front room to breakfast, &c. His sight grew weak, and he had a constant pain in the balls of his eyes; he tried visual glasses, and spoke with oculists, equally in vain. Being soon convinced, that the coming suddenly out of his dusky study, into the full blaze of sun-shine, and that very often in the day, had been the real cause of his disorder; he took new lodgings, by which, and forbearing to write by candle-light, he was very soon cured."

Blindness, or at least miserable weaknesses of sight, are often brought on by these unsuspected causes. Those who have weak eyes, should therefore be particularly attentive to such circumstances, since prevention is easy, but the cure may be difficult, and sometimes impracticable.

When the eye sensibly flattens, all delay is dangerous; and the longer those who feel the want of assistance, defer the use of spectacles, the more they will increase the failure of the eye; there are too many who procrastinate the use of them, till at last they are obliged to use glasses of ten or twelve inches focus, instead of those of 36 or 40, which would otherwise have suited them; thus preferring a real evil, to avoid one that is imaginary. Mr. Thom mentions several deplorable cases of this kind, particularly one of a lady, who, through false shame, had abstained from wearing spectacles so long a time, that at last it was impossible to suit her, but with those adapted to eyes that have been couched. Whereas the instances are numerous of those who, by using glasses of a long focus at the first approaches of long-sightedness, have brought back their eyes to their natural sight, and been able to lay aside their spectacles for years.

# ANTIQUITIES.

*Observations on the late continuance of the use of Torture in Great Britain; by George Chalmers, Esq; from Archæologia, vol. x.*

I Presumed to think, that whatever had a tendency to trace the modes of our government, or to mark the improvement of our freedom, would not be deemed by you altogether unworthy of your learned curiosity. And I was thus induced to communicate to you a copy of a warrant of the privy council, as late as 1620, for using torture on a person, who was suspected of treason; which, as a link connecting former practice with subsequent dissuétude, may be regarded as an instructive document.

The following is an authentic copy from the record:

“ To the Lieutenant of the  
“ Tower of London.

“ Whereas Samuel Peacock was  
“ heretofore committed prisoner to  
“ the Marshalsea, and that now it is  
“ thought fit upon vehement sus-  
“ picion of high treason against his  
“ majesty’s sacred person to remove  
“ him thence, and to commit him  
“ to the Tower; these shall be  
“ therefore to will and require you  
“ to repair to the prison of the  
“ Marshalsea, and there to receive  
“ from the keeper of that house the  
“ person of the said Samuel Pea-

“ cock, and him safely to convey  
“ under your custody unto the  
“ Tower of London, where you are  
“ to keep him close prisoner until  
“ further order. And whereas we  
“ have thought meet to nominate  
“ and appoint Sir Henry Montagu,  
“ Knt. Lord Chief Justice of the  
“ King’s Bench, Sir Thomas Co-  
“ ventry, Knt. his Majesty’s Soli-  
“ citor General, and yourself, to  
“ examine the said Peacock, for the  
“ better discovery of the truth of  
“ this treason; this shall be like-  
“ wise to authorize you, or any  
“ two of you, whereof yourself to  
“ be one, to examine the said Pea-  
“ cock from time to time, and to  
“ put him, as there shall be cause,  
“ for the better manifestation of the  
“ truth, to the torture, either of the  
“ manacles, or the rack; for which  
“ this shall be your warrant. And  
“ so, &c. The 19th of February,  
“ 1619.”

Allow me to subjoin a few observations. The Lieutenant of the Tower, who was thus entrusted, was Sir Allen Apfley. The privy counsellors, who directed that measure, and signed that warrant, were the lord chancellor Bacon, the earl of Worcester, who was then lord privy seal, the earl of Arundell, the lord Carew, lord Digby, Mr. Secretary Naunton, and Sir Edward Coke, who, after he had ceased to be

be chief justice, as a privy councillor sometimes sanctioned practices, which he lived to condemn as a writer.

But the silence of the record does not allow us to suppose, that the king was either present, or knew of this transaction.

When Sir Edward Coke published his second Institute, he gave it as his opinion, that torture was prohibited by the following words of the great Charter: "*Nullus liber homo aliquo modo destruatur nisi per legale iudicium parium suorum, aut per legem terrae.*" Nevertheless I fear, that if our criminal proceedings, from that great epoch to the accession of the Tudor family, were searched with malicious diligence, many instances of torture would be found, though Magna Charta was, meanwhile, confirmed by several statutes. During the reigns of the Tudors, torture was often used upon slight occasions. Lord Bacon relates of queen Elizabeth, that when she could not be persuaded that a book was really written by the person whose name it bore, she said with great indignation, that she would have him racked, to produce his author. I replied, "Nay, Madam, he is a doctor, never rack his person, rack his style; let him have pen, ink, and paper, and help of books, and he engaged to continue his story, and I will undertake, by collating the styles, to judge whether he were the author." The rack was shewn to Guy Fawkes on his examination, as king James himself relates. Torture was used on Peacock in 1620, as the warrant before-mentioned evinces. When Felton assassinated Buckingham in 1628, and the question was proposed for dis-

covering his accomplices, the judges declared, that consistent with law torture could not be used, as Rushworth has recorded.

Such was the former practice; and such the happy disuse of torture in England! Yet, in Scotland, the rack continued to terrify and debase the people for ages afterwards. Sir George Mackenzie has a whole chapter *Of Torture*; shewing that the privy council, or the supreme judges, could only use the rack; how those were punished who inflicted torture unjustly; and who were the persons that the law exempted: and he insists, that all lawyers were of opinion, that even after sentence criminals might be tortured, for knowing their accomplices. Yet, he shews incidentally, that though the practice of torture continued in Scotland till the revolution, yet the privy council refused in 1666, to order the covenanters to be racked after condemnation; assigning as a reason: "*Nam post condemnationem, iudices functi sunt officio.*" The learned lord Stair confirms what Sir George Mackenzie had thus laid down before him.

It is very remarkable, that when the parliament of Scotland framed their claim of right, in April 1689, they only declared, that the using torture, without evidence, or in ordinary crimes, is contrary to law. It requires no elaborate commentary to prove, that when there was evidence of extraordinary crimes, torture might still be lawfully used in Scotland subsequent to the revolution. It was the union, and the salutary spirit which that happy measure brought with it, that freed Scotland from the danger and reproach of using torture in any case. And it was the act of the British

parliament which was passed; in 1708, for improving the union of the two kingdoms, that put an end to torture, by enacting, among other favourable regulations, that no person accused of any crime in Scotland shall be liable to torture.

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*Description of the Great Pagoda of Madura, and the Choultry of Trimul Naik, by Mr. Blackader. From the same.*

**D**URING my residence in India, I was stationed for several years at *Madura*, on the Coromandel coast, about three hundred miles from fort St. George, and about seventy miles from the sea.

In this district there are situated some of the most magnificent buildings now to be met with in India, whether we consider their immense size, or the richness of the workmanship; and these edifices are rendered objects of great curiosity to the European observer, by the singularity of their architecture, which is different from any thing to be seen in other countries. I was much struck with these remarkable monuments of the Hindoo taste and grandeur. What added to my astonishment was the incredible labour which must have attended their erection, from the ignorance of the natives in the application of the mechanical powers; so that I became particularly solicitous to have it in my power to convey some idea of them to those who make antiquities more particularly their study.

The religion of the Hindoos consists of the worship of only one deity, but the names by which he is known in different districts are very nu-

merous, as are also the various forms under which he is represented. In honour of this deity an edifice or temple is erected; in the centre is placed his image, before which the religious ceremonies of the priests are performed. The building is in general small, and situated in an area or open space, enclosed by one or more walls of a sufficient height almost wholly to conceal it. Besides the temple, there is a very large and high building which makes a part of the wall, being half enclosed by it, through which is the entrance into the area. This may be considered as a steeple, not being intended for any other purpose than that of attracting the public attention, having only a small apartment in each story, and a staircase leading to the top. These two buildings are similar in shape externally, differing only in size. The smaller building contains the apartment for the adoration of the deity, which is lighted by lamps, there being no openings to admit the light; and the larger one at the lower part forms a magnificent gateway or entrance quite through it, each story having a small lateral window.

The inside of the wall enclosing the area has sometimes a single or double colonade all round; which being covered over, the top forms a parapet for the purposes of defence in time of war.

As the temples are by much too small to contain the great concourse of people who come to celebrate the public festivals and worship the deity; there is in general a large building for that purpose attached to it, called a *choultry*, which is composed of a number of columns at certain distances, and covered with a flat roof; these vary in number

and magnificence according to the richness of the church.

The relative situation which these buildings have to each other being explained, I shall proceed to a more particular description of the temple and choultry at Madura.

The temple is sacred to the deity under the name of *Chocalingam*; and indeed the same name (that of *Lingam*) is adopted all over India.

The image or representation of the deity is placed in the middle of the apartment facing the door. It is a block of black granite, about four feet high, of a conic shape, with the outlines of a human face on the top, and a gold arch over it, carved in open work, resembling the glory.

This figure is never moved from its place; but the bramins upon particular occasions bring out a representation of the deity to gratify the public, at which time he is supposed to have assumed a human form, of about three feet in height, with four arms, made of gold, and in a very singular manner richly ornamented with jewels and silks.

This image is carried on men's shoulders in this form seated on a throne, attended by the bramins as his servants, and seldom appears in public without being accompanied by his wife *Minachie*.

The temple is four stories high, and measures about sixty-eight feet, and at the base forty-three feet square, is built in the form of a pyramid; the first story is of stone, be-

ing much the largest; the others are of brick, covered over with a particular kind of plaister called *chunam*\*, becoming smaller as they grow up; the upper story being covered with copper very richly gilt. The external surface is ornamented every where with different representations of the deity and *pandarams*, or religious beggars, interspersed with animals. The base of the figures is brick; and the other part plaister, or *chunam*, which takes a fine polish, and is very durable. Most of the stories are very obscure and fabulous.

The temple is sufficiently large for the performance of the religious ceremonies, which is the business of the bramins, and consists chiefly in washing the figure with water, anointing it with oil, burning perfumes, and decorating it with flowers. These ceremonies are performed daily, with music and dancing †.

All those who come to pay their devotions do not enter the temple; but some make their applications in the area, being satisfied if they see the figure.

Heretics are never admitted into the temple, nor even into the area; and, should it ever happen, the place is defiled, and to purify it the bramins perform certain ceremonies, which consist in rubbing the walls with cow dung, sprinkling them with the urine, and making an offering.

The outer building or steeple is

\* Mortar made of pounded alabaster or shells beat, mixed with thin syrup to make it adhere.

† Every temple, whose revenues can afford it, has a set of dancing girls and music men dependent on it, who are slaves to the pagodas, and bear the mark of the temple, which is a trident burnt on their right arm. They do not reside in the temple, but must attend whenever required. The number of girls attached to this temple at Madras is about 300.

built in the same manner, and has the same ornaments as the temple; it is 162 feet high, 116 broad at the base, and 64 in thickness. There is no particular purpose to which it is appropriated that I could ever find out; yet there is this curious circumstance respecting it, that, in the disputes between the church and the government, which are of a serious nature, some enthusiast goes up in great form with music to the top of it, and makes a vow, that, if the dispute is not settled in a certain time, he will throw himself from the pinnacle. The dread of having this man's blood upon their heads generally brings about an accommodation; and I have only heard of one instance where he was under the necessity of fulfilling his vow.

The area which contains the temple is nearly 500 yards square.

The age and founder of these buildings is not to be ascertained, as the bramins conceal the dates, from an idea that their great antiquity increases the veneration of the people.

*Choultries* are not only annexed to temples, but built in different places for the accommodation of travellers, and are frequently endowed with revenues by charitable persons for the purpose of distributing provisions. They are generally built of stone, with a flat or terraced roof of the same materials; they have commonly three sides shut out from the weather, and the one left open is generally that facing the south or north, but more commonly the north, by which means neither the sun, nor the unwholesome winds that blow in March and April, can incommode the inhabitants.

The great choultry of *Timul Naik* was begun in the second year of his

reign, in the year 1623, and was finished in twenty-two years, and is said to have cost above a million sterling; but it is to be understood, that every village was obliged to send a certain number of workmen, according to the number of inhabitants, who were subsisted, but received no wages, which considerably diminished the expence.

It is built of an oblong square form, and consists of 124 pillars of stone placed in four rows. The manner of executing it was as follows. They dug pits at stated distances down to sand for a foundation, in which they placed their pillars, which are composed only of one stone roughly cut before they were fixed in these pits; and when they were all arranged, the different figures were carved upon them. When they did not find sand or gravel, they put in sand, and rammed it well down before they placed the columns.

The pillars are twenty feet high; over these pillars were placed the capitals, that are composed of a number of stones geometrically placed, so as to lessen the breadth of roof, which they do considerably.

The roof itself is composed of long stones, reaching from capital to capital, which being very heavy, and from their length liable to accidents, they were raised to their places in the following manner: the space between the pillars, as high as the top of the capital, was so filled with earth, as to form an inclined plane, along which the stones were rolled up to their situation, and the earth afterwards removed. These stones are again covered with a layer of bricks cemented by chunam.

The pillars are curiously carved with different figures, representing stories



stories connected with their religion, and the family of the founder of the choultry, with a number of devices of the workmen's own invention.

I took the trouble of procuring copies of the descriptions of the different columns, as registered in the accounts of the temple, and of having them literally translated; and shall annex a description of two or three of the pillars, as affording a specimen, of their ridiculous and absurd notions respecting religious history.

*Description of the Founder's Pillar.*

This pillar represents Trimul Naik with his four wives, two on each side, in a supplicating posture; the first was daughter to Ergi Raguah, king of Tanjour; the second was daughter to the king of Travencore; the other two were daughters to independent polligars. The first has a mark on her thigh, which was a wound she received from her husband by a creese, for saying, when he asked her opinion of his palace, that it was not equal to her father's necessary. There are two other figures behind of young women betrothed to him. They are all richly dressed, and as large as life. Below these are some figures of the women of his haram, of which he had 360, with attendants.

Another pillar represents the rajah Pundi, when he reigned in Madura. He went a hunting to the westward, to a village ten miles from Madura, in a wood abounding with wild hogs, where he met a boar and a sow, with twelve pigs. The boar killed several of his attendants, upon which the rajah shot him with an arrow, which enraged

the female, who wounded several of his people, and was herself likewise killed by the rajah; the young pigs being destitute, Menachie, wife to Chocalingam, begged her husband to support the pigs, which he agreed to do, and gave them suck under the form of a sow. The effect of the god's milk was such as made them reasonable beings, and their bodies became as men, but still retaining the heads of pigs. Chocalingam afterwards made the rajah support these twelve pigs as princes in his palace.

Another pillar represents Abiche Pundiam, rajah of Madura, paying his devotions to Chocalingam, which pleased the swamy (or deity) so much, that he metamorphosed himself into a pandaram, who came and performed miracles in Madura; making the old young, and the young old; giving sight to the blind; and moving large trees, &c. The rajah, hearing of this, sent for the pandaram, who refused to come to him, but met the rajah in one of the passages coming from his devotions; when the rajah asked him of the miracles he could perform, of which he had heard so much; and begged him to make the stone elephant come down and eat the sugar-cane he held in his hand, which the pandaram immediately did. The rajah, much surprized, confessed the presence of Chocalingam.

There are not only in the choultries, but also on the pagodas, many indecent figures, which are not connected with religion, but caried purposely to divert the attention, and prevent the mind of the beholders from being envious, as their superstition leads them to suppose that envy can hurt the building.

It is a curious circumstance, that, if any person, having begun one of these public buildings, should die before the completion, nobody will afterwards add a single stone, as it would not convey his name to posterity, but that of the original founder.

The founder of this choultry lived to compleat four of the largest buildings in India. This choultry, a pagoda, a tank three quarters of a mile square, twenty feet deep, and faced with stone, and a grand palace ornamented with beautiful black granite pillars, some of which are twenty feet high, cut out of one stone.

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*Of the Antiquity of the City of London; from Mr. Pennant's Account.*

**I**T was from the merchants who frequented our ports that Cæsar received the first intelligence of the nature of our country, which induced him to undertake the invasion of Britain, and which in after-times layed the foundation of its conquest by the Romans.

There is not the least reason to doubt but that London existed at that period, and was a place of much resort. It stood in such a situation as the Britons would select, according to the rule they established. An immense forest originally extended to the river side, and even as late as the reign of Henry II. covered the northern neighbourhood of the city, and was filled with various species of beasts of chase. It was defended naturally by fosses; one formed by the creek which ran along Fleet-ditch, the other, afterwards known by that of Walbrook, The south side was guarded by the

Thames. The north they might think sufficiently protected by the adjacent forest.

Near St. Swithin's church is a remnant of antiquity, which some have supposed to have been British; a stone, which might have formed a part of a Druidical circle, or some other object of the ancient religion, as it is placed near the center of the Roman precincts. Others have conjectured it to have been a millary stone, and to have served as a standard, from which they began to compute their miles. This seems very reasonable, as the distances from the neighbouring places coincide very exactly. At all times it has been preserved with great care, was placed deep in the ground, and strongly fastened with bars of iron. It seems preserved like the Palladium of the city. It is at present cased like a relique, within free-stone, with a hole left in the middle, which discovers the original. Certainly superstitious respect had been payed to it; for when the notorious rebel Jack Cade passed by it, after he had forced his way into the city, he struck his sword on London stone, saying, "Now is Mortimer lord of this citie;" as if that had been a customary ceremony of taking possession.

There is every reason to suppose that the Romans possessed themselves of London in the reign of Claudius; under whom Aulus Plautius took Camalodunum, the present Maldon, in Essex, and planted there a colony, consisting of veterans of the fourteenth legion, about a hundred and five years after the first invasion of our island by Cæsar. This was the first footing the Romans had in Britain. It seems certain that London and Verulam were taken

taken possession of about the same time; but the last claims the honor of being of a far earlier date, more opulent, populous, and a royal seat before the conquest of Britain. Camalodunum was made a Colonia, or a place governed entirely by Roman laws and customs; Verulamium, a Municipium, in which the natives were honored with the privileges of Roman citizens, and enjoyed their own laws and constitutions; and Londinum only a Præfectura, the inhabitants, a mixture of Romans and Britons, being suffered to enjoy no more than the name of citizens of Rome, being governed by præfects sent annually from thence, without having either their own laws or magistrates. It was even then of such concourse, and such vast trade, that the wise conquerors did not think fit to trust the inhabitants with the same privileges as other places, of which they had less reason to be jealous.

There is no mention of this important place, till the reign of Nero; when Tacitus speaks of it as not having been distinguished as a colony, but famous for its great concourse of merchants, and its vast commerce: this indicates, at least, that London had been at that time of some antiquity as a trading town, and founded long before the reign of that emperor. The exports from hence were cattle, hides, and corn; dogs made a small article; and, let me add, that slaves were a considerable object. Our internal parts were on a level with the African slave coasts; and wars among the petty monarchs were promoted for the sake of a traffic now so strongly controverted. The imports were at first salt, earthen ware, and works in brass, polished

bits of bones emulating ivory, horse-collars, toys of amber, and glasses, and other articles of the same material. We need not insist on the commerce of this period, for there was a great trade carried on with the Gauls in the days of Cæsar: that celebrated invader assigning, as his reason for attempting this island, the vast supplies which we gave to his Gaulish enemies, and which interrupted his conquests on the continent.

When the Romans became masters of London, they enlarged the precincts, and altered their form. It extended in length from Ludgate-hill to a spot a little beyond the Tower. The breadth was not half equal to the length, and at each end grew considerably narrower. The time in which the wall was built is very uncertain. Some ascribe the work to Constantine the great. Maitland, to Theodosius, governor of Britain in 369. Possibly their founder might have been Constantine, as numbers of coins of his mother Helena have been discovered under them, placed there by him in compliment to her. To support this conjecture, we may strengthen it by saying, that in honor of this empress, the city, about that time, received from her the title of Augusta; which, for some time, superseded the antient one of Londinium. Long before this period, it was fully Romanized, and the customs, manners, buildings, and arts of the conqueror adopted. The commerce of the empire flowed in regularly; came in a direct channel from the several parts then known, not as in the earlier days (when described by Strabo) by the intervention of other nations; for till the settlement of the Roman conquest,

quest, nothing could come immediately from Italy. The antient course of the walls was as follows:—It began with a fort near the present site of the Tower, was continued along the Minories, and the back of Houndsditch; across Bishopsgate-street, in a strait line by London-wall to Cripplegate; then returned southward by Crowder's Well Alley, (where several remnants of lofty towers were lately to be seen) to Aldersgate; thence along the back of Bull-and-mouth-street to Newgate, and again along the back of the houses in the Old Bailey to Ludgate; soon after which it probably finished with another fort, where the house, late the king's printing house, in Black Friars, now stands: from hence another wall ran near the river-side, along Thames-street, quite to the fort on the eastern extremity. In another place I shall have occasion to mention that the river at present is moved considerably more to the south, than it was in the times in question.

That the Romans had a fort on the spot at present occupied by the Tower, is now past doubt, since the discovery of a silver ingot, and three golden coins; one of the emperor Honorius, the others of Arcadius. Its weight is ten ounces eight grains of the troy pound. In the middle is struck, in Roman letters,

EX OFFIC.
HONORII

This is supposed to have come from the royal mint, then at Constantino-

ple, and intended to ascertain the purity of the silver coin, that might have been sent over with it, Honorius reigning over the empire of the west, as Arcadius did over that of the east. This was at the expiration of the Roman power in Britain. The coins were supposed to have been part of the money sent to pay the last legion which was ever sent to the assistance of the Britons. The Tower was the treasury in which the public money was deposited. The coins are in fine preservation. On the reverse is an armed man treading on a captive, with the legend VICTORIA AVGGG, and at the bottom CONOB. The first alludes to the success of the legion against the Picts and Scots. CONOB. may interd Constantinopoli obsignata\*.

The walls were three miles a hundred and sixty-five feet in circumference, guarded at proper distances, on the land side, with fifteen lofty towers; some of them were remaining within these few years, and possibly may still. Maitland mentions one, twenty-six feet high, near Gravel-lane, on the west side of Houndsditch; another, about eighty paces south-east towards Aldgate; and the bases of another, supporting a modern house, at the lower end of the street called the Vineyard, south of Aldgate. But since his publication, they have been demolished, so that there is not a trace left. The walls, when perfect, are supposed to have been twenty-two feet high, the towers, forty. These, with the remnants of the wall, proved the Roman structure, by the tiles and disposition

\* See the learned dean Milles's essay on these subjects in the *Archæologia*, v. p. 291, tab. xxv,

of the masonry. London-wall, near Moorfields, is now the most entire part left of that antient precinct.

I must not omit the Barbican, the specula or watch-tower belonging to every fortified place. This stood a little without the walls, to the north-west of Cripplegate.

The gates, which received the great military roads, were four. The Prætorian way, the Saxon Watling-street, passed under one, on the site of the late Newgate; vestiges having been discovered of the road in digging above Holborn-bridge: it turned down to Dow-gate, or more properly Dwr-gate or Water-gate, where there was a trajectus or ferry, to join it to the Watling-street, which was continued to Dover. The Hermin-street passed under Cripplegate; and a vicinal way went under Aldgate, by Bethnal Green, towards Oldford, a pass over the river Lee to Duroleiton, the modern Leiton, in Essex.

In most parts of antient London, Roman antiquities have been found, whenever it has been thought necessary to dig to any considerable depth. Beneath the old Saint Mary le Bow were found the walls, windows, and pavement of a Roman temple; and not far from it, eighteen feet deep in adventitious soil, was the Roman causeway. The great elevation of the present ground above its former state, will be taken notice of in another place.

In digging the foundation for the rebuilding of St. Paul's, was found a vast cemetery: first lay the Saxons, in graves lined with chalk stones, or in coffins of hollowed stones; beneath them had been the bodies of the Britons, placed in rows. Abundance of ivory and boxen pins, about six inches long,

marked their place. These were supposed to have fastened the shrouds in which the bodies were wrapped. These perishing, left the pins entire. In the same row, but deeper, were Roman urns intermixed, lamps, lacrymatories; fragments of sacrificial vessels were also discovered, in digging towards the north-east corner; and in 1675, not far from the east corner, at a considerable depth, beneath some flinty pavement, were found numbers of vessels of earthen ware, and of glass, of most exquisite colours and beauty, some inscribed with the names of deities, heroes, or men of rank. Others ornamented with variety of figures in bas relief, of animals and of rose-trees. Tesferulæ of jasper, porphyry, or marble, such as form the pavement we so often see, were also discovered. Also glass beads and rings, large pins of ivory and bone, tusks of bears, and horns of deer sawn through. Also coins of different emperors, among them some of Constantine; which at once destroys the conjecture of Mr. Maitland, who supposes that this collection were flung together at the sacking of London by our injured Boadicia.

The choice of the situation of this great city was most judicious. It is on a gravelly soil; and on a declivity down to the borders of a magnificent river. The slope is evident in every part of the ancient city, and the vast modern buildings. The antient city was defended in front by the river; on the west side by the deep ravine, since known by the name of Fleet-ditch; on the north by morasses; on the east, as I suspect, by another ravine. All the land round Westminster Abbey

was

was a flat fen, which continued beyond Fulham: but a rise commences opposite to it, and forms a magnificent bend above the curvature of the Thames, even to the Tower. The Surry side was in all probability a great expanse of water, a lake, a *Llyn*, as the Welsh call it; which an ingenious countryman of mine\*, not without reason, thinks might have given a name to our capital; *Llyn Din*, or the city on the lake. This most probably was the original name: and that derived from *Llong* a ship, and *din* a town, might have been bestowed when the place became a seat of trade, and famous for the concourse of shipping. The expanse of water might have filled the space between the rising grounds at Deptford, and those at Clapham; and been bounded to the south by the beautiful Surry Hills. Lambeth Marsh, and the Bankside, evidently were recovered from the water. Along Lambeth are the names of Narrow Walls, or the mounds which served for that purpose; and in Southwark, Bankside again shews the means of converting the antient lake into useful land: even to this day the tract beyond Southwark, and in particular that beyond Bermondsey-street, is so very low, and beneath the level of common tides, that the proprietors are obliged to secure it by embankments.

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*Antiquity of Billingsgate, and antient Prices of Fish and other Articles. From the same.*

**A**FTER the Custom-house, the first place of note is Bil-

lingsgate, or, to adapt the spelling to conjectures of antiquaries, "who go beyond the realms of Chaos and old night," Belin's-gate, or the gate of Belinus king of Britain, fellow-adventurer with Brennus king of the Gauls, at the sacking of Rome, three hundred and sixty years before the Christian æra: and the Beli mawr, who graces the pedigrees of numbers of our antient Britons. For fear of falling on some inglorious name, I submit to the etymology; but must confess there does not appear any record of a gate at this place: his son Lud was more fortunate, for Ludgate preserves his memory to every citizen, who knows the just value of antiquity. *Gate* here signifies only a place where there was a concourse of people; a common quay or wharf, where there is a free going in and out of the same. This was a small port for the reception of shipping, and, for a considerable time, the most important place for the landing of almost every article of commerce. It was not till the reign of king William that it became celebrated as a fish-market; who, in 1699, by act of parliament made it a free port for fish, which might be sold there every day in the week except Sunday. The object of this has long been frustrated, and the epicure who goes (as was a frequent practice) to Billingsgate to eat fish in perfection, will now be cruelly disappointed.

I cannot give a list of the fish most acceptable in the Saxon ages; but there is a list left of those which were brought to market in that of Edward I. who descended even to regulate the prices, that his subjects

\* Mr. William Owen, of Barmouth, now resident in London.

might not be left to the mercy of the venders.

	<i>s. d.</i>
The best plaice - - -	0 1½
A dozen of best soles - - -	0 3
Best fresh mulvil, i. e. Molva, either cod or ling - - -	0 3
Best haddock - - -	0 2
Best barkey - - -	0 4
Best mullet - - -	0 2
Best dorac, John Doree? - - -	0 5
Best conger - - -	1 0
Best turbot - - -	0 6
Best bran, sard, and betule - - -	0 3
Best mackrel, in Lent - - -	0 1
And out of Lent - - -	0 0½
Best gurnard - - -	0 1
Best fresh merlings, i. e. merlangi, whittings, four for - - -	0 1
Best powdered ditto, 12 for - - -	0 1
Best pickled herrings, twenty - - -	0 1

This shews that the invention of pickling was before the time of William Benkelen, who died in 1397. See Brit. Zool. iii. article Herring.

	<i>s. d.</i>
Best fresh ditto, before Michaelmas, six for - - -	0 1
Ditto, after Michaelmas, 12 for - - -	0 1
Best Thames, or Severn lamprey - - -	0 4
Best fresh oysters, a gallon for - - -	0 2
A piece of rumb, gross and fat, I suspect holibut, which is usually sold in pieces, at - - -	0 4
Best sea-hog, i. e. porpesse - - -	6 8
Best eels, a strike, or ¼ hundred - - -	0 2
Best lampreys, in winter, the hundred - - -	0 8
Ditto, at other times - - -	0 6

These, by their cheapness, must have been the little lampreys now used for bait.

But we also imported lampreys

	<i>s. d.</i>
from Nantes: the first which came in was sold for not less than - - -	1 4
A month after, at - - -	0 8
Best fresh salmon, from Christmas to Easter, for - - -	5 0
Ditto, after ditto - - -	3 0
Best smelts, the hundred - - -	0 1
Best roche, in summer - - -	0 1
Best lacy, or pike, at - - -	6 8

By the very high price of the pike, it is very probable that this fish had not yet been introduced into our ponds, but was imported at this period as a luxury, pickled, or some way preserved.

Among these fish, let me observe, that the conger is, at present, never admitted to any good table; and to speak of serving up a porpesse whole, or in part, would set your guests a staring. Yet, such is the difference of taste, both these fishes were in high esteem. King Richard's master cooks have left a most excellent receipt for *congur in sawse*; and as for the other great fish, it was either eaten roasted, or salted, or in broth, or *firmente with porpesse*. The learned doctor Caius even tells us the proper sauce, and says, that it should be the same with that for a dolphin; another dish unheard of in our days. From the great price the lacy or pike bore, one may reasonably suspect that it was at that time an exotic fish, and brought over at a vast expence.

I confess myself unacquainted with the words *barkey*, *bran*, and *betule*; *sard* was properly the sardine or pilchard; I am equally at a loss about *croplings* and *rumb*: but the pickled *balenes* were certainly the *pholus dactylus* of Linnaeus,

næus, 1110; the *balanus* of Rondeletius de Testacéis, 28; and the *dattili* of the modern Italians, which are to this day eaten, and even pickled.

To this list of sea-fish, which were admitted in those days to table, may be added the sturgeon, and ling; and there is twice mention, in archbishop Nevill's great feast, of a certain fish, both roasted and baked, unknown at present, called a *shirl-pool*.

The seal was also reckoned a fish, and, with the sturgeon and porpess, were the only fresh fish which, by the 33d of Henry VIII. were permitted to be bought of any stranger at sea, between England and France, Flanders, and Zealand.

On April 11th of the present year, I passed through Billingsgate, and observed, on the ground, some large pieces of ice, in which I was told the salmon from Berwick, and others of our northern fishery, was packed in boxes. The ice is preserved in ice-houses throughout the winter entirely for that purpose.

\* \* \* \* \*

Price of provisions given at a dinner of the wax-chandler's company, in the year 1478.

	£.	s.	d.
Two loins of mutton, and			
two loins of veal	-	0	1 4
A loin of beef	-	0	0 4
A leg of mutton	-	0	0 2½
A pig	-	0	0 4
A capon	-	0	0 6

A coney	-	0	0	2
One dozen of pigeons	-	0	0	7
A hundred eggs	-	0	0	8½
A goose	-	0	0	6
A gallon of red wine	-	0	0	8
A kilderkin of ale	-	0	0	8
		£.	0	7 0

\* \* \* \* \*

Price of provisions provided for a dinner given by certain serjeants at law, in the year 1531.

	£.	s.	d.
Brought to the slaughterhouse 24 beeves, each	-	1	6 8
One carcase of an ox from the shambles	-	1	4 0
One hundred fat muttons, each	-	0	2 10
Fifty-one great veales, at	-	0	4 8
Thirty-four porkes, at	-	0	3 3
Ninety-one pigs, at	-	0	0 6
Capons of Greece, of one poulter (for he had three) ten dozens, at (apiece)	-	0	1 8
Capons of Kent, nine dozen and six, at	-	0	1 0
Cocks of grose, seven dozen and nine, at	-	0	0 8
Cocks course xiii dozen, at 8d. and 3d. apiece.	-		
Pullets, the best 2½d. each. Other pullets	-	0	0 2
Pigeons, 37 dozen, each dozen	-	0	0 2
Swans xiii dozen.	-		
Larkes 340 dozen, each dozen	-	0	0 5



## MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

*Remarks on some Passages of the sixth Book of the Eneid, by James Beattie, LL. D. &c. from Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.*

**T**HERE is nothing in Virgil more explicit than the account of Tartarus; and I know not why it has been so generally misunderstood. Dr. Warburton says, in one place, that Eneas saw the sights of Tartarus at a distance, and in another, that Eneas passed through Tartarus. In fact, he did neither. He could not pass through without entering; and this, we are told, was to him impossible: "Nulli fas casto sceleratum insistere limen." And though he had been permitted to enter, he could not pass through, without first crossing a river of fire, and then descending into an immense gulph, twice as deep beneath the level of the other regions of darkness, as those are remote from heaven. It was equally impossible for him to see from a distance what was doing in such a gulph, even though the gate that led to it had been open, which, however, at this time, happened to be shut. "You see, said the Sybil, what a centinel sits without in the porch, (meaning Tisiphone); another, still more dreadful, has her station within;" which, as he could not see it, she informs him is a huge serpent, or

hydra, with fifty heads. An opening of the gate is indeed mentioned, which Rucius understands to have taken place at the very time when the Trojan and the Sybil were looking at it. But that is a mistake. The Sybil only tells her companion, that, when Rhadamanthus has made the criminals confess their guilt, then at length (*tum demum*) the gate opens for their reception into the place of torment. It is strange that Rucius and Dr. Warburton did not see that this is the obvious import of the words of Virgil; and that, if we do not understand them in this sense, the passage must appear confused, if not ungrammatical. In a word; of the inside of Tartarus the Trojan hero saw nothing; he saw the outside only, the walls, the gates, the tower of iron, &c. and these he saw at some distance. What was passing within he learns from the Sybil's information.

"And now," says she, "let us be going. Yonder, on the right hand, is the palace of Proserpine, where, in the vaulted porch that fronts us, we are commanded to deposit the golden bough." This ceremony Eneas performs, after having sprinkled himself with pure water; which was customary with those who made offerings to the gods.

They then went onward to Elysium, the gay scenery of which, immediately

mediately succeeding the gloom of purgatory and the horrors of Tartarus, is so charming, that every reader feels himself refreshed by it. Here were groves, and plains, and meadows, clothed with perpetual verdure, the abodes of tranquillity and joy, and illuminated by a sun and stars of the most refulgent beauty. Here were feasting, and dancing, and music, and poets accompanying their verses with the harmony of the lyre. Here those warlike exercises were renewed, in which the heroes while on earth had so much delighted; and here were horses, and chariots, and arms, and every thing that could gratify an heroic mind. It must be owned, that all this is very inadequate to the desires and the capacity of an immortal soul: but Virgil had heard of nothing better; and it was impossible for him to describe what he could not conceive.

In this Elysium, which, with all its imperfection, is, as well as the infernal world, founded on the best ideas of retributive justice that could be expected from a pagan, the poet places in a state of endless felicity "the shades of the pure and the pious; of heroes who have died in defence of their country; of ingenious men who have employed their talents in adorning human life with elegant arts, or in recommending piety and virtue; and of all who, by acts of beneficence, have merited the love and the gratitude of their fellow-creatures."

To a company of these happy beings, who had flocked round the two strangers, and especially to the poet Mævus, whom she knew, the Sybil addressed herself, desiring to be informed where Anchises resided. We have no certain habita-

tions, returned the poet; we wander about, and amuse ourselves wherever we please; but follow me to yonder rising ground, and I shall put you in a path that will conduct you to him.

Some writers blame Virgil for not making Eneas find Homer in this part of Elysium; and insinuate, that the Roman poet must have been both invidious and ungrateful, in neglecting such an opportunity of doing honour to his great master, to whom he owed so much. Those critics do not consider that Eneas was dead an hundred years before Homer was born. Our poet has been censured for a *supposed* anachronism, in making Eneas and Dido contemporary; and here he is found fault with for having judiciously avoided a *real* anachronism.

It chanced that Anchises was at this time in a remote valley, reviewing, in their state of pre-existence, some of his posterity, who were afterwards to distinguish themselves in the Roman republic. When he saw his son advancing towards him, he held forth both his hands, gave him an affectionate welcome, and wept for joy. The hero would have embraced his father; but found that the shade, though visible, eluded the touch.

After a short conversation, Eneas happening to see, in a grove through which a river was flowing, an innumerable multitude of human beings flying about, asked his father who they were, and what river it was. The river, said he, is Lethe, of which those souls are taking a draught, being about to return to the upper world, in order to animate new bodies. Is it to be imagined, exclaims Eneas, that souls should ever leave this happy place, and

and go back to the imprisonment of the body, and all the wretchedness of mortality? I will explain the whole matter to you, replies Anchises.

Know, then, that all the parts of this visible universe, the heavens, and earth, and sky, the sun, moon, and stars, are, like one vast body, animated by an universal spirit, whereof the souls, or vital principles, of all animals, of men and beasts, of fishes and fowl, are emanations. This vital principle is, in every animal, the source of sensation and motion; but, from the influence that the body has over it, becomes subject to inordinate passions, and forgetful of its heavenly original. The soul of man, in particular, (for nothing further is said of the other animals) contracts, while shut up in the dark prison of the body, a degree of debasement which does not leave it at death, and from which the sufferings of a subsequent state of purgation are necessary to purify it. These are of different kinds and degrees, according to the different degrees and kinds of guilt or impu-

rity which the soul has contracted. Some souls are exposed to the beating of winds, some are washed in water, and some purified by fire. Every one of us (says Anchises, including himself) suffers his own peculiar pains of purification. Then we are sent into this vast Elysium, and a few of us remain in the eternal possession of it\*. The rest continue here, till by the air and tranquillity of the place, they have entirely got the better of the impurity contracted in the world, have had every impression of the pains of purgatory worn out, and are restored to their original simplicity of nature. Thus refined, they are, at the end of a thousand years †, summoned by a divine agent, or god, to meet in one great assembly, where they drink of Lethe to wash away remembrance, and then, in compliance with their own inclination, are sent back to the earth to animate new bodies.

Having ended this account, Anchises, with his son and the Sybil, passes to a rising ground, and points out in a state of pre-existence, a

\* I suppose the words *Et pauci lata arva tenemus*, to be a parenthesis; which, in my opinion, clears the text of all obscurity. By the change of the person, in the four last lines of the speech,—*Has omnes,—volvete,—incipiant,—reviviscent*, it appears, that Anchises does not include himself among those who were to return to the world; which ascertains sufficiently the import of *tenemus*. The learned Rueus construes the passage in a way somewhat different; but his general account of the poet's doctrine differs not essentially from mine.

† More literally, "When they have rolled the wheel, or circle, for a thousand years;" that is, when the revolution of a thousand years is completed. For this interpretation we are indebted to Servius, who tells us further, that this singular phrase was taken from Ennius. Anciently perhaps *rota* might mean a *circle*, as well as a *wheel*,) and poetically a *year*; so that, in Ennius's time, *volvete rotam* might be a figurative phrase of the same import with *annum peragere*, to *pass a year*. The original meaning of *annus* is a *circle*, whence the diminutive *annulus*, a *ring*. The same reference to the circular nature of the year, may be seen in the Greek *ἐναυτος*, which Virgil certainly had in his mind when he wrote, "Atque in se sua per vestigia volvitur annus." When this is attended to, our author's use of the phrase in question will appear not so harsh as it might otherwise be thought to be, and not at all too figurative in this very solemn part of the poem.

procession of Roman heroes, who were in due time to descend from him; briefly describing their several characters, in a most sublime strain of poetical prophecy.

I shall subjoin a few remarks on the concluding scene of this noble episode;—on the gates of horn and ivory. These gates have given no little trouble to critics, both ancient and modern; who, after all, seem to have been not very fortunate in their conjectures. This is owing, not to obscurity in the poet, but to the refinement of those interpreters, who mistook a plain passage for a profound allegory, and were determined to find a secret meaning in it. The gate of ivory, say they, transmits false dreams, and that of horn true ones; and Eneas and his companion are dismissed from Elysium, and let into the upper world, through the ivory gate. What can this imply, but that the poet meant to insinuate, that every thing he had said concerning a state of future retribution, was nothing more than a fallacious dream! And, in support of this conjecture, they generally quote from the Georgic three verses to prove, that Virgil was in his heart an Epicurean, and consequently disbelieved both a future state and a providence. The verses are—“*Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas, Atque metus omnes, et inexorabile fatum, Subjecit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari.*”

Now, in the *first* place, it does not appear to me, that these lines can prove their author ever to have been an Epicurean, or that he meant to say more than “Happy is the man whose mind philosophy has raised above the fear of death, as well as above all other fears.” For, in the Georgic, he not only recom-

mends religion and prayer; which Epicureans could not do consistently with their principles, but again and again asserts a providence; and, in terms equally elegant and just, vindicates the Divine wisdom in establishing physical evil as the means of improving and elevating the mind of man. But does he not, in his sixth eclogue, give an account of the formation of the world according to the Epicurean theory? He does; and he makes it part of the song of a drunkard: no proof that he held it in very high esteem.

But, *2dly*, Supposing our poet’s admiration of Lucretius might have made him formerly partial to the tenets of Epicurus, it does not follow that he continued so to the end of his life, or that he was so while employed upon the Eneid. The duties of religion, and the superintending care of providence, are by no other Pagan author so warmly enforced as in this poem; and the energy with which, in the sixth book, and in one passage of the eighth, (v. 666,) he asserts a future retribution, seems to prove, that he was so far in earnest with regard to this matter, as to believe, that it was not, as the Epicureans affirmed, either absurd or improbable.

Let it be remarked, in the *third* place, that no poet ever thought of so preposterous a method of pleasing and instructing his readers, as first to employ all his skill in adorning his fable, and then tell them, that they ought not to believe a word of it. The true poet’s aim is very different. He adapts himself to the opinions that prevail among the people for whom he writes, that they may the more easily acquiesce in his narrative; or he is careful, at least, to make his fable consistent with

with itself, in order to give it as much as possible the appearance of seriousness and truth. We know, that the scenery of the sixth book is wholly fictitious; but the Romans did not certainly know how far it might be so: founded as it was on ancient tradition, which no history they had could overturn; and on philosophical opinions, which they had never heard confuted, and which, where Revelation was unknown, might seem respectable, on account of the abilities of Pythagoras, Plato, and other great men who had taught them.

To which I may add, *4<sup>thly</sup>*, as an argument decisive of the present question, That if Virgil wished his countrymen to believe him to have been *not* in earnest in what he had told them of a pre-existent and future state, he must also have wished them to understand, that the compliments he had been paying to the most favourite characters among their ancestors were equally insincere; and that what he had said of the virtues of Camillus, Brutus, Cato, Scipio, and even Augustus himself, was altogether visionary, and had as good a right to a passage through the ivory gate, as any other falsehood. Had Octavia understood this to be the poet's meaning, she would not have rewarded him so liberally for his matchless encomium on the younger Marcellus. Had this indeed been his meaning, all the latter part of the sixth book would have been a studied insult on Augustus, and the other heroes there celebrated, as well as on the whole Roman people. Strange, that the most judicious writer in the world should commit such a blunder in the most elaborate part of a poem which he had consecrated to the honour of

his country, and particularly to that of his great patron Augustus!

We must therefore admit, either that Virgil had lost his senses, or, which is more probable, that, in sending Eneas and the Sybil through the ivory gate, he intended no farcastic reflection either on his country or on his poetry. In a word, we must admit, that, in this part of his fable, he was just as much in earnest as in any other; and that there was no more *joke* in Eneas's *ascent* through the gate of ivory, than in his *descent* through the cave of Avernus. How then are we to understand this adventure of the gate? I answer, By making the poet his own interpreter, and not seeking to find things in his book which we have no good reason to think were ever in his head.

In the nineteenth book of the *Odyssey*, Penelope, speaking of dreams, says to her nurse, that there are two gates by which they are transmitted to us; one made of horn, through which the true dreams pass, and the other of ivory, which emits false dreams. This thought Homer probably derived from some Egyptian custom or tradition, which one might discuss with many quotations and much appearance of learning; and this, no doubt, gave Virgil the hint of the passage now before us. But Virgil's account differs from Homer's more than the commentators seem to be aware of. Homer does not say in what part of the world his gates are; Virgil's are in Italy, not far from Cumæ, and are said to be the outlet from Elysium into the upper world: a wild fiction no doubt, but not more wild than that of making the cave of Avernus the inlet from the upper world into the nether. Homer's

gates are the gates of dreams; Virgil calls his the gates of sleep. The former are not said to transmit any thing but dreams; of the latter, one transmits dreams, and the other *real ghosts* or *shades*. For thus, though all the commentators are against me, I must understand the words *umbris veris*; because in Virgil *umbra* often signifies a *ghost*, but never in him, nor in any other good writer, (so far as I know) a *dream*. If it be asked, what ghosts they were that used to pass this way; the answer is easy: they were those who, after having been a thousand years in Elysium, and taken a draught of Lethe, were sent back to the upper world to animate new bodies. If again it were asked, whether such beings might not be of so subtle a nature as to work their way into the upper world without passing through a gate; I should answer, that visible substances, which might be purified by fire, or washed in water, and could not get over the river Styx but in a boat, must be so far material at least, as to be capable of confinement, and consequently of being set at liberty.

The *falsa insomnia* that go out by the ivory gate may mean, either *deceitful dreams*, or *dreams in general*, that is, unsubstantial things, as opposed to realities; which last I take to be the preferable signification. Be this, however, as it will, Encas and the Sybil were neither ghosts nor dreams, but human flesh and blood; and could no more be supposed to partake of the qualities alluded to in the *name* of the gate by which Anchises dismissed them, than a man is supposed to be lame for having passed through Cripplegate, or than the Lord Mayor of London, by entering in procession through

*Temple-bar*, is supposed to have become a better churchman than before, or a better lawyer. Through one or other of the gates of sleep the Trojan and his guide must pass, or they never could return to the upper world at all: and that gate the poet probably made choice of, which first occurred to him; and that probably would first occur which founded best in his verse: or perhaps one might say, in the way of conjecture, that he thought fit to open the ivory gate, because the other, being appropriated to the purified ghosts, might not be so well suited to mere mortals. This is certain, that, though the ablative *eburna* stands very gracefully in the 898th line, the ablative *cornea* could not: because, being the foot *amphimacer*, it can have no place in a regular hexameter.

As to the analogy that some critics have fancied between horn and truth, and between falsehood and ivory, it is so whimsical, and so absurd, that I need not mention it.

And now, by removing the mist of allegory from Virgil's gates, I flatter myself, that I have made these verses somewhat more intelligible than they have been generally supposed to be; that I have proved the latter part of this episode to be consistent with the rest of it; and that I have vindicated a favourite author from the heavy charges of impiety and ill-manners, whereof, however repugnant to his general character, it would not be easy for those to clear him who follow the common, though less obvious, interpretations.

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*Extract from an Account of the German Theatre, by Henry Mackenzie, Esq. From the same.*

IN examining these pieces in detail, and appropriating them to their respective authors, one is immediately struck with the name of Lessing, whom Germany so much reveres as one of the founders of her drama. He is the author of the first piece in Friedel's collection, *Emilie de Galotti*, another tragedy in one act called *Philotas*, a third called *Sara Samson*, and a drame entitled *Nathan le Sage*. He is author also of several other plays contained in the Theatre Allemand of Junker, one of which, *Minna de Barnhelm*, is reckoned the *chef d'œuvre* of German comedy. I have perused it with all the attention to which its high character entitled it, and indeed with a great degree of the pleasure, though not with all the admiration which that high character led me to expect. It is of the graver or sentimental kind of comedy, where the characters maintain a war of generosity, from which the embarrassments and implications of the plot, not very intricate nor artificial ones, result. The principal person is a Major Telheim, a disbanded officer, whose merits his country had ill rewarded; a man of the most consummate bravery, generosity and virtue, for whom those qualities have gained the love of every soldier and domestic around him. They have procured him a still more valuable attachment, the love of the heroine of the piece, Minna of Barnhelm, who, on hearing of the Major's regiment being disbanded, comes to Berlin to seek him, and to make him happy. The rival nobleness of mind of these two characters produces the principal incidents of the piece, which however are not always natural, nor very happily imagined; and be-

sides, as Fielding jocularly says, when comparing a shallow book to a shallow man, may be easily seen through. But, with all these defects, and that want of comic force which the turn and situation of the principal characters naturally occasions, the play must please and interest every reader. There is something in the constitution of the human mind so congenial to disinterestedness, generosity and magnanimity, that it never fails to be pleased with such characters, after all the deductions which critical discernment can make from them. Amidst the want of comic humour which I have observed in this play, I must not omit, however, doing justice to a serjeant-major of Telheim's regiment, and to Justin his valet, who are drawn with a strong and natural pencil. The story of the spaniel, told by the latter, when his master's poverty makes him wish to dismiss him from his service, is one of the best imagined, and best told, I remember to have met with. There is a good deal of comic character and lively dialogue in some of Lessing's less celebrated pieces in the collection of Junker; but the plots are in general extravagant and farcical.

In judging of Lessing as a tragic writer, one will do him no injustice by making the tragedy of *Emilie de Galotti* the criterion of that judgment. The others in these volumes are very inferior to this, which is certainly, in point of composition, character and passion, a performance of no ordinary kind. Lessing was well acquainted with the ancient drama, and wished to bring the theatre of his country to a point of regularity nearer to that of the ancients. He published, for some time, a periodical criticism on theatrical composition, called, "Le

Dramaturgie de Hambourg." His plays, accordingly, though not exactly conformable to the Aristotelian standard, approach pretty near to it in the observation of the unities. He is said to have got into a dispute with Goethé on this subject, in which, from a degree of timidity in his nature, he rather yielded to his antagonist. I am not sure if he has profited by confining himself more than some other of his countrymen within the bounds of the regular drama. The fable of *Emilie de Galotti*, as well as of his other tragedies, is more regular than happy, and the denouement neither natural nor pleasing. It is founded on circumstances somewhat similar to those in the story of *Virginia*. A prince of Guastalla is desperately enamoured of Emilie de Galotti, who is just about to be married to a man of rank and fortune, the Count Appiani. On the day of his marriage, he is way-laid by order of a wicked minister of the prince, and murdered. His bride is brought to the prince's country-seat, where, to prevent any chance of her dishonour, her father kills her.

After the first reading of *Emilie*, I was disposed to wonder at the reputation it had acquired; but a second placed it higher in my estimation. This was naturally the case in a performance where the whole was neither so perfect nor so interesting as some of the scenes in detail were forcible and striking. The heroine Emilie de Galotti is but imperfectly drawn, and not very well supported. Indeed, it may in general be observed in these pieces, that the characters of the female personages are by much the most defective, both in beauty and in force. This may perhaps be ascribed to the state of society in Ger-

many, where the sex is less an object of consideration and respect than in France, and some other parts of the Continent. But there is another lady in this tragedy, the *Countess d'Orfina*, the betrayed and abandoned mistress of the prince, whose character the poet has delineated with great ability; and one scene, in which she is introduced along with the father of Emilie, in genuine expression of passion, and pointed force of dialogue, may be compared to some of the best which the modern stage can boast.

In the development of the secret foldings of the heart, Lessing seems deeply skilled, and the opening scenes of this tragedy contain some of those little incidents that mark an intimacy with human nature, which genius alone can claim. But in its progress we find, in some degree, a want of that strong and just delineation and support of character, but chiefly of that probable conduct and interesting situation, which are the great and peculiar requisites of dramatic excellence. It seems also defective in the pathetic, for which certainly the subject afforded very great room, and which, in a similar situation, our countryman Rowe has contrived so strongly to excite.

Of Lessing's performances in these volumes, the next in merit, though, in my opinion, at a considerable distance, is *Sara Samson*, an English story, of which the idea seems chiefly taken from *Clarissa*, though one character in it, that of a violent and profligate woman, is evidently borrowed from *Millwood* in *George Barnwell*. I must venture to doubt, whether a character of this sort be proper for filling a principal place in tragedy. There is a degree of infamy in the vice of such a person



that is scarcely suitable to the dignity of the higher drama, and which disgusts us with its appearance. The *Marwood* of Lessing is introduced in such a manner as to heighten that disgust. The amiable female of the piece, *Sara Samson*, is no exception from the general defect of female character in this collection. And her father, who is placed in the tender situation of which several authors have made so affecting a use, the parent of a child seduced from honour, though still alive to virtue, is insipidly drawn, and awkwardly introduced. In this tragedy, is an incident, of which Lessing seems to be fond, as he has repeated it with very little variation in another tragedy called *L'Esprit Fort*, a dream, related by the heroine, predictive of the catastrophe. This, as it anticipates the conclusion, is always faulty. No part of the conduct of a play is more nice and difficult than that degree of information which the author is to give the audience in the course of it. In general, he should certainly not forestall their expectations, by opening his plot too soon. But there is an admirable theatrical effect which often results from letting the audience know what the persons of the drama are ignorant of, which stretches, if I may use the expression, the cords of fear, anxiety and hope in the spectators to the highest pitch, through scenes which otherwise would produce these feelings in an inferior, as well as in a momentary degree. This knowledge in the audience, of *Meropé's* son, while she, in ignorance of his person, is on the point of putting him to death, is one of the most interesting situations which dramatic invention has ever produced; and there is nothing on

the French stage which equals the horror of that scene of Crebillon's *Atree et Thyeste*, where the devoted brother attempts to disguise himself from *Atræus*, while the terrified spectators know him all the while, and tremble at every look and word which they think will discover him.

Next to Lessing, in point of name, is Goethe, the author of two tragedies in this collection, *Goetz de Berliching* and *Clavideo*, and of a drame entitled *Stella*. The first I have already mentioned as highly irregular in its plan, being a life thrown into dialogue rather than a tragedy. The costume of the age in which the events are supposed to have happened, is very well preserved. The simple manners, the fidelity, the valour and the generosity of a German knight, are portrayed in a variety of natural scenes. This national quality, I presume, has been the cause of its high fame in Germany, to which it seems to me to have otherwise not a perfectly adequate claim. His *Clavideo* is founded on an incident which happened to the celebrated Caron de Beaumarchais in Spain, who is introduced as a person of the drama, under the name of *Ronac*, an anagram of *Caron*, with the letters a little transposed. The distress of the play arises from the falsehood of a lover, who leaves his mistress after being engaged to marry her. Neither the delineation of the characters, nor the management of the plot in the first two acts, is entitled to much applause; but the last act, which passes in sight of the corpse of *Mario*, is wrought up with uncommon force, and must, on the stage, be productive of high effect. His third performance, *Stella*, is strongly marked

with that enthusiastic sentiment and refined sensibility, which, in the *Sorrows of Werter*, he has so warmly indulged; and in point of immoral effect, the drama is equally reprehensible with the novel. Its conclusion is in the boldest style of this sentimental refinement; since it gives to the hero two wives, with whom he is to share that heart, to which the incidents of the play have shewn the claims of both.

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*Extract from Maxims addressed to Young Ladies, by the Countess Dowager of Carlisle.*

**H**abituate yourself to that way of life most agreeable to the person to whom you are united: be content in retirement, or with society, with the town or the country.

If he should prefer the country during your earlier years, a period when diversions are most attractive, it may at first be painful; you may be sensible of the privation;—but your chance for durable happiness is infinitely greater there, than where each side is surrounded with continual dangers to domestic tranquillity.

Make choice of such amusements as will attach him to your company: study such occupations as will render you of consequence to him; such as the management of his fortune, and the conduct of his house; yet, without assuming a superiority unbecoming your sex.

If his turn of mind leads him to the inspection and care of his estate, avoid to interfere with a branch of government, not properly your sphere.

Should he be neglectful of his fa-

mily interests, supply his place with redoubled attention.

If public employment demand frequent absences from home, make his supposed intentions there to be as much respected, as if he were present, by your own deference to them.

If the contagion of example gain too strong an empire over him, if misled by pleasures, or hurried by passion, let not your impatience prevent his return to reason.

Let an early examination of his temper, prepare you to bear with inequalities, to which all are more or less subject.

Do not attempt to destroy his innocent pleasures by pretexts of economy; retrench rather your own expences to promote them.

Should he sometimes delight in trivial occupations, treat such with complaisance; as few but the idle have leisure to be very ill-tempered.

Disturb not the hours he may have allotted for amusement, with the recital of domestic grievances.

Watch for, and profit of such moments of his leisure, as will allow him, without pain or chagrin, to redress them.

Let your attentions be so continued, accompanied by no affectation; yet so easy, as may prove they flow from the heart.

The least appearance of flattery, mingled with assiduity, conveys a suspicion of interest.

If absolute necessity, or free choice, call him often from home (suppose it to be too often) when he shall revisit that home, make it so agreeable, as it shall finally acquire the preference.

Show the greatest respect to his near relations; observe a constant civility

civility towards the more distant; let there be no marked distinction between those, on either side, in your own breast: natural affection may, nay, ought to prevail.

During the education of men in schools, colleges, and academies, friendships are formed, perhaps too early sometimes to be judicious, but equally hard to dissolve: if, in consequence, you behold such with pain, do not attempt to break them with precipitation.

When a person shall see his friends coolly received in his own house, he will naturally seek occasions to meet them abroad: maintain, therefore, your interest with him, by a polite behaviour to those he so prefers, although you may not.

Jealousy is oft ideal; it is capricious, it dictates inconsiderate, its suggestions fatal to mutual repose.

The delicate, but firm counsels of a friend, of religion, and, if possible, a speedy retreat for a while, are the safest remedies against the artful, but soothing attentions of real, or seeming admirers, at moments when the mind is irritated by reproach, or the severities inflicted by unjust suspicions.

Should your union be attended with greater felicity than is the usual lot of our sex, govern your just affections to preserve it: by too much anxiety you may destroy it.

Sufficient are the real difficulties we have each to encounter, in the course of our lives; create none therefore: use your reason in combating the former; and be silent if the weakness of your frame prevent an entire suppression of fictitious ones.

If afflicted with bad health, study

to avoid complaint; it is an increasing habit, affording no essential relief to the sufferer, and apt to make the lives of others as irksome as your own.

You will contract indelicacy by a description of your infirmities: you may perhaps excite compassion from a humane disposition. but you risque a diminution of affection.

Whatever dissensions may arise (how much soever your conduct and understanding may justify the part you take in them) suffer the interference of no *third* person; but more especially if you suppose their partiality would lead them to decide in your favour.

Those friendships which are early produced between two very young women, in the theatre of the great world, and where both are equally engaged in all the frivolities of fashion, are usually very slightly cemented, and are as briefly dissolved.

If your fortune be moderate, œconomy is absolutely necessary.

If considerable, method and prudence will render it doubly beneficial.

Observe the utmost regularity in the keeping of your household accounts; it is tranquillity to you, justice to your dependents.

The luxury of this age exacts from the mistress of a great house, or indeed a smaller, some attention to a table; disdain not therefore to give a proper application to that study.

With regard to dress, do not aspire to be a leader in fashions, nor excessive in point of ornament.

Follow fashions at a moderate distance, nor blindly adopt such as may expose you to ridicule; for servile imitation makes no distinctions.

Should a plentiful fortune enable you to indulge a disposition to give, compleat the happiness of the receivers by the manner of bestowing.

If naturally blessed with a good memory, exercise it continually.

Rest not contented with the plea of a bad memory; it is but another name for negligence among young persons.

There are certainly degrees of memory; some more feeble, some more perfect than others: for the one, there are many helps; the other must be supported properly:

Resolution and perseverance are correctives to an indolent memory.

Repeat to yourself, or transcribe what is necessary to retain for your instruction.

Materials which memory shall collect, ought to be of the benevolent kind; and when re-produced, let discretion and charity distribute them.

Employ the powers of memory in the recollection, of the favours of Providencé, of the blessings and escapes we have received from that all-giving hand.

If the love of admiration, in your youthful days, shall bear no part in your attachment to the amusements of the theatre, there are none more instructive, nor more eligible for relaxation.

When you can fix your mind on the scenes before you, when the eye shall not wander to, nor the heart flutter at, the surrounding objects of the spectacle, you will return home instructed and improved.

The great utilities you may reap from well-acted Tragedy are, the exciting your compassion to real sufferings, the suppression of your vanity in prosperity, and the inspir-

ing you with heroic patience in adversity.

In Comedy, you will receive continual correction, delicately applied to your errors and foibles; be impartial in the application, and divide it humbly with your acquaintance and friends, and even with your enemies.

A very few precepts, and much good example, to persons destitute of education, are the surest methods of encouraging virtue among them.

Profit by others' misfortunes, or mistakes, as a correction to your pride, and as a guard to your steps.

Extend your kindness, and continue your affections to all that shall remain of those you loved, if worthy; it is the only sure mode of consolation you can have recourse to.

In grief, sickness, and danger, make your first and constant supplication to that Power, who alone can relieve and save.

Let your conduct be such to all around you, as shall lead them to the same path without affright.

If your strength of mind subsists during your malady, if it gives you time for the exertion of rational power, let it check, as much as possible, those encroaching indulgencies which sickness is prone to exact.

Be assured, that when able to exert your cheerfulness, it is nowise contrary to the precepts of religion.

Fix your eye habitually on immortality, to pass more lightly thro' the pangs of mortality.

A continued and humble resignation will secure your peace in the most awful of moments—that of your dissolution.

*History of Walter Wormwood, an envious Defamer.* From the *Observer*, vol. v.

To the OBSERVER.

AS I have lived long enough to repent of a fatal propensity, that has led me to commit many offences, not the less irksome to my present feelings for the secrecy, with which I contrived to execute them; and as these can now be no otherwise atoned for than by a frank confession, I have resolved upon this mode of addressing myself to you. Few people chuse to display their own characters to the world in such colours as I shall give to mine, but as I have mangled so many reputations in my time without mercy, I should be the meanest of mankind if I spared my own; and being now about to speak of a person, whom no man loves, I may give vent to an acrimony, at which no man can take offence. If I have been troublesome to others, I am no less uncomfortable to myself, and amidst vexations without number the greatest of all is, that there is not one, which does not originate from myself.

I entered upon life with many advantages natural and acquired; I am indebted to my parents for a liberal education, and to nature for no contemptible share of talents: my propensities were not such as betrayed me into dissipation and extravagance: my mind was habitually of a studious cast; I had a passion for books, and began to collect them at an early period of my life: to them I devoted the greatest portion of my time, and had my vanity been of a sort to be contented

with the literary credit I had now acquired, I had been happy; but I was ambitious of convincing the world I was not the idle owner of weapons, which I did not know the use of; I seized every safe opportunity of making my pretensions respected by such dabblers in the belles lettres, who paid court to me, and as I was ever cautious of stepping an inch beyond my tether on these occasions, I soon found myself credited for more learning, than my real stock amounted to. I received all visitors in my library, affected a studious air, and took care to furnish my table with volumes of a select sort; upon these I was prepared to descant, if by chance a curious friend took up any one of them; and as there is little fame to be got by treading in the beaten track of popular opinion, I sometimes took the liberty to be eccentric and paradoxical in my criticisms and cavils, which gained me great respect from the ignorant, (for upon such only I took care to practise this chicanery) so that in a short time I became a sovereign dictator within a certain set, who looked up to me for second-hand opinions in all matters of literary taste, and saw myself inaugurated by my flatterers censor of all new publications.

My trumpeters had now made such a noise in the world, that I began to be in great request, and men of real literature laid out for my acquaintance; but here I acted with a coldness, that was in me constitutional as well as prudential: I was resolved not to risk my laurels, and throw away the fruits of a triumph so cheaply purchased: solicitations that would have flattered others, only alarmed me; such

was

was not the society I delighted in; against such attacks I entrenched myself with the most jealous caution: If however by accident I was drawn out of my fastnesses, and trapped unawares into an ambuscade of wicked wits, I armed myself to meet them with a triple tier of smiles; I primed my lips with such a ready charge of flattery, that when I had once engaged them in the pleasing contemplation of their own merits, they were seldom disposed to scrutinize into mine, and thus in general I contrived to escape undetected. Though it was no easy matter to extort an opinion from me in such companies, yet sometimes I was unavoidably entangled in conversation, and then I was forced to have recourse to all my address; happily my features were habituated to a smile of the most convertible sort, for it would answer the purposes of affected humility as well as those of actual contempt, to which in truth it was more congenial: my opinion, therefore, upon any point of controversy, flattered both parties and befriended neither; it was calculated to impress the company with an idea that I knew much more than I professed to know; it was in short so insinuating, so submitted, so hesitating, that a man must have had the heart of Nero to have persecuted a being so absolutely inoffensive: but these sacrifices cost me dear, for they were foreign to my nature, and, as I hated my superiors, I avoided their society.

Having sufficiently distinguished myself as a critic, I now began to meditate some secret attempts as an author; but in these the same caution attended me, and my performances did not rise above a little

sonnet, or a parody, which I circulated through a few hands without a name, prepared to disavow it, if it was not applauded to my wishes: I also wrote occasional essays and paragraphs for the public prints, by way of trying my talents in various kinds of stile; by these experiments I acquired a certain facility of imitating other people's manner and disguising my own, and so far my point was gained; but as for the secret satisfaction I had promised myself in hearing my productions applauded, of that I was altogether disappointed; for though I tried both praise and dispraise for the purpose of bringing them into notice, I never had the pleasure to be contradicted by any man in the latter case, or seconded by a living soul in the former: I had circulated a little poem, which cost me some pains, and as I had been flattered with the applause it gained from several of its readers, I put it one evening in my pocket, and went to the house of a certain person, who was much resorted to by men of genius: an opportunity luckily offered for producing my manuscript, which I was prepared to avow as soon as the company present had given sentence in its favour: it was put into the hands of a dramatic author of some celebrity, who read it aloud, and in a manner as I thought that clearly anticipated his disgust: as soon therefore as he had finished it and demanded of me if I knew the author, I had no hesitation to declare that I did not—Then I presume, rejoined he, it is no offence to say I think it the merest trash I ever read—None in life, I replied, and from that moment held him in everlasting hatred.

Disgusted with the world, I now began

began to dip my pen in gall, and as soon as I had singled out a proper object for my spleen, I looked round him for his weak side, where I could place a blow to best effect, and wound him undiscovered: the author abovementioned had a full share of my attention; he was an irritable man, and I have seen him agonized with the pain, which my very shafts had given him, whilst I was foremost to arraign the scurrility of the age, and encourage him to disregard it: the practice I had been in of masking my stile facilitated my attacks upon every body, who either moved my envy, or provoked my spleen.

The meanest of all passions had now taken entire possession of my heart, and I surrendered myself to it without a struggle: still there was a consciousness about me, that sunk me in my own esteem; and when I met the eye of a man, whom I had secretly defamed, I felt abashed, society became painful to me; and I shrunk into retirement, for my self-esteem was lost; though I had gratified my malice, I had destroyed my comfort; I now contemplated myself a solitary being at the very moment when I had every requisite of fortune, health, and endowments to have recommended me to the world, and to those tender ties and engagements, which are natural to man, and constitute his best enjoyments.

The solitude I resorted to made me every day more morose, and supplied me with reflections that rendered me intolerable to myself and unfit for society. I had reason to apprehend, in spite of all my caution, that I was now narrowly watched, and that strong suspicions were taken up against me; when,

as I was feasting my jaundiced eye one morning with a certain newspaper, which I was in the habit of employing as the vehicle of my venom, I was startled at discovering myself conspicuously pointed out in an angry column as a cowardly defamer, and menaced with personal chastisement, as soon as ever proofs could be obtained against me; and this threatening denunciation evidently came from the very author, who had unknowingly given me such umbrage, when he recited my poem.

The fight of this resentful paragraph was like an arrow to my brain: habituated to skirmish only behind entrenchments, I was ill prepared to turn into the open field, and had never put the question to my heart, how it was provided for the emergency. In early life I had not any reason to suspect my courage, nay it was rather forward to meet occasions in those days of innocence; but the meanness I had lately sunk into had sapped every manly principle of my nature, and I now discovered to my sorrow, that in taking up the lurking malice of an assassin, I had lost the gallant spirit of a gentleman.

There was still one alleviation to my terrors: it so chanced that I was not the author of the particular libel, which my accuser had imputed to me; and though I had been father of a thousand others, I felt myself supported by truth in almost the only charge, against which I could have fairly appealed to it. It seemed to me therefore advisable to lose no time in disculpating myself from the accusation; yet to seek an interview with this irascible man was a service of some danger: chance threw the opportunity in my way,

way, which I had probably else wanted spirit to invite; I accosted him with all imaginable civility, and made the strongest asseverations of my innocence: whether, I did this with a fervility that might aggravate his suspicions, or that he had others impressed upon him besides those I was labouring to remove, so it was, that he treated all I said with the most contemptuous incredulity, and elevating his voice to a tone that petrified me with fear, bade me avoid his sight, threatening me both by words and actions in a manner too humiliating to relate.

Alas! can words express my feelings? Is there a being more wretched than myself? to be friendless, an exile from society, and at enmity with myself, is a situation deplorable in the extreme: let what I have now written be made public; if I could believe my shame would be turned to others' profit, it might perhaps become less painful to myself; if men want other motives to divert them from defamation, than what their own hearts supply, let them turn to my example, and if they will not be reasoned, let them be frightened out of their propensity.

I am, Sir, &c.

WALTER. WORMWOOD.

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*Observations on the various Sorts of Stile. From the same.*

THE celebrated author of the *Rambler* in his concluding paper says, *I have laboured to refine our language to grammatical purity, and to clear it from colloquial barbarisms, licentious idioms and irregular combinations: something perhaps I have added to the elegance of its con-*

*struction, and something to the harmony of its cadence.* I hope our language hath gained all the profit, which the labours of this meritorious writer were exerted to produce: in style of a certain description he undoubtedly excels; but though I think there is much in his essays for a reader to admire, I should not recommend them as a model for a disciple to copy.

Simplicity, ease and perspicuity should be the first objects of a young writer: Addison and other authors of his class will furnish him with examples, and assist him in the attainment of these excellencies; but after all, the style, in which a man shall write, will not be formed by imitation only; it will be the style of his mind; it will assimilate itself to his mode of thinking, and take its colour from the complexion of his ordinary discourse, and the company he consorts with. As for that distinguishing characteristic, which the ingenious essayist terms very properly *the harmony of its cadence*; that I take to be incommunicable and immediately dependant upon the ear of him who models it. This *harmony of cadence* is so strong a mark of discrimination between authors of note in the world of letters, that we can depose to a style, whose modulation we are familiar with, almost as confidently as to the handwriting of a correspondent. But though I think there will be found in the periods of every established writer a certain peculiar tune, (whether harmonious or otherwise) which will depend rather upon the natural ear than upon the imitative powers, yet I would not be understood to say that the study of good models can fail to be of use in the first formation of it. When a subject



ject presents itself to the mind, and thoughts arise, which are to be committed to writing, it is then for a man to chuse whether he will express himself in simple or in elaborate diction, whether he will compress his matter or dilate it, ornament it with epithets and robe it in metaphor, or whether he will deliver it plainly and naturally in such language as a well-bred person and a scholar would use, who affects no parade of speech, nor aims at any flights of fancy. Let him decide as he will, in all these cases he hath models in plenty to chuse from, which may be said to court his imitation.

For instance; if his ambition is to glitter and surprize with the figurative and metaphorical brilliancy of his period, let him tune his ear to some such passages as the following, where *Doctor Johnson* in the character of critic and biographer is pronouncing upon the poet *Congreve*. "His scenes exhibit not much of humour, imagery or passion: his personages are a kind of intellectual gladiators; every sentence is to ward or strike; the contest of smartness is never intermitted; his wit is a meteor playing to and fro with alternate coruscations." If he can learn to embroider with as much splendor, taste and address as this and many other samples from the same maister exhibit, he cannot study in a better school.

On the contrary, if simplicity be his object, and a certain serenity of style, which seems in unison with the soul, he may open the *Spectator*, and take from the first paper of Mr. *Addison* the first paragraph, that meets his eye—the following for instance—"There is nothing that makes its way more directly to the

soul than *Beauty*, which immediately diffuses a secret satisfaction and complacency through the imagination, and gives a finishing to any thing that is great or uncommon: the very first discovery of it strikes the mind with an inward joy; and spreads a cheerfulness and delight through all its faculties." Or again in the same essay: "We no where meet with a more glorious or pleasing show in nature than what appears in the heavens at the rising and setting of the sun, which is wholly made up of those different stains of light, that show themselves in clouds of a different situation."

A florid writer would hardly have resisted the opportunities, which here court the imagination to indulge its flights, whereas few writers of any sort would have been tempted on a topic merely critical to have employed such figurative and splendid diction, as that of *Doctor Johnson*; these little samples therefore, though selected with little or no care, but taken as they came to hand, may serve to exemplify my meaning, and in some degree characterize the different styles of the respective writers.

Now as every student, who is capable of copying either of these styles, or even of comparing them, must discern on which side the greater danger of miscarrying lies, as well as the greater disgrace in case of such miscarriage, prudence will direct him in his outset not to hazard the attempt at a florid diction. If his ear hath not been vitiated by vulgar habitudes, he will only have to guard against mean expressions, whilst he is studying to be simple and perspicuous; he will put his thoughts into language naturally as they present themselves,

giving

giving them for the present little more than mere grammatical correction; afterwards, upon a cloſer review, he will poliſh thoſe parts that ſeem rude, harmonize them where they are unequal, compr'eſs what is too diffuſive, raiſe what is low, and attune the whole to that general cadence, which ſeems moſt grateful to his ear.

But if our ſtudent hath been ſmit-ten with the turbulent oratory of the ſenate, the acrimonious declamation of the bar, or the pompous eloquence of the pulpit, and ſhall take the lofty ſpeakers in theſe ſeveral orders for his models, rather than ſuch as addreſs the ear in humbler tones, his paſſions will in that caſe hurry him into the florid and figurative ſtile, to a ſublime and ſwelling period; and if in this he excels, it muſt be owned he accompliſhes a great and arduous taſk, and he will gain a liberal ſhare of applauſe from the world, which in general is apt to be captivated with thoſe high and towering images, that ſtrike and ſurprize the ſenſes. In this ſtile the Hebrew prophets write, “whoſe diſcourſe” (to uſe the words of the learned *Doct'or Bentley*) “after the genius of the Eaſtern nations, is thick ſet with metaphor and allegory; the ſame bold compariſons and dithyrambic liberty of ſtile every where occurring—For when *the Spirit of God came upon them*, and breathed a new warmth and vigour through all the powers of the body and ſoul; when by the influx of divine light the whole ſcene of Chriſt's heavenly kingdom was repreſented to their view, ſo that their hearts were raviſhed with joy, and their imaginations turgid and pregnant with the glorious ideas; then ſurely, if ever,

their ſtile would be ſtrong and lofty, full of alluſions to all that is great and magnificent in the kingdoms of this world.” (*Commencement Sermon.*)—And theſe flights of imagination, theſe effuſions of rapture and ſublimity will occaſionally be found in the pulpit eloquence of ſome of our moſt correct and temperate writers; witneſs that brilliant apoſtrophe at the concluſion of the ninth diſcourſe of *Biſhop Sherlock*, than whom few or none have written with more didactic brevity and ſimplicity—“Go,” (ſays he to the Deiſts) “go to your natural religion: Lay before her Mahomet and his diſciples arrayed in armour and in blood, riding in triumph over the ſpoils of thouſands and tens of thouſands, who fell by his victorious ſword: Shew her the cities which he ſet in flames, the countries which he ravaged and deſtroyed, and the miſerable diſtreſs of all the inhabitants of the earth. When ſhe has viewed him in this ſcene, carry her into his retirements; ſhew her the prophet's chamber, his concubines and wives; let her ſee his adultery, and hear him alledge revelation and his divine commiſſion to juſtify his luſt and oppreſſion. When ſhe is tired with this proſpect, then ſhew her the bleſſed Jeſus, humble and meek, doing good to all the ſons of men, patiently inſtructing both the ignorant and perverſe; let her ſee him in his moſt retired privacies; let her follow him to the mount, and hear his devotions and ſupplications to God; carry her to his table to view his poor fare, and hear his heavenly diſcourſe: Let her ſee him injured but not provoked; let her attend him to the tribunal, and conſider the patience with which he endured the

the scoffs and reproaches of his enemies: Lead her to his cross, and let her view him in the agony of death, and hear his last prayer for his persecutors—*Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.*”

This is a lofty passage in the high imperative tone of declamation; it is richly coloured, boldly contrasted and replete with imagery, and is amongst the strongest of those instances, where the orator addresses himself to the senses and passions of his hearers: But let the disciple tread this path with caution; let him wait the call, and be sure he has an occasion worthy of his efforts before he makes them.

Allegory, personification and metaphor will press upon his imagination at certain times, but let him soberly consult his judgment in those moments, and weigh their fitness before he admits them into his stile. As for allegory, it is at best but a kind of fairy form; it is hard to naturalize it, and it will rarely fill a graceful part in any manly composition. With respect to personification, as I am speaking of prose only, it is but an exotic ornament, and may be considered rather as the loan of the muses than as the property of prose; let our student therefore beware how he borrows the feathers of the jay, lest his unnatural finery should only serve to make him pointed at and despised. Metaphor, on the other hand, is common property, and he may take his share of it, provided he has discretion not to abuse his privilege, and neither surfeits the appetite with repletion, nor confounds the palate with too much variety: Let his metaphor be apposite, single and unconfused, and it will serve him as a kind of rhetorical lever to lift

and elevate his stile above the pitch of ordinary discourse; let him also so apply this machine, as to make it touch in as many points as possible; otherwise it can never so poise the weight above it, as to keep it firm and steady on its proper center.

To give an example of the right use and application of this figure, I again apply to a learned author already quoted—“Our first parents having fallen from their native state of innocence, the tincture of evil, like an hereditary disease, infected all their posterity; and the leaven of sin having once corrupted the whole mass of mankind, all the species ever after would be soured and tainted with it; the vitious ferment perpetually diffusing and propagating itself through all generations.”—(*Bentley, Cem. Sermon.*)

There will be found also in certain writers a profusion of words, ramifying indeed from the same root, yet rising into climax by their power and importance, which seems to burst forth from the overflow and impetuosity of the imagination; resembling at first sight what *Quintilian* characterises as the *Abundantia Juvenilis*, but which, when tempered by the hand of a master, will upon closer examination be found to bear the stamp of judgment under the appearance of precipitancy. I need only turn to the famous *Commencement Sermon* before quoted, and my meaning will be fully illustrated—“Let them tell us then what is the chain, the cement, the magnetism, what they will call it, the invisible tie of that union, whereby matter and an incorporeal mind, things that have no similitude or alliance to each other, can so sympathize by a mutual league of motion and sensation. No; they will

will not pretend to that, for they can frame no conceptions of it: They are sure there is such an union from the operations and effects, but the cause and the manner of it are too subtle and secret to be discovered by the eye of reason; 'tis mystery, 'tis divine magic, 'tis natural miracle."

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*Political Effects of the Junction between the great monied Interest and the philosophical Cabals of France. From Burke's Reflexions on the Revolution in France.*

**I**N the mean time, the pride of the wealthy men, not noble or newly noble, encreased with its cause. They felt with resentment an inferiority, the grounds of which they did not acknowledge. There was no measure to which they were not willing to lend themselves, in order to be revenged of the outrages of this rival pride, and to exalt their wealth to what they considered as its natural rank and estimation. They struck at the nobility through the crown and the church. They attacked them particularly on the side on which they thought them the most vulnerable, that is, the possessions of the church, which, thro' the patronage of the crown, generally devolved upon the nobility. The bishopricks, and the great commendatory abbies, were, with few exceptions, held by that order.

In this state of real, though not always perceived warfare between the noble ancient landed interest, and the new monied interest, the greatest because the most applicable strength was in the hands of the latter. The monied interest is in its nature more ready for any adventure; and its possessors more

disposed to new enterprizes of any kind. Being of a recent acquisition, it falls in more naturally with any novelties. It is therefore the kind of wealth which will be resorted to by all who wish for change.

Along with the monied interest, a new description of men had grown up, with whom that interest soon formed a close and marked union; I mean the political men of letters. Men of letters, fond of distinguishing themselves, are rarely averse to innovation. Since the decline of the life and greatness of Lewis the XIVth, they were not so much cultivated either by him, or by the regent, or the successors to the crown; nor were they engaged to the court by favours and emoluments so systematically as during the splendid period of that ostentatious and not impolitic reign. What they lost in the old court protection, they endeavoured to make up by joining in a sort of incorporation of their own; to which the two academies of France, and afterwards the vast undertaking of the Encyclopædia, carried on by a society of these gentlemen, did not a little contribute.

The literary cabal had some years ago formed something like a regular plan for the destruction of the Christian religion. This object they pursued with a degree of zeal which hitherto had been discovered only in the propagators of some system of piety. They were possessed with a spirit of profelytism in the most fanatical degree; and from thence, by an easy progress, with the spirit of persecution according to their means. What was not to be done towards their great end by any direct or immediate act, might be wrought by a longer process thro' the

the medium of opinion. To command that opinion, the first step is to establish a dominion over those who direct it. They contrived to possess themselves, with great method and perseverance, of all the avenues to literary fame. Many of them indeed stood high in the ranks of literature and science. The world had done them justice; and in favour of general talents forgave the evil tendency of their peculiar principles. This was true liberality; which they returned by endeavouring to confine the reputation of sense, learning, and taste to themselves or their followers. I will venture to say that this narrow, exclusive spirit has not been less prejudicial to literature and to taste, than to morals and true philosophy. These Atheistical fathers have a bigotry of their own; and they have learnt to talk against monks with the spirit of a monk. But in some things they are men of the world. The resources of intrigue are called in to supply the defects of argument and wit. To this system of literary monopoly was joined an unremitting industry to blacken and discredit in every way, and by every means, all those who did not hold to their faction. To those who have observed the spirit of their conduct, it has long been clear that nothing was wanted but the power of carrying the intolerance of the tongue and of the pen into a perfection which would strike at property, liberty, and life.

The desultory and faint persecution carried on against them, more from compliance with form and decency than with serious resentment,

neither weakened their strength, nor relaxed their efforts. The issue of the whole was, that what with opposition, and what with success, a violent and malignant zeal, of a kind hitherto unknown in the world, had taken an entire possession of their minds, and rendered their whole conversation, which otherwise would have been pleasing and instructive, perfectly disgusting. A spirit of cabal, intrigue, and proselytism, pervaded all their thoughts, words, and actions. And as controversial zeal soon turns its thoughts on force, they began to insinuate themselves into a correspondence with foreign princes; in hopes, through their authority, which at first they flattered, they might bring about the changes they had in view. To them it was indifferent whether these changes were to be accomplished by the thunderbolt of despotism, or by the earthquake of popular commotion. The correspondence between this cabal, and the late king of Prussia, will throw no small light upon the spirit of all their proceedings\*. For the same purpose for which they intrigued with princes, they cultivated, in a distinguished manner, the monied interest of France; and partly thro' the means furnished by those whose peculiar offices gave them the most extensive and certain means of communication, they carefully occupied all the avenues to opinion.

Writers, especially when they act in a body, and with one direction, have great influence on the public mind; the alliance therefore of these writers with the monied interest had no small effect in removing the

\* I do not chuse to shock the feeling of the moral reader with any quotation of their vulgar, base, and profane language.

popular odium and envy which attended that species of wealth. These writers, like the propagators of all novelties, pretended to a great zeal for the poor, and the lower orders, whilst in their satires they rendered hateful, by every exaggeration, the faults of courts, of nobility, and of priesthood. They became a sort of demagogues. They served as a link to unite, in favour of one object, obnoxious wealth to restless and desperate poverty.

As these two kinds of men appear principal leaders in all the late transactions, their junction and politics will serve to account, not upon any principles of law or of policy, but as a *cause*, for the general fury with which all the landed property of ecclesiastical corpora-

tions has been attacked; and the great care which, contrary to their pretended principles, has been taken, of a monied interest originating from the authority of the crown. All the envy against wealth and power, was artificially directed against other descriptions of riches. On what other principles than that which I have stated can we account for an appearance so extraordinary and unnatural as that of the ecclesiastical possessions, which had stood so many successions of ages and shocks of civil violences, and were guarded at once by justice, and by prejudice, being applied to the payment of debts, comparatively recent, invidious, and contracted by a decried and subverted government?

## P O E T R Y.

O D E on N O O D E.

By PETER PINDAR, *Esq.*

[See CHRONICLE, p. 193.]

W H A T! not a sprig of annual metre,  
 Neither from Thomas nor from Peter  
 Who has shut up the laureat's *shop*?  
 Alas! "poor Tom's a-cold," I fear;  
 For sack "poor Tom" must drink small-beer,  
 And lo!—of that a scanty drop!

St. James's, happy, happy court,  
 Where luxury is thought to sport,  
 No more his tent shall Thomas pitch in;  
 Can Odes of praise and wisdom cloy?  
 Shall Cæsar's bard no more enjoy  
 The run of mighty Cæsar's kitchen?

Loud roar of Helicon the floods,  
 Parnassus shakes through all his woods,  
 To think immortal verse should thus be slighted.  
 I see, I see the God of *Lyric* fire—  
 Drop suddenly his *jaw*, and *lyre*—  
 I hear, I hear the Muses scream affrighted!

And now I mark the *Delphic* god  
 Prepare to speak on this *no* Ode!  
 Hark to his solemn speech: "Alas! alas!"  
 (He cries) "shall prose record the glorious things  
 "Perform'd by glorious queens and kings?  
 "'Tis really setting *gems* in *brass*."

Perchance the royal pair have puk'd with praise,  
 So lullabied, like children in the cradle!  
 Determin'd now to end the Laureat's days,  
 Who gives Fame's pap, the glutton! with a ladle.

Indeed, it is a generous mode of sinning,  
 Yet sets, unluckily, the world a grinning!  
 Perchance (his pow'rs for future actions hoarding)  
 George thinks the year boasts nothing worth recording.

Yet what of that?—Tho' nought hath been *effected*,  
 Tom might have told us what might be *expected*;  
 Have said that civil list should sigh no more,  
 And Charlotte give—a sixpence to the poor!

ODE for his MAJESTY'S BIRTH DAY, June 4, 1790.

*Written by the late Rev. Mr. T. WARTON.*

I.

WITHIN what fountain's craggy cell  
 Delights the goddess Health to dwell?  
 Where from the rigid roof distils  
 Her richest stream in steely rills?  
 What mineral gems entwine her humid locks?  
 Lo, sparkling high from potent springs,  
 To Britain's sons her cup she brings!  
 Romantic Matlock! are thy tufted rocks,  
 Thy fring'd declivities, the dim retreat  
 Where the coy Nymph has fix'd her favourite seat,  
 And hears, reclin'd along the thundering shore,  
 Indignant Darwent's desultory tide  
 His rugged channel rudely chide?  
 Darwent, whose shaggy wreath is stain'd with Danish gore!

II.

Or does she dress her Naiad-cave  
 With coral-spoils from Neptune's wave,  
 And hold short revels with the train  
 Of nymphs that tread the neighb'ring main?  
 And from the cliffs of Avon's cavern'd side  
 Temper the balmy beverage pure,  
 That, fraught with "drops of precious cure,"  
 Brings back to trembling hope the drooping bride;  
 That in the virgin's cheek renews the rose,  
 And wraps the eye of Pain in quick repose!  
 While oft she climbs the mountain's shelving steeps,  
 And calls her votaries wan, to catch the gale  
 That breathes o'er Ashton's elmy vale,  
 And from the Cambrian hills the billowy Severn sweeps.

III.

Or broods the nymph with watchful wing  
 O'er ancient Badon's mystic spring?  
 And speeds from its sulphureous source  
 The steamy torrent's secret course;  
 And fans th' eternal sparks of hidden fire,  
 In deep unfathom'd beds below  
 By Bladud's magic taught to glow,

Bladud,



Bladud, high theme of fancy's Gothic lyre!  
 Or opes the healing Power her chosen fount  
 In the rich veins of Malvern's ample mount?  
 From whose tall ridge the noontide wanderer views  
 Pomona's purple realm, in April's pride,  
 Its blaze of bloom expanding wide,  
 And waving groves array'd in Flora's fairest hues.

## IV.

Haunts she the scene, where Nature lowers  
 O'er Buxton's heath in lingering showers?  
 Or loves she more, with sandal fleet,  
 In morn'ning dance the nymphs to meet  
 That on the flowery marge of Chelder play?  
 Who, boastful of the stately train  
 That deign'd to grace this simple plain,  
 Late, with new pride, along his reedy way,  
 Bore to Sabrina wreaths of brighter hue,  
 And mark'd his pastoral urn with emblems new.—  
 Howe'er these streams ambrosial may detain  
 Thy steps, O genial Health, yet not alone  
 Thy gifts the Naiad-sifters own;  
 Thine too the briny flood, and Ocean's hoar domain.

## V.

And lo! amid the watery roar,  
 In Thetis' car she skims the shore;  
 Where Portland's brows, embattled high  
 With rocks, in rugged majesty  
 Frown o'er the billows, and the storm restrain,  
 She beckons Britain's scepter'd pair  
 Her treasures of the deep to share!—  
 Hail then, on this glad morn, the mighty Main!  
 Which lends the boon divine of lengthen'd days  
 To Those who wear the noblest regal bays:  
 That mighty Main, which on its conscious tide,  
 Their boundless commerce pours on every clime,  
 Their dauntless banner bears sublime;  
 Which wafts their pomp of war, and spreads their thunder wide!

PROLOGUE to KING JOHN, performed by the Boys of  
 Westminster School. Spoken by Mr. BOURKE.

**H**AVE you ne'er seen (a quaint device 'tis reckon'd),  
 In Dodley's Poems, vol. I. page the second,  
 A troop of boys, in sportive guise, who bear  
 The arms of Mars, and attributes of war,  
 Assay the sword to draw, the spear to wield,  
 And raise, with force combin'd, the massy shield;

Whilst one o'erwhelm'd, yet dreadful to the rest,  
 Nods the dire plumes that threaten o'er his crest!  
 Not quite so young, yet, as we hope, more fit,  
 Lo! we attempt, before this crowded pit,  
 In feudal arms, and royal robes, to stalk  
 With tragic dignity of mien and walk;  
 And, deck'd with terrors from *theatric shelves*,  
 Start at the *phantoms* we have rais'd *ourselves*.  
 Yet, let not harsh severity deride  
 These early efforts of ingenuous pride:  
 Think, but how oft, with more inglorious art,  
 Men *mimick* us, and act a *boyish part*.  
 Whoe'er in trifles, or in trash delights—  
 In truant sport consumes his days and nights—  
 Is *still a boy*, however he may brag,  
 And well deserves to ride on *Busby's nag*.  
 Heavens, how they *multiply* by this *new rule*!  
*England* itself is one great *public school*!  
 With *many wicked boys*—O! dire disaster!—  
 Spite of the *good example of its Master*!—  
 Pardon our flippant wit—the scene, the stage  
 Inspire, perhaps, this pert satyric rage—  
 We lash not you, whom rather we must court,  
 To stoop your manly judgments to our sport!  
 Nor wish you punishment, as things now stand,  
 Except a little *clapping* on the hand.

PROLOGUE to HIGH LIFE BELOW STAIRS, *performed*  
*by the same. Spoken by Mr. BUNBURY.*

**W**HEN first these scenes our author's pen design'd,  
 The force of *ton* was partial and confin'd;  
 Yet, even then, while fashion yet was young,  
 Her rage was catching, and her influence strong—  
 Swift from the travell'd beau and titled dame  
 Lacquies and Abigails confess'd the flame.  
 The vast ambition fires the menial band,  
 And *retail folies* bloom at *second-hand*.  
 Does *Lovelace* drink or game? The *fop* bestows  
 His *cast-off vices* with his *cast-off clothes*.  
 Does he redeem his losses at Duke's-place,  
 And raise supplies from *Israel's* flinty race?  
 His *gentleman* pursues the same career—  
 And, "Damme—is distress'd like any peer;"  
 Follows thro' dissipation's various stages,  
 Takes *money on reverfionary wages*:  
 Like *Lovelace*' self, his wasting purse recruits,  
 And grants *post-obits* upon *birth-day suits*.

“ High Life’s the word !” The rage of imitation  
 Burns high in every breast throughout the nation,  
 The phrenzy rages wide each passing hour;  
 Exhibits growing *Ton’s* encreasing pow’r:  
 On ev’ry brain the changeful *Dæmon* flies,  
 Now bids *toupees* to fall—now *capes* to rise;  
 Now, at his word, th’ obedient muslin swells,  
 And beaux, with “ *Monstrous Craws,*” peep out at pouting belles;  
 No longer now confin’d to courtly air,  
*Taste* sweeps resistless on thro’ Temple Bar;  
 Above, below, the wild contagion spreads,  
 And dreams of fashion float round city heads.

Sir *Balaam’s* toils have realiz’d a plum!  
 My lady’s spirit kindles at the sum.  
 “ Lard, *lovey*, who can live in Lombard-street?  
 “ Haste, let us quit the mercantile retreat.  
 “ Here we grub on—while wealth no fame bestows—  
 “ We’re *nobody* that *any-body* knows,  
 “ How vain the cumb’rous pride of opulence!  
 “ Let fashion rule, and taste direct expence.”  
 Thus speaks the glory of my *Lord Mayor’s ball*,  
 The pond’rous *Hilligberg* of *Grocers-hall*.

Thus speaks the fair, and gives her wishes vent;  
 The passive husband nods a gruff assent.  
 Now civic joys, and *Lombard-street* farewell,  
 My lady quits you all, for dear *Pall-Mall*.  
 By brilliant equipage and depth of play,  
 At length to certain sets she makes her way;  
 And gains the point her heart desir’d so long,  
 To flounce and flounder in excess of *ton*.

Yet some there are, and those high life can boast,  
 With nobler claims than those of wit or toast;  
 Whose rank and fashion are their *Virtue’s* foils— [ *Bowing to the*  
 Their approbation may o’er-pay our toils. *Audience.* ]

EPILOGUE to the CONSTANT COUPLE. Written by Mr.  
 BLACKSTONE. Spoken by Mrs. GOODALL, in the Character of Sir HARRY  
 WILDAIR, at Lord BARRYMORE’S private Theatre at Wargrave.

“ FAREWELL th’ impassion’d vow, the tender war,  
 “ The well-seign’d frown, the nail-indentèd scar,  
 “ The song of triumph, and the melting tone,  
 “ Farewel—poor *Wildair’s* occupation’s gone !”  
 Each *Fopling’s* rival, and each *fair one’s* flame,  
 To a mere husband dwindled, dull and tame!  
 No more the charmers lisp, “ Dear, sweet sir *Harry!*”  
 ‘Sdeath! what could tempt a *Beau Garçon* to marry?  
 ‘Tis true that I no mighty hazard ran,  
 The constant colonel was the bolder man;

My lovely mate's to no excess inclin'd,  
 Her name the faithful index of her mind;  
 But my friend's spouse is quite *au fait* at jilting;  
 Her fav'rite sport, two rival lovers tilting.  
 'Twas boldly ventur'd, faith!—but come what will,  
 Three thousand pounds a year may gild the pill.

Well, we *may* boast, yet still the fair, with ease,  
 Can wind us mighty men which way they please:  
 Late rav'd the colonel, "Woman's form'd to vex!"  
 Behold him now the champion of the sex;  
 Ready, in their defence, to yield his life;  
 I almost think he'd risque it for his wife:  
 Hence—that the honey-moon's but young, 'tis plain,  
 He'll alter strangely ere 'tis in the wane.

Confess, ye fair, this soldier pleases you;  
 You've *seen* him *brave*,—and therefore *know* him *true*;  
 For *cowards* only wrong the sacred trust,  
 But the *brave spirit* DARES NOT be unjust.  
 Oft has one tender plaint, one deep-drawn sigh,  
 One anxious tear, distream'd from beauty's eye,  
 Dissolv'd to infant tenderness the heart  
 Which, undismay'd, sustain'd the *Roman's* part;  
 And, 'mid th' ensanguin'd field of honour, rose  
 Sternly superior to a host of foes;  
 While the pale coward shrinks from *manly* strife,  
 And proves *his* courage on his helpless wife.

But tho' my friend's the *hero* of the play,  
 He must not bear the honour *all* away!  
 With *him* our whole dramatic band agree,  
 In praise, and practice too—of constancy.  
 He's true to love, but *Clincher* \* is as true,  
 As steady to his wish of pleasing you.

Kindly indulgent too, yourselves, ere-while,  
 Amply repaid *Scrub's* † efforts with a smile;  
 And in good humour, sure, you'll constant be,  
 And *Clincher*, then, here finds the *Jubilee*!

\* \* \* \* \*

‡ But should you scan us with too nice an eye,  
 And, judging hardly, all applause deny;  
 Against your natures, *fickle* prove,—and frown,  
 Where we had hop'd your favour would be shown;  
 Still, still, will every heart exulting join  
 In *constant* fealty to the *BRUNSWICK* line.

\* Lord Barrymore himself performed the part of *Beau Clincher*.

† The last theatrical representation at Wargrave was "The Beaux Stratagem," in which his lordship played *Scrub*.

‡ The last six lines were written for the evening on which his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales honoured the performance with his presence.

## EPILOGUE to EUDORA, a Tragedy.

*By Mr. HAYLEY.*

O H, what a subject's here for modern spleen!  
 The curtain drops upon a bloodless scene!  
 No scatter'd daggers here appal the sight,  
 No heroes the undusted carpet bite,  
 Nor broken groans eke out the dying rant,  
 And leave the speaker when stone dead, to pant!

The heroine too—how spiritless and poor!  
 Cut from her wonted graces—on the floor!  
 'Twas her's "in airy threads to spin her breath,  
 " And like the silk-worm spin herself to death.  
 " On lap of confidant, her eye-lids clos'd,"  
 In satin folds her rage-tir'd limbs compos'd;  
 Till in her trance prepar'd, with change of feature,  
 She starts again to life, a new-form'd creature:  
 Each look, each gesture of a former kind  
 Left, with the skin of Tragedy, behind;  
 Pert, flippant, playful, pat for comic vogue,  
 Behold the butterfly—an Epilogue—  
 See how on fancy's wing she flits away,  
 And culls the opening humours of the day!  
 Heav'n's! what a growth this rich parterre supplies!  
 How fashion shoots! how whim diversifies!  
 What buds of folly on the stem of reason!  
 'Tis all unnatural bloom this open season;  
 And Nature, baffled in her plastic power,  
 The extract mocks, the promise of the flower.  
 Thus may the maiden-blush that fairest shows  
 Prove, on the test, an artificial rose;  
 And full-blown widows breathing sweets—of money,  
 When tasted, yield—strange compound!—bitter honey.

Now into critic heads the rover dips—  
 How our poor author trembles as she slips!  
 Speak for yourselves, dread sirs! severe or placid!  
 Will you dispense your sugar—or your acid?  
 Some smile, propitious as the genial morn,  
 And others shake their heads—of withering thorn.

Here cease the trifling of this gew-gaw worm—  
 The serious Muse resumes her pristine form.  
 The scenes of guilt from foreign climes she drew,  
 But for the virtues kept this soil in view,  
 Where cultur'd honour blooms, in manly youth,  
 And beauty's bosom proves the bed of truth.

EPILOGUE

EPILOGUE to the WONDER. Spoken by Mrs. CRESPIGNY, in  
the Character of VIOLANTE, at the Close of her Theatricals.

THO', in this play, I've borne the heroine's part,  
Its foolish title rankles in my heart.  
A woman keeps a secret—THIS THE WONDER!  
O, I shall prove it an egregious blunder!  
In ages past, indeed, when woman's power  
Was circumscrib'd, just like her scanty dower;  
When pin-money—dear blessing! was unknown,  
And we had nothing we could call our own;  
In some dull Gothic hall we pass'd our lives,  
And work'd, and walk'd, and pros'd with farmers' wives;  
Then scarce a carriage did the doors approach,  
And Sunday, only, saw the great old coach.  
A secret then—O, 'twas a charming thing  
To whisper till it made the village ring!  
But times are sweetly chang'd—our manners, fashions,  
Conduct, behaviour, nay, our very passions!  
And tell-tale women often now conceal  
Events, which men are anxious to reveal;  
For, when quick circling bowls their spirits raise,  
In fancy's borrow'd beams they fondly blaze;  
The wink, the nod, the shrug, they call to aid,  
And boast of conquests they have never made.—  
Secrets indeed!—'tis now become THE WONDER,  
If man can keep his boasting passion under.  
The world's quite chang'd—things go a different way—  
Now women tyrannize, and men obey.—  
Yet, we can all find some good-natur'd friend,  
Who lets us know how very few commend.  
E'en here, perhaps, some, with a shrug, will own,  
“ They think this acting better let alone.”  
If there are any such wise censors here,  
I fain would whisper something in their ear—  
“ What motive prompts this genius-damping sneer?” }  
If it be judgment from all envy free,  
They then shall make a convert too of me:  
But while from each dramatic bard I learn  
The genuine form of Virtue to discern;  
While, hid in shapes that captivate all eyes,  
Instruction comes in Pleasure's luring guise,  
My heart forbids me to be sway'd by fears  
Which blast the joys that Innocence uprears:  
But a thought rises which must damp my fire,  
And make each kindling spark at once expire—

Detested thought! It paints a parting scene,  
 And proves our pleasures but a transient dream.  
 Tho' Fame to Asia's shore for laurels sped,  
 And twines them round our Isabella's head;  
 Tho' Frederick, *here*, has Roscius' fires renew'd,  
 And we, in him, a second Garrick view'd;  
 Tho' Felix with such energy complains,  
 And tells his love in such pathetic strains;  
 Nay, did so meltingly for pardon sue,  
 One almost wish'd the sweet delusion true:  
 Tho' to our sprightly Colonel's taste, you know,  
 My stage, my scenes, and all that's *here* I owe;  
 Save these Aonian Nymphs—for whom I bend  
 To Isabella's all-accomplish'd friend:  
 Tho' at Lissardo's birth Thalia smil'd,  
 And own'd him for her lov'd and favourite child;  
 Tho' Flora, *here*, and Inis scold and cry,  
 Till laughter fits in each *beholder's* eye;  
 Tho' Lopez and Don Pedro, in good truth,  
 Have age's wisdom blended with their youth;  
 Tho' Violante's truest smiles appear,  
 When social Mirth and partial *friends* are *here*;  
 Yet 'tis a fact—and sure this is "THE WONDER,"  
 That ties like these must now be broke asunder!

PROLOGUE to BETTER LATE THAN NEVER, a Comedy, by

Mr. ANDREWS.

*Written by his Grace the Duke of LEEDS.*

*And spoken by Mr. BANNISTER, jun.*

**C**USTOM commands a Prologue to each Play;  
 But Custom hath not told us what to say:  
 No form prescrib'd, 'tis difficult to find,  
 How to conciliate the public mind.  
 The bashful Bard—the modest Muse's fears,  
 So long have jingled in your patient ears,  
 That now, perhaps, you'll scarce vouchsafe to stay,  
 To hear both their Apology—and Play.  
 No! Better sure on him at once to call,  
 With—"Sir, if frighten'd thus, why write at all?  
 We're not reduc'd yet to a trembling pen!  
 Zounds! Bards will croud us soon, like—Gentlemen."  
 Something like this, I heard a friend once say,  
 Who wish'd (poor soul) to hear a new-launch'd Play:

Box'd

Box'd snug at first, completely to his mind,  
 With only one grave auditor behind;  
 Ere the third act had struggled to its end,  
 In reel'd three critics, each the author's friend—  
 On praise determin'd—wit confirm'd by wine;  
 Each And! and If! was chaste—correct—damn'd fine.  
 To taste so mark'd, my friend, of course, gave way;  
 But squeez'd, thump'd, kick'd—still listen'd to the play;  
 Till by repeated plaudits grown so fore,  
 Nor flesh nor blood could bear one comment more.  
 Such boist'rous friends they surely cannot need,  
 Who wish by merit only to succeed.  
 To-night we offer to the public view,  
 A character, you'll own, perhaps, is new;  
 From Doctor's Commons we the model draw;  
 A promising elevel of Civil Law;  
 And Civil iure that Law which can provide  
 Or (shou'd need be) release you from a bride.  
 Thrice blest'd the mansion where, in spite of ills,  
*Alive or dead*, you still can have your wills.  
 Much could I offer in our Author's cause;  
 Nay, prove his first great object—your applause;  
 But, lest dull Friendship should his genius wrong,  
 I'll stop—before the Prologue grows too long,  
 And *Better late than never* hold my tongue.

PROLOGUE, spoken in 1781, at the Theatre in WINCHESTER,  
 which adjoins to, or is over the Shambles.

By the late THOMAS WARTON.

**W**HOE'ER our house examines, must excuse  
 The wond'rous shifts of the Dramatic Muse;  
 Then kindly listen, while the Prologue rambles  
 From wit to beef; from Shakespeare to the Shambles.  
 Divided only by a flight of stairs,  
 The Monarch swaggers, or the Butcher swears.  
 Quick the transition when the curtain drops,  
 From meek Monimia's moans to mutton chops.  
 While for Lothario's loss Calista cries,  
 Old women scold, and dealers d—n your eyes.  
 Here Juliet listens to the gentle lark;  
 There, in harsh chorus, hungry bull-dogs bark.  
 Cleavers and scymitars give blow for blow,  
 And heroes bleed above, and sheep below.  
 While tragic thunders shake the pit and box,  
 Rebels to the roar the stag'ring ox:



Cow-horns and trumpets mix their martial tones,  
Kidnies and Kings, mousing and marrow-bones;  
Suet and sighs, blank verse and blood abound,  
And form a tragi-comedy around.

With weeping lovers, dying calves complain,  
Confusion reigns, and Chaos comes again.

Hither your steelyards, Butchers, bring to weigh  
The pound of flesh Antonio's bond must pay;

Hither your knives, ye Christians clad in blue,  
Bring, to be wetted by the cruel Jew.

Hard is our lot, who, feldom doom'd to eat,

Cast a sheep's eye on this forbidden treat;

Gaze on sirloins, which, ah! we must not carve,

And in the midst of legs of mutton, starve!

But wou'd you to our house in crouds repair,

Ye gen'rous Captains, and ye blooming fair,

The fate of Tantalus we should not fear,

Nor pine for a repast that lies so near;

Monarchs no more wou'd supperless remain,

Nor pregnant Queens for cutlets long in vain,

V E R S E S *by Sir JOHN HARYNGTON.*

*To his WIFE.—Of Womens Vertues.*

A WELL learn'd man, in rules of life no Stoyk,  
Yet one that careles epicures derided,

Of weomens vertues talking, them devided  
In three, the private, civill, and heroyke.

And what he said of theise, to tell you briefly,

He first began discourfing of the private,  
Which each playn cuntry huswife may arive at,  
As homely, and that home concerneth chiefly.

The fruit, malt, hops, to tend, to dry, to utter,

To beat, strip, spin the woll, the hemp, the flax,

Breed poultry, gather honey, try the wax,

And more than all to have good cheefe and butter,

Then next a step, but yet a lardge step higher,

Was civill vertue, fitter for the city,

With modest lookes, good cloths, and answers witty,

Those baser things not done but guided by her.

Her idle tymes and ydle coyne she spends

On needle works: and, when the season sarvs,

In making dainty junketts and consarvs

To welcom in kynd sort his dearest friends,

But

But far above them all, he most extolled  
 The stately Heroyns, whose noble minde  
 Itself to those poor orders cannot bynde,  
 Anomelous that still live uncontrol'd.

Theis intertayn great princes; theis have learned  
 The tongs, toys, tricks of Rome, of Spayn, of Fraunce;  
 Theis can correntos and lavoltas daunce,  
 And though they foote it false 'tis near discearned.

The vertues of theis dames are so transcendant,  
 Themselvs are learn'd, and their heroyke spirit  
 Can make disgrace an honor, sin a merit;  
 All pens, all prayfers are on them dependant.

Well, gentle wife, thou knowst I am not stoycall,  
 Yet would I wish, take not the wish in evill,  
 You knew the private vertue, kept the civill,  
 But in no sort aspire to that hearoycall.

*To my W I F E.*

YOUR mother layes yt to me as a cryme,  
 That I so long do stay from you sometime,  
 And by her fond surmise would make you feare  
 My love doth grow more cold, or less sincere:  
 But let no caulles doubts make you beleeve  
 That being false yt being trew would greeve.

I, when I goe from thee the furthest distance,  
 Do in my soule, by my true-loves assistance,  
 Insted of sweet imbracements, dove-like kisses,  
 Send kindest thoughts, and most indeered wishes:—  
 Then letters, then kind tokens pass, and then  
 My busie Muse employes my ydle pen.

Then memory in loves defence alledges  
 Seavn organ-pipes, our loves assured pledges.  
 Alas, how many live still with their wives,  
 Yet in true kindness absent all their lives!—  
 Absence is true loves sauce, and serves to whet it—  
 They never lov'd whom absence makes forget it.

V E R S E S *to Sir JOSHUA REYNOLDS, on his late Resignation of  
 the President's Chair of the ROYAL ACADEMY.*

*By the Earl of CARLISLE.*

T O O wise for contest, and too meek for strife,  
 Like Lear, oppress'd by those you rais'd to life,  
 Thy sceptre broken, thy dominion o'er,  
 The curtain falls, and thou'rt a king no more.—

Still, near the wreck of thy demolish'd state,  
 Truth and the weeping Muse with me shall wait;  
 Science shall teach Britannia's self to moan,  
 And make, O injur'd friend! thy wrongs her own.  
 Shall we forget, when, with incessant toil,  
 To thee 'twas giv'n to turn the stubborn soil—  
 To thee, with flow'rs to deck our dreary waste,  
 And kill the pois'nous weeds of vicious taste;  
 To pierce the gloom where England's Genius slept;  
 Long of soft love and tenderness bereft;  
 From his young limbs to tear the bands away,  
 And bid the Infant Giant run and play?

Dark was the hour, the age an age of stone,  
 When Hudson claim'd an empire of his own;  
 And from the time, when, darting rival light,  
 Vandyke and Rubens cheer'd our northern night;  
 Those twin stars set, the Graces all had fled,  
 Yet paus'd, to hover o'er a Lely's head;  
 And sometimes bent, when won with earnest pray'r,  
 To make the gentle Kneller all their care;  
 But ne'er with smiles to gaudy Verrio turn'd,  
 No happy incense on his altars burn'd.  
 O! witness, Windsor! thy too passive walls,  
 Thy tortur'd ceilings, thy insulted halls!  
 Lo! England's glory, Edward's conquering son,  
 Cover'd with spoils from Poitiers bravely won—  
 Yet no white plumes, no arms of sable hue,  
 Mark the young hero to our ravish'd view;  
 In buskin trim and laurell'd helmet bright,  
 A well-dress'd Roman meets our puzzled sight;  
 And Gallia's captive king, how strange his doom!  
 A Roman too perceives himself become.  
 See too the miracles of God profan'd,  
 By the mad daubings of this impious hand;  
 For while the dumb exult in notes of praise,  
 While the lame walk, the blind in transports gaze—  
 While vanquish'd demons Heav'n's high mandates hear,  
 And the pale dead spring from the silent bier,  
 With lac'd cravat, long wig, and careless micn,  
 'The Painter's present at the wond'rous scene!

Vanloo and Dahl, these may more justly claim  
 A step still higher on the throne of Fame;  
 Yet to the west their course they seem to run,  
 The last red streaks of a declining sun.

And must we Jervas name? so hard and cold,  
 In ermine robes, and peruke, only bold;  
 Or, when inspir'd, his rapt'rous pencil own  
 The roll'd-up stocking and the damask gown!

Behold a tasteless age in wonder stand,  
 And hail him the Apell's of the land!  
 And Denner too—but yet so void of ease,  
 His figures tell you—they're forbid to please;  
 Not in proportion nor expression nice,  
 The strong resemblance is itself a vice;  
 As waxwork figures always shock the sight,  
 Too near to human flesh and shape, affright;  
 And when they best are form'd afford the least delight. }

Turn we from such to thee, whose nobler art  
 Rivets the eye and penetrates the heart:  
 To thee, whom Nature, in thy earliest youth,  
 Fed with the honey of eternal Truth—  
 Then, by her fondling art, in happy hour,  
 Entic'd to Learning's more sequester'd bower:  
 There all thy life of honours first was plann'd,  
 While Nature preach'd, and Science held thy hand—  
 When, but for these, condemn'd perchance to trace  
 The tiresome vacuum of each senseless face,  
 Thou in thy living tints hadst ne'er combin'd  
 All grace of form and energy of mind—  
 How, but for these, should we have trembling fled  
 The guilty tossings of a BEAUFORT's bed;  
 Or let the fountain of our sorrows flow  
 At sight of famish'd UGOLENO's woe?  
 Bent on revenge, should we have pensive stood  
 O'er the pale Cherubs of the fatal Wood,  
 Caught the last perfume of their rosy breath,  
 And view'd them smiling at the stroke of death?  
 Should we have question'd, stung with rage and pain,  
 The Spectre Line, with the distracted THANE?  
 Or, with ALCMENA's natural terror wild,  
 From the envenom'd serpent torn her child?

And must no more thy pure and classic page  
 Unfold its treasures to the rising age?  
 Nor from thy own Athenian temple pour  
 On list'ning youth, of art the copious store?—  
 Hold up to Labour independent ease,  
 And teach Ambition all the ways to please!  
 With ready hand neglected Genius save,  
 Sick'ning, o'erlook'd in Mis'ry's hidden cave;  
 And, nobly just, decide; the active mind  
 Neither to soil nor climate is confin'd!

Desert not then my sons; those sons who soon  
 Will mourn with me, and all their error own.  
 Thou must excuse that raging fire, the same  
 Which lights their daily course to endless fame,

Alas! impels them, thoughtless, far to stray  
 From filial love and reason's sober way.  
 Accept again thy pow'r—resume the Chair,  
 "Nor leave it till—you place an Equal there."

O D E to JAMES BRUCE, Esq.

*Attributed to Mr. MASON.*

**H**EAR Truth invite! hear Science plead;  
 Bold traveller, their voice attend!  
 Eager to give thee Honour's meed,  
 And hail thee as their public friend!—  
 Advent'rous Bruce, allow their claim!  
 And since thy toils at genuine glory aim,  
 Let thy accomplish'd hand consign those toils to Fame!

What! though, to strike the author mute,  
 Uplifting a sarcastic hand,  
 (The gage of sceptical dispute!)  
 Detraction on the watch may stand  
 With Ignorance leagu'd—an hideous pair!  
 Who stop warm Genius, with petrific stare,  
 In all his bright pursuits, in every generous care!

'Twas brave disdain of these base foes  
 That form'd the demi-gods of old;  
 By this, to modern glory rose  
 The names that Learning has enroll'd.—  
 These, then, who prey on worth sublime,  
 These foes contemn, the pests of every clime!  
 Though worse thou could'st not meet in Egypt's quick'ning  
 slime!

Eager to crush their reptile spite,  
 With thee in firm alliance stand  
 Spirits, who feast on mental light,  
 Virtue and Science hand in hand!—  
 "Whate'er thy wide research might find,  
 "Impart," they cry, "to benefit mankind  
 "With intellectual food, with opulence of mind!"

Since rival arts thy life have grac'd,  
 Give not thy aid to one alone!  
 Though Burney, with discerning taste,  
 Implor'd that aid in friendship's tone;—  
 Burney! whose leaves thy talents tell;  
 Burney! historian of the tuneful shell;  
 Of excellence the friend, and fashion'd to excel!

See all the Arts, (a social tribe!)  
 With friendly zeal around thee wait,  
 Keen from thy spirit to imbibe  
 New lights to dignify their state!  
 From thee, with rare experience fraught,  
 They ask what Afric's unknown genius taught,  
 Lost knowledge to revive, or aid inventive thought.

Dost thou not see in solemn dreams,  
 Oft as thy letter'd vigils cease,  
 The fire of life-supporting streams,  
 Parent of commerce, wealth, and peace,  
 Imperial Nile, before thee rise?—  
 My mental eye his awful form espies,  
 While the indignant Power in honest anger cries:

“ O Bruce, by my indulgence led  
 “ To scenes no ancients might explore,  
 “ To those coy fountains latent head,  
 “ Whence all my genial gifts I pour;  
 “ Since I, as kind as thou wast bold,  
 “ Shew'd thee my wonders, why dost thou withhold  
 “ What Science bids thy hand to all her sons unfold?  
 “ Remember, as my fruitful tide  
 “ Throws verdant life on lands below;  
 “ So, round the world, 'tis Britain's pride  
 “ New streams of mental light to throw!  
 “ And happiest they, though Envy lower,  
 “ Who most increase thy country's richest power,  
 “ Her radiance of renown, from intellectual dower!”

#### INSTRUCTIONS to a PORTER;

By the late Mr. BEDDINGFIELD, of NEWCASTLE.

**Y**OU, to whose care I've now consign'd  
 My house's entrance, caution use  
 While you discharge your trust, and mind  
 Whom you admit, and whom refuse.

Let no fierce Passions enter here,  
 Passions the raging breast that storm,  
 Nor scornful *Pride*, nor servile *Fear*,  
 Nor *Hate*, nor *Envy's* pallid form.

Should *Av'rice* call—you'll let her know  
 Of heap'd-up riches I've no store,  
 And that she has no right to go  
 Where *Plutus* has not been before.

Lo! on a visit hither bent,  
 High-plum'd *Ambition* stalks about;  
 But should he enter, sweet *Content*  
 Will give me warning—shut him out.

Perhaps the *Muse* may pass this way,  
 And tho' full oft I've bent the knee,  
 And long invok'd her magic sway,  
 Smit with the love of harmony;

Alone tho' she might please—yet still  
 I know she'll with *Ambition* come;  
 With lust of fame my heart she'll fill,  
 She'll break my rest—I'm not at home.

There is a rascal old and hideous,  
 Who oft (and sometimes not in vain)  
 Close at my gate has watch'd assiduous,  
 In hopes he might admittance gain;

His name is *Care*—if he should call,  
 Quick out of doors with vigour throw him;  
 And tell the miscreant once for all  
 I know him not, I ne'er will know him.

Perhaps then Bacchus, foe to *Care*,  
 May think he'll sure my favour win;  
 His promises of joy are fair  
 But false—you must not let him in.

But welcome that sweet Power, on whom  
 The young *Desires* attendant move,  
 Still flush'd with Beauty's vernal bloom,  
 Parent of bliss, the *Queen of Love*.

O! you will know her, she has stole  
 The lustre of my Delia's eye;  
 Admit her, hail her—for my soul  
 Breathes double life when she is nigh.

If then stern *Wisdom* at my gate  
 Should knock, with all her formal train,  
 Tell her I'm busy—she may wait,  
 Or, if she chuses—call again.

*By the Rev. FR. BLACKBURNE, M. A. late Archdeacon of CLEVELAND.*

LYCIDAS to PRUDENTIA.

DESCEND, fair Stoic, from thy flights;  
From Nature learn to know  
Our passions are the needful weights,  
That make our virtues go.

PRUDENTIA to LYCIDAS.

True, Lycidas; but think not so  
Another truth to shun;  
Our passions make our virtues go,  
But make our vices run.

*Extracts from ARTHUR, a Poetical Romance, in seven books;*

*By RICHARD HOLE.*

PRAISE be the warrior's meed, who seeks to rise  
By virtuous acts, by deeds of bold emprise,  
O'er dark oblivion; and in time's despight,  
Beneath whose wasteful course, in endless night,  
Successive ages sink, and pass unknown,  
Aspires to make futurity his own.

Such Arthur was: the song preserv'd his fame;  
And oft our fathers kindled at the name:  
When wand'ring minstrels to the feeling heart  
The strains of nature, undeprav'd by art,  
Address; and crowded halls were taught to ring  
With the bold acts of Britain's matchless king.

Those days are past: the vocal strain no more  
Is heard, that charm'd our fathers' hearts of yore.  
Now, sole memorial of their echoing halls,  
Clasp'd by rude ivy, nod the mould'ring walls:  
In cumb'rous heaps are stretch'd the stately towers,  
While noxious weeds usurp the roseate bow'rs;  
And, long enfolded in death's cold embrace,  
Silent have slept the minstrels' gentle race.

Yet still his name survives; nor deem it vain,  
That one, the meanest of the tuneful train,  
Caught by the lofty theme, with feebler lays  
Presumes t' unfold a tale of other days.  
Such, as of old to Fancy's ear address,  
Perchance had struck the sympathizing breast;  
When lovely were our maids, and brave our youth,  
When virtue valour crown'd, and beauty truth.

The day's bright ruler, from his airy sleep  
Descending, plung'd beneath the western deep;



When, o'er the rocks that gird Ebuda's fide,  
 Brave the wild winds, and surging waves deride,  
 The full-orb'd moon her radiant brow display'd,  
 And the blue sky in soften'd light array'd;  
 With quivering lustre deck'd the purple flood,  
 And edg'd with silver gleams the dusky wood.

Ivar, who trac'd his birth from fires renown'd,  
 A generous youth, beside the vast profound,  
 In meditation wrapt, pursues his course  
 Along the beach; while, with diminish'd force,  
 Fainter and fainter, from the shelving shore  
 The murmuring waves retreat with hollow roar.

Soon on th' horizon's utmost verge descry'd,  
 A fleet, dim-gliding on the distant tide,  
 Appears: at times the snow-white sails in light  
 Are cloath'd, at times they vanish from his sight.

While o'er the main he bends his anxious eyes,  
 From high Conagra dreadful sounds arise,  
 Where darkly-frowning its projected steep  
 In wide-stretch'd shade involves the roaring deep;  
 That king of mountains, whose proud height to gain  
 The feeble race of man would toil in vain,  
 On his astonish'd ear with hideous yell

Thus burst the strain that aw'd the powers of hell:

“ Shall hated light still clothe these azure skies,  
 Dæmons of dire revenge?—awake, arise!  
 Forego your dreary cells where horror reigns;  
 In gloom congenial wrap yon spangled plains!  
 The vault of heaven with winds conflicting rend,  
 And with the clouds the surging billows blend!—  
 Say, must we vainly thus your aid invoke?  
 For this does blood upon your altars smoke?  
 Do we for this the souls of mortals fire  
 With rage unpitying, and vindictive ire?  
 The race abhorr'd with causeless ills annoy,  
 And aid your hate? awake, arise, destroy!”

As upward now he turn'd his wond'ring eyes,  
 Of fearful mein, and, more than mortal size,  
 Three female forms appear'd; in mystic rite  
 Engag'd, they traced the mountain's dizzy height  
 In circling course; whilst wide behind them flew  
 Their sable locks, and robes of russet hue,  
 As with demeanor wild, and outstretch'd arms,  
 They rous'd th' infernal powers:—their direful charms  
 At length prevail. Th' increasing shades of night  
 Close dark around, and veil them from his sight.

Now, by the potency of magic sound,  
 Th' aspiring mountain to its base profound

Convulsive shook: the birds that used to sweep  
 In crouded flight around the dizzy steep,  
 (As grey-robed vapors, driven before the storm,  
 Float on the winds in many a varied form),  
 Rous'd from their secret clefts, with piercing cry,  
 Thro' the dun air in countless myriads fly.  
 From ev'ry point of heav'n red meteors glide  
 In streaming radiance to the mountain's side,  
 Thick and more thick; then to its height aspire,  
 And form a rampart of encircling fire.

But tho' in splendor rose the mountain's head,  
 The robe of darkness o'er the sky was spread;  
 Portentous darkness—" Powers of earth and air!"  
 Ebuda's youth thus rais'd the suppliant prayer,  
 " Ye, who o'er nature's wide domains preside!  
 Ye, who thro' boundless space benignly guide  
 Heaven's cheering orbs! who thro' the ethereal plain  
 Roll the deep thunder, or its rage restrain!  
 Whose pow'r can check the lightning's darted ray,  
 And bid the storm in whispers die away,  
 Assist the race of man!—behold, unbound,  
 The Powers of evil urge their wasteful round!  
 The dæmon of destruction is abroad,—  
 And his yon dreadful scene!—Beneath his load  
 Conagra trembles—bind, oh bind again  
 This fury in your adamant chain!"—

He ceas'd; for, echoing from the mountain's head,  
 Again the sounds that struck his soul with dread  
 More direful rose.—" Seize, seize, the fated hour:  
 On yonder fleet the storm of vengeance pour!  
 Descend ye clouds of death! ye fiends arise!  
 Burst forth ye storms, and mingle seas and skies!"

And now the splendor that enclos'd the steep,  
 In sparks of fire flew diverse o'er the deep,  
 Kindling the nitrous clouds: with livid glare  
 The lightning stream'd along the troubled air;  
 'Tremendous thunder thro' the vast profound  
 In peals redoubled roll'd its awful sound:  
 In darkness sailing thro' th' affrighted skies  
 The dæmons pour'd their death-denouncing cries.  
 At times, their forms of dread the lurid light  
 Disclos'd, and swell'd the horrors of the night.

Whilst the youth lay prostrate on the ground,  
 When rous'd in terror by a mightier sound  
 Of long-continu'd thunder, thro' the sky  
 He mark'd with keener blaze the lightning fly:  
 Saw, as it flash'd against Conagra's height,  
 Out-jutting crags, and rocks of ponderous weight,

Precipitate

Precipitate descend with hideous roar,  
And dash the wild waves o'er the trembling shore.

A mountain-billow burst before his view,  
And on the strand a hapless warrior threw.  
Sudden the raging winds their fury cease:  
The storm-vex'd waves subside, and sink to peace.  
Thro' scattering clouds, their fleecy robes in light  
Array'd, majestic towers the queen of night:  
Thick-gleaming stars the vault of heaven adorn,  
Like dew-drops glist'ning to the beam of morn.

Tho' soft compassion in the gentle breast  
Of Ivar swell'd, yet fear awhile repress  
His doubtful steps; he saw the stranger rise,  
And wildly roll around his wond'ring eyes.  
Stately his form; and mingled in his face  
The charms of youth, and manhood's riper grace  
Vied for pre-éminence: a ponderous spear  
He held, that not the raging waves could tear  
From his strong grasp: his bosom oft he struck,  
And, upwards gazing, cast to heaven a look,  
In which indignant rage, with grief combin'd,  
Express the mix'd emotions of his mind.

\* \* \* \* \*

On his barb'd steed, that proudly paw'd the ground,  
There, clad in steel, the stern Norwegian frown'd.  
In loose array, wide scatter'd o'er the plain,  
Rush'd Thule's bands, and Gotia's archer train.  
Not e'en Laponia's storm-wrapt coast could screen  
Her harmless offspring from the deathful scene.  
Compell'd by Norway's gloomy lord they rear  
The targe fur-cinctur'd, and the bone-tipp'd spear.  
By fish, roots, herbs, the gentle race were fed;  
The sunless cave their dwelling, earth their bed.  
On roaring seas in slight canoes to sail,  
With well-aim'd darts to pierce th' unwieldy whale;  
Their destin'd course to make the rein-deer know,  
Steer the smooth sledge o'er trackless wastes of snow;  
T' entrap the wily fox, the bird ensnare;  
On floating ice surprize the sluggish bear;  
These were their arts alone—unfit to wield  
The arms of heroes in th' embattled field.  
Their soothing hope that soon these toils would cease,  
And Genii guide them to the bowers of peace:  
Where, in the land of souls, a blissful shore,  
No ruthless tyrants should molest them more.  
No tempests rage, no hail, nor snow descend,  
No fearful lightning glare, nor thunder rend

Heaven's azure vault, but cloudless radiance gild  
The sky, and ceaseless verdure deck the field.

Foremost the king advanc'd, and bade the sound,  
That calls to battle, rise: his bards renown'd,  
Oswald and Eric thus his will obey:  
The plain re-echoes to the lofty lay,

“ Dark on his cloud, unseen by mortal eye,  
The ruler of the battle sits on high,  
Dread Odin, first of heavenly powers ador'd,  
With shafts of death ten thousand quivers stor'd  
Stand by his side: The fatal bow he bends,  
And wide around the rapid shower descends.  
In silence flits thro' air each viewless dart,  
And fills with torturing pangs the dastard's heart,  
To Hela's drear abodes embrown'd in night,  
Their feeble spirits urge their downward flight.  
Not so the brave, no fears their minds controul,  
Unfelt their wounds, unvanquish'd is their soul,  
Death then is more than victory!—The God  
Of battle hails them to his bright abode.

For them he bids the plenteous banquet shine,  
And the bowl flow with Hydromel divine.

Rise then, exulting in your might arise!

Conquest or death alike the valiant prize.

This, shall your days on earth with honour crown;

That, seat you mid the gods, and chiefs of old renown.’

While thus the bards awak'd th' inspiring song,  
Extatic fury seiz'd the martial throng:  
And, as the close-compacted lines advance,  
(Thro' winter's watry cloud thus sun-beams glance,  
When threatening storms th' unshelter'd swain affright)  
On either side full many a gallant knight,  
Burst thro' the gloom of war with loosen'd rein,  
Couch'd the strong lance, and blaz'd athwart the plain,

More dreadful now the din of battle grows;  
Spears clash with spears, with bucklers bucklers close,  
Shrill flits the arrow from the twanging string,  
And stones on batter'd mail rebounding ring.  
The keen-edg'd falchion, helm, and hawberk rends;  
The ponderous axe with thundering sound descends,  
The trump's loud clangors mixt with dying cries,  
And shouts of wrathful heroes shake the skies.

Th' unhallow'd sisters to the clouds repair,  
And darkly-hovering on the wings of air,  
Like famish'd vulturs, mark'd with keen delight  
The fall of warriors, and the waste of fight.

Here, furious Hacon with resistless force  
Thro' yielding ranks impells his foaming horse.

Emania's monarch there, with matchless might  
 Wields his huge mace, and prostrate lays the fight,  
 Thy course of glory, Sweno, who can trace?  
 Thy foe's destruction, and thy country's grace!  
 While shook the brave, no terror Conal knew,  
 To prove his might athwart the plain he flew.  
 Nor strength, nor skill 'gainst Hacon's son avail,  
 Nor massy buckler, nor protecting mail:  
 The fatal spear thro' shield and corslet flies,  
 And stretch'd in dust the hapless warrior lies,  
 Unconscious of her much-lov'd hero's fall,  
 Ithona sits in Thomond's lofty hall,  
 And bids the bards to him awake their lays—  
 For who like Conal claim'd the meed of praise!  
 Sudden, ere yet they touch'd the warbling wire,  
 Burst mournful sounds instinctive from the lyre;  
 And lo! the dogs, companions of the chace,  
 In shuddering terror gaze on vacant space.  
 Their lord's sad image rises to their view;  
 Faint gleam his arms, and pallid is his hue.  
 His dimly-rolling eyes on Thomond's fair  
 In grief he bends; then borne aloft in air,  
 And wrapt in darkness, on the gale he flies;  
 Deep mourn the faithful train, and howlings wild arise.  
 She marks the signs that speak her hero low;  
 Rends her dark tresses, beats her breast of snow,  
 And gives her days to solitary woe.

Before his bands see Neustria's chief advance!  
 A bold Norwegian sinks beneath his lance.  
 As from his side the weighty spear he rends,  
 On his strong vantbrass Hacon's sword descends,  
 And sheers him to the bone. His knightly train  
 Rush to his aid, and bear him from the plain.

Of strength unyielding, spirit unsubdued,  
 Like some dark rock that braves the surging flood,  
 Emania's monarch stands unmov'd: the tide  
 Of battle rolls, and breaks against his side.  
 Now here, now there, he deals the deadly wound,  
 And mangled corpses strew th' ensanguin'd ground.

Norwegia's leader thundering thro' the field,  
 Against the warrior's breast his lance impell'd,  
 Unwounded he sustain'd the mighty shock;  
 The pointed lance on his strong corslet broke.  
 Hacon again, his courser check'd, prepares  
 To assail the chief; his flaming falchion bares,  
 Then forward spurs the steed: his mace on high  
 Fiacha lifts—As hissing thro' the sky  
 Th' impetuous bolt descends, the blow he sped  
 Full on th' advancing courser's mail-clad head:

Breathless he sunk, and headlong on the plain  
 The monarch hurl'd: Emania's lord again  
 Lifts the dread mace.—What now, O king! avail  
 Thy numerous warriors, and thy temper'd mail?  
 No temper'd mail resists Fiacha's might;  
 Thy warriors distant tremble at the sight.

But generous Sweno marks thee lowly laid,  
 And hastes with pious valour to thy aid.  
 Beneath the lifted arm he swift address  
 The levell'd spear: thro' great Fiacha's chest  
 Its furious way the vengeful weapon tore,  
 And issu'd far beyond, embath'd in gore.  
 Thundering he falls, the ponderous mace foregoes,  
 And o'er his eyes the shades of darkness close.

Ierné's bands in terror quit the field:  
 Maronan, Adamar, reluctant yield.  
 Oft lion-like they turn, and, in the strife,  
 Gore the proud hunters that pursue thir life.

Lo! darting thro' the plain, in arms whose blaze  
 Rivall'd the summer sun's meridian rays,  
 A stately knight, on his hot courser borne,  
 That champ'd the golden bit he seem'd to scorn,  
 Appear'd, and loudly thus: “To pale affright  
 Shall Arthur's friends submit in Arthur's fight?  
 The dastard meets the fate he shuns; the brave  
 By generous contest triumph o'er the grave.”

Enraptur'd they behold, enraptur'd hear  
 The hero's voice, and scorn their former fear.  
 Again they turn, they form the deep'ning line,  
 And close-wedg'd shields a glittering rampart shine.

Chill, watry vapours thus that float on high,  
 Their grey robes waving thro' the wintry sky,  
 From ice-clad realms when bursts the polar blast,  
 Condense, then gathering shade on shade, o'ercast  
 The front of heaven; and on the ravag'd vale  
 Pour the sharp fleet, and loud-resounding hail,

Meanwhile the prince darts furious on his foes;  
 A grove of spears the dauntless prince enclose:  
 He braves, he meets the shock; and whirls around  
 His dreadful sword that gives no second wound:  
 Bursts unresisted thro' the black array;  
 His course is mark'd with death, and terror points his way!  
 An eagle thus, when o'er Plinlimmon's head  
 Descending clouds a robe of darkness spread,  
 Wings thro' th' encircling gloom his rapid flight,  
 Then soars exulting mid the fields of light.

Can words his actions paint, when valor's flame  
 Glew'd in his eyes, and lighten'd in his frame?

Where'er he rush'd, more fierce the tumult roar'd,  
 Around his course the blood of thousands pour'd.  
 Beneath th' ethereal fire's resistless stroke,  
 As sinks the lofty pine, the knotted oak,  
 Heroes and kings beneath his matchless might  
 Bestrew the plain: the crowded ranks of fight  
 Like sun-drawn mists dissolve, The pitying muse  
 Death's wasteful course reluctantly pursues.

To one alone, who claims th' applauding lay,  
 'Tis her's the tributary strain to pay;  
 Hacon's brave son—No equal yet he found;  
 By Deva's banks he spreads destruction round.  
 His lance arrests the dastard as he flies;  
 His force the valiant proves, and proving dies,  
 But short the triumph—Uther's son draws near,  
 And fate dim hovers round his beaming spear.

“ Secure of glory in the living lay,  
 No longer urge to fame thy dangerous way!  
 Retire, nor brave yon terror of the plain!”  
 Thus warn'd Norwegia's bards, but warn'd the youth in vain.

Hurl'd from his seat, beside the stream he lies;  
 Life's fading taper in his swimming eyes  
 Dim-twinkling gleams: his golden locks bestrew  
 The plain; while struck with sorrow at the view,  
 His faithful steed the languid head declines;  
 On the green bank his shatter'd helmet shines;  
 O'er his broad buckler rolls the torrent grey,  
 And ting'd with blood pursues its mazy way.

The Briton marks with grief th' expiring foe;  
 “ Perchance,” he cries, “ not mortal is the blow.  
 Few are thy years, yet mighty were thy deeds;  
 And sorrow melts my soul when valour bleeds.”

Thus he replied, with weak and struggling breath;  
 “ I meet the warrior's doom, and welcome death.  
 To swell another's fame, disgraceful thought!  
 Vanquish'd to live, were life too dearly bought.  
 No, since 'tis mine to fall beneath the brave,  
 I mourn not; for what honour deigns to crave,  
 Honour will grant; and Britain's generous chief  
 Accord my suit: to sooth a father's grief,  
 My arms, and breathless corse restore!”—He said,  
 His dim eyes clos'd—the gallant spirit fled.

“ Farewell, brave youth!” thus Uther's generous son  
 Mournful exclaim'd; “ what glory hadst thou won,  
 If fate vouchsaf'd thee but a longer day!  
 Sweno, farewell! thou bright, but transient ray—  
 Approach, ye sacred bards, to whom belong  
 The warbling lyre, and joy-diffusing song.

Not against you the vengeful blade we raise,  
 Who bid the hero live to future days—  
 Approach in safety, and dismiss your fear :  
 To his sad fire the breathless warrior bear ;  
 And, (may it sooth his troubled breast!) relate  
 He fell by Arthur, who bewail'd his fate."

Hacon, retir'd beyond the martial lines,  
 With toil fore-spent, to younger knights resigns  
 The field of glory ; and beholds from far,  
 In wonder lost, the surging tide of war  
 Roll backward : but amazement soon suppress,  
 To grief consign'd the empire of his breast.

His hapless son before his view is laid :  
 In speechless agony he marks the dead.  
 Lost is the warrior's firmness, that defied  
 The power of fortune—lost the regal pride,  
 That mock'd at woe: the heart-wrung tear descends,  
 The hoary honours of his head he rends :  
 And, while his bosom throbs with frequent sighs,  
 Clasp'ing the clay-cold corse on earth he lies.

His bards indignant mark his frantic grief ;  
 When Oswald thus: " Is this the haughty chief,  
 Who wades to fame thro' war's empurpled tide,  
 Terror his lov'd compeer, and Death his guide?  
 Can he lament the warrior's envied state,  
 By valour plac'd beyond the reach of fate?  
 His destin'd course thy son with honour ran,  
 And fell a hero ere he liv'd a man.

That be his praise, to glory in it thine ;  
 'Tis Hacon's right to triumph, not repine !"  
 " Cease, cease," he cried: " can words relief impart,  
 And pluck the shaft of anguish from my heart?  
 Behold yon blasted oak ! canst thou array  
 Its wither'd branches in the pomp of May?  
 Bid it again exalt its towering head,  
 And to the winds its leafy honours spread?  
 Spring will return—but ne'er returning spring—  
 Around its trunk the verdant wreath shall fling :  
 Nor time revolving to my view restore  
 My hero's budding honours—He no more  
 Shall shelter yield in danger's stormy day—  
 And shall I lonely moulder to decay,  
 A burthen to the earth ?"—With vengeful mind  
 He mounts his steed ; when Eric thus rejoin'd :

" Canst thou withstand, enfeebled by thy wounds,  
 And length of years, yon warrior, who confounds  
 Embattled armies? Hence, the thought resign!  
 On other realms the beams of glory shine.



Again thy prowess shall be shewn; again  
 Our crowded sails shall shade the burthen'd main;  
 Thy wonted field of honour, where the brave  
 Reap fame's rich harvest on the rolling wave.  
 Shall Sweno's lovely form be given the prey  
 To ravenous wolves? wilt thou deny the lay  
 To Sweno's praise? the rites sepulchral paid,  
 Then think of vengeance to atone his shade."

The king reluctant yields: his glaring eyes  
 He backward turns, whilst in his bosom rise  
 Conflicting passions: oft he checks his course,  
 And grasps his sword, and longs its wonted force  
 Once more to prove: at length to fate resign'd,  
 He flies—the storm of battle roars behind.

*Extract from a COMPLIMENTARY EPISTLE to JAMES BRUCE, esq. the  
 Abyssinian Traveller. By PETER PINDAR, esq.*

SWEET is the tale, however strange its air,  
 That bids the public eye *astonied* stare!  
 Sweet is the tale, howe'er uncouth its shape,  
 That makes the world's wide mouth with wonder gape!  
 Behold our infancies in tales delight,  
 That bolt like hedgehog quills the hair upright.  
 Of ghosts how pleas'd is every child to hear!  
 'To such is Jack the Giant-killer dear!  
 Dread monsters, issuing from the flame or flood,  
 Charm, tho' with horror cloth'd they chill the blood!  
 What makes a tale so sleepy, languid, dull?  
 Things as they happen'd—not of marvel full.  
 What gives a zest, and keeps alive attention?  
 A tale that wears the visage of invention:  
 A tale of lions, spectres, shipwreck, thunder;  
 A wonder, or first cousin to a wonder.  
 Mysterious conduct! yet 'tis Nature's plan  
 To sow with wonder's seeds the soul of man,  
 That ev'ry where in sweet profusion rise,  
 And sprout luxuriant through the mouth and eyes!  
 What to the *vasty* deep Sir JOSEPH gave,  
 As of the world, the sport of wind and wave?  
 What bade the knight, amid those scenes remote,  
 Sleep with Queen Oborea in the boat?  
 What, unconfounded, leap to Newton's chair?  
 What, but to make a world with wonder stare?  
 What bids a KING on Wimbledon, Blackheath,  
 So oft rejoice the regiments of death;  
 While Britain's mightier bulwark slighted lies,  
 And vainly groaning for its Cæsar sighs?

What,

What, with the vulgar pigs of Ascot taken,  
 Devour on Ascot-heath his annual bacon?  
 What bade that great, great man, a goodly sight,  
 Watch his wife's di'mond petticoat all night;  
 And what that wife of great, great, great renown,  
 Make her own caps, and darn a thread-bare gown?  
 What bade the charming LADY MARY fly  
 MARCHESI'S squeeze, for PACCHIEROTTI'S sigh?  
 What MASTER EDGECUMBE deal in rhiming ware?  
 What, but to put all Cawfand in a stare?  
 Sweet child of verse, who, with importance big,  
 Pleas'd its own self, and eterniz'd a pig;  
 Whilst, mad an equal weight of praise to share,  
 OLD MOUNT plays Punchinello to a hair.  
 What makes a girl the shops for novels rove?  
 The sweet impossibilities of love;  
 Quixotic deeds to catch the flying fair;  
 To pant at dangers, and at marvels stare.  
 What prompteth Chloe, conscious of the charms  
 That crowd the souls of swains with wild alarms,  
 To give the swelling bosom's milk-white skin  
 A veil of gauze so marvellously thin?  
 What but a kind intention of the fair  
 To treat the eyes of shepherds with a stare?  
 Behold! Religion's self, celestial dame,  
 Founds on the rock of miracle her fame:  
 A sacred building, that defies decay,  
 That sin's wild waves can never wash away!  
 What made JOHN ROLLE (except for EXON'S stare)  
 Drill-serjeant to the aldermen and may'r;  
 Ere from the hall he led his chosen bands,  
 To view the KING OF NATIONS, and kiss hands?  
 How rarely man the haunts of wisdom seeks,  
 Pleas'd with the life of cabbages and leeks!  
 Though form'd to plough the soil, divinely strong,  
 'Tis famine goads him, like an ox, along:  
 But BRUCE, on *curiosity's* wild wings,  
 Darts, hawk-like, where the game of marvel springs.  
 Let envy kindle with the blush of shame,  
 That dares to call thee, BRUCE, a thief of fame.  
 Pleas'd to thy wonder's vortex to be drawn,  
 A thousand volumes could not make me yawn:  
 And (O accept a salutary hint)—  
 The world will read as fast as thou canst print.

ODE to the GLOW-WORM. *By the same.*

MILD insect, harmless as myself, I ween;  
 Thou little planet of the rural scene,  
 When summer warms the vallies with her rays;  
 Accept a trifling sonnet to thy praise.

\* \* \* \* \*

Bright stranger, welcome to my field,  
 Here feed in safety, here thy radiance yield;  
 To me, O nightly be thy splendour given:  
 Oh, could a wish of mine the skies command,  
 How would I gem thy leaf with lib'ral hand,  
 With ev'ry sweetest dew of Heav'n!

Say, dost thou kindly light the fairy train,  
 Amidst their gambols on the stilly plain,  
 Hanging thy lamp upon the moisten'd blade?  
 What lamp so fit, so pure as thine,  
 Amidst the gentle elfin band to shine,  
 And chase the horrors of the midnight shade!

Oh! may no feather'd foe disturb thy bow'r,  
 And with barbarian beak thy life devour:  
 Oh! may no ruthless torrent of the sky,  
 O'erwhelming, force thee from thy dewy feat;  
 Nor tempests tear thee from thy green retreat,  
 And bid thee 'midst the humming myriads die!

Queen of the insect world, what leaves delight?  
 Of such these willing hands a bow'r shall form,  
 To guard thee from the rushing rains of night,  
 And hide thee from the wild wing of the storm.

Sweet child of stillness, 'midst the awful calm  
 Of pausing nature thou art pleas'd to dwell;  
 In happy silence to enjoy thy balm,  
 And shed through life a lustre round thy cell.

How diff'rent man, the imp of noise and strife,  
 Who courts the storm that tears and darkens life;  
 Blest when the passions wild the soul invade!  
 How nobler far to bid those whirlwinds cease;  
 To taste, like thee, the luxury of peace,  
 And shine in solitude and shade!

A FABLE, by ABATE BERTOLA.

[From Mrs. Piozzi's Travels.]

UNA lucertoletta  
Diceva al cocodrillo,  
Oh quanto mi diletta  
Di veder finalmente  
Un della mia famiglia  
Si grande e si potente !  
Ho fatto mille miglia  
Per venirvi a vedere,  
Mentre tra noi si serba  
Di voi memoria viva ;  
Benche fuggiam tra l'erba  
E il fassoso sentiero :  
In sen però non langue  
L'onor del prisco sangue.

L'anfibio rè dormiva  
A questi complimenti,  
Pur fugli ultimi accenti  
Dal sonno se riscosse  
E dimandò chi fosse ?  
La parentela antica,  
Il viaggio, la fatica,  
Quella torno a dire,  
Ed ei torne a dormire.

Lascia i grandi ed i potenti  
A sognar per parenti ;  
Puoi cortesi stimarli  
Se dormon mentre parli.

WALKING full many a weary mile  
The lizard met the crocodile ;  
And thus began—How fat, how fair,  
How finely guarded, sir, you are !  
'Tis really charming thus to see  
One's kindred in prosperity.  
I've travell'd far to find your coast,  
But sure the labour was not lost :  
For you must think we don't forget  
Our loving cousin now so great ;  
And tho' our humble habitations  
Are such as suit our slender stations,  
The honour of the lizard blood  
Was never better understood.

Th' amphibious prince, who slept content,  
Ne'er listening to her compliment,  
At this expression raised his head,  
And—Pray who are you? coolly said ;  
The little creature now renew'd  
Her history of toils subdu'd,  
Her zeal to see her cousin's face,  
The glory of her ancient race ;  
But looking nearer, found my lord  
Was fast asleep again—and snor'd.

Ne'er press upon a rich relation,  
Rais'd to the ranks of higher station ;  
Or if you will disturb your coz,  
Be happy that he does but doze.

## ACCOUNT of BOOKS for 1790.

*The Antiquities of Athens, measured and delineated by James Stuart, F. R. S. and F. S. A. and Nicholas Revett, Architects and Painters, Vol. II.\**

THE lovers of antiquities and the fine arts having suffered a severe loss in the death of Mr. Stuart, and that melancholy event happening at a time when the curiosity of the public, strongly raised by the first volume of the *Antiquities of Athens*, might be supposed to wait anxiously for the continuation of a work so interesting and so ably executed; Mr. Stuart's friends undertook to publish the sequel without additions or alterations, excepting such as were indispensably necessary to complete his intention, and for which the materials he left afforded authority. This circumstance is mentioned in the introduction, where it is also stated what share the Dilettanti Society have in this second volume. Mr. Stuart having been infirm for some years previous to his death, his papers were left in great confusion; many were incomplete, many were missing. Recourse was had to the original sketch-books and other authentic documents, to complete the examples, that were left unfinished. Where authentic materials were

wanting, the deficiency has been left remaining, except that when some of the views could not be found, some other, relative to the subject described, have been substituted. To the members of the Dilettanti Society it is chiefly owing that the honour and utility of this work has not been lost to the British nation. Mrs. Stuart also acknowledges herself highly indebted to those gentlemen; and in a few lines prefixed to the introduction, expresses in a becoming manner her sense of gratitude for their liberal encouragement in promoting the publication of this second volume; in the completion of which Mr. William Newton, of Greenwich, took a considerable part.

This volume, like the first, is divided into five chapters, and contains besides an accurate description and historical account of the Acropolis, placed at the beginning of the volume, and an explanation of the vignettes added to the end.

In the advertisement by Mr. Stuart himself, he informs us, that when Mr. Revett and himself returned from Athens, and opened a subscription for the publication of their work, uncertain whether they should be encouraged to proceed any further with their undertaking, they selected various specimens

\* See an account of the first Volume in the Annual Register, Vol. VI.

which might exhibit the different sorts of columns used among the Greeks. The liberality of the public persuaded him to go on with the work, now his *sole property*, and he proposed to publish it in the following order. The present volume treats of the public monuments erected while the Athenians were a free people, and chiefly under the administration of Pericles.

The third volume, which is in great forwardness, will contain descriptions of those edifices built while Greece was subjected to the dominion of the Romans—a period during which Athens, though deprived of her liberty, was not yet destitute of taste and elegance.

There is prefixed to this volume a striking resemblance of the author, beautifully engraved by Knight. A landscape view of the Acropolis, with Turkish figures; and a plan of that citadel, of which he gives the following description, form the introduction.

“The Acropolis furnishes materials for the principal part of the volume; I have therefore given a plan and view of it, in its present state. It is built on a rock, which is on every side a precipice, and accessible only at the entrance. The summit is fortified by a wall, built on its extreme edge, encompassing the whole upper surface, which is nearly level.

“The natural strength of its situation is said to have induced the first inhabitants to settle there; and when, in process of time, their numbers increased, they began to build on the adjacent ground below; till at length the Acropolis, being surrounded on every side, became the fortress of a large and populous city.

“It was richly adorned by the Athenians, in the days of their prosperity, with temples, statues, paintings, and votive gifts to their divinities; but is now in a most ruinous condition; though the remains of the famous Propylæa, the little temple of Victory without wings, the Doric temple of Minerva, called Parthenon and Hecatompedon, and the Ionic temples of Erechtheus and Minerva Polias, with the cell of Pandrosus, are still to be seen.

“Its walls have, at different times, been rudely repaired, or rather rebuilt, very little of the ancient masonry remaining: numerous fragments of columns, cornices, and sculptures, appear in several parts of them, which make an uncouth and ruinous appearance.

“The Turks keep a small garrison here; and it is the residence of the *Dîsdér Agá*, or governor of the fortress, as also of the *Asáp Agá*, and other inferior officers of the place.”

The first chapter relates to the temple of Minerva, called Parthenon and Hecatompedon. This celebrated temple was built during the administration of Pericles, under the direction of Phidias. In its present ruinous state, it has a majesty, and exhibits a magnificence, which greatly surpasses the expectations of men accustomed to view beautiful objects. This edifice was almost entire last century, when Sir George Wheeler and Dr. Spon saw it, and was reduced to its present condition by an unlucky bomb during the siege of Athens by the Venetians. The inside of the temple is divided by a cross wall, and the lesser division into which you enter has been mistaken by Wheeler and Spon

Spon for the Pronaus, whereas it is the Opisthodomus, where the public treasure was kept. In the larger division stood the famous statue of Minerva, twenty-six cubits high, according to Pliny, made of gold and ivory, the work of the illustrious Phidias. Mr. Stuart is inclined to think, with other antiquarians, that the ivory of this statue was painted, as that of Jupiter at Elis appears, from Strabo's account, to have certainly been.—The reason, he conceives, why ivory was used in statues of this kind rather than wood, to have been not on account of its colour, but because wood is apt to crack and be destroyed by worms: ivory not being of an uniform colour, but yellow near the outside of the tooth, and white in the middle; and therefore it would require painting on that account, and likewise to hide the joinings of the pieces. It is recorded by Thucydides, that the gold about it weighed forty talents, which, according to the value of gold at that time, was worth about 120,000*l.* sterling.

Mr. Stuart quotes a passage from Vitruvius, which, if applicable to this temple, as Mr. Stuart supposes, seems to prove it to have been an Hypæthros, that is, without a roof. As to the roof seen by Wheler and Spon, it was probably added to the building when it was converted into a church, at which time the eastern entrance, or the true Pronaus, was closed up, to adapt it to Christian uses.

Upon the subject of unroofed temples, Mr. Stuart observes, that a difficulty has been started, viz. that it can hardly be supposed, that such magnificent and costly works, composed of ivory and gold, and deli-

cately painted, would be exposed in the open air to all the varieties of weather. In answer to this, he remarks, that the peristyle, or internal colonnade, supported a roof, which sheltered great part of the area of the cell, and seems to have projected over the statue. Another conjecture is, that the Peplus of Minerva in the Parthenon, and the Parapetasma of Jupiter Olympius in Elis, mentioned by Pausanias in his description of that temple, were each of them suspended in their respective situations, so as to afford the requisite shade or shelter to those most celebrated statues.

“The name of this temple (Hecatompodon) implying that it extended a hundred feet, led me, says Mr. Stuart, to inquire into the length of the Attic foot. For which purpose, I compared the length of the lower step in front, with its length on the side, and found them incommensurable: neither were the front and side-lengths of the step above it commensurable with each other. But the third step, on which the columns of the portico stand, measured 101 feet  $1\frac{7}{8}$  inch English, in front, and 227 feet  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inch on each side, which are so nearly in the proportion of 100 to 225, that, had the measure been  $\frac{1}{8}$  of an inch less, it would have been deficient of it.

“These measures were taken from a brass scale of three feet, divided by that eminent artist Mr. John Bird, whose works are known all over Europe.

“The front measure gives an Attic foot of 12,137 London inches, and decimals; the side measure, one of 12,138.

“Hence the Roman foot, which, according to Pliny, was to the Attic

in proportion of 600 to 625, or of 24 or 25, will be found to be 11,651 London inches and decimals, or 971 such parts as the London foot contains 1000, which does not sensibly differ from what has been determined by other methods."

To this chapter is annexed a plan and account of the temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens.

The second chapter contains an account of the three contiguous temples of Erechtheus, Minerva Polias, and Pandrosus. The Erechtheus and the temple of Minerva Polias were under the same roof.

In the Erechtheum, as we are told by Pausanias, was the spring of sea-water produced by the stroke of Neptune's trident, when he contended with Minerva for the patronage of the city.

Mr. Stuart makes it appear likely that this temple was originally consecrated to Neptune, because there was in it an altar erected to that god, on which they also sacrificed by command of the oracle to Erechtheus. In the temple of Minerva was deposited the ancient statue of the goddess, which was supposed to have descended from heaven.

The Pandrosium, dedicated to the nymph Pandrosus, one of the daughters of Cecrops, is the only ancient example we know of, in which the entablature and roof is supported by caryatides. Vitruvius, he says, probably alludes to this building when he tells us, that after the defeat of the Persians, and the destruction of the city Carya, the architects of those times placed female figures of this kind in public buildings, to perpetuate the ignominy of those who deserted the cause of liberty and their country.

Within the Pandrosium was the

olive-tree, said to have been produced by Minerva in her competition with Neptune above-mentioned. It was called Pankyphos (incurvated) from its branches being bent downward after it had grown up to the roof. Under this tree stood the altar of Jupiter Hircæus. Some have imagined that an olive-tree grew in the temple of Minerva Polias; but it is quite improbable, Mr. Stuart says, that any tree should grow in a place so unfavourable to vegetation: for it appears to have been a close room, illuminated only by a lamp; whereas in that of Pandrosus, a free admission was given to light and air; the spaces between the caryatides being left entirely open. The olive and the spring of sea-water, prove this to be the fabulous scene of contention between the two divinities.

Mr. Stuart conjectures that the Cecropium was the same with the temple of Minerva Polias, called so on account of Cecrops having been buried there; and that, owing to the same circumstance, the temple of Neptune has possibly been named the Erechtheum. These three temples form but one body; though they were not intended by the architect to compose one regular whole. This chapter is adorned with 20 plates.

The third chapter is on the theatre of Bacchus, which is in a very ruinous condition. The front of the scene forming part of the outworks of the citadel, the measurements of our travellers excited the jealousy of the Turkish garrison, and they were obliged to desist from their operations. This was a severe disappointment, as they hoped that by digging the earth which covers the proscenium, the logeum, &c. they might



might have made important discoveries upon the construction of ancient theatres. It is Mr. Stuart's opinion, that during the time of acting, the front of the scene in ancient theatres was covered by some paintings analogous to the plays that were represented; for, according to Vitruvius, the front itself was highly decorated with stately pillars; and the Marchese Galiani supposes, that it exhibited the appearance of a palace. Philoctetes crawling out of his cavern, Prometheus chained to a rock, could not with any propriety be introduced upon such a scene. This opinion is strongly confirmed by a passage in Vitruvius, where he tells us there were three sorts of scenes; the tragic, the comic, and the satyric, each of them doubtless appropriated to the subject of the fable represented on the stage. He also informs us, that when Æschylus, the great improver of the Grecian stage, exhibited one of his tragedies, he introduced for the first time a painted scene.

The 4th chapter treats of the Choragic monument of Thrasyllus, built 318 years before Christ. Though not so highly ornamented as the monument of Lysicrates, it is however wrought with great accuracy, and singular in its composition. There are 6 plates belonging to this chapter, one of which represents, as Mr. Stuart with great plausibility conjectures, the statue of Decelia, the Demos or town of the victorious tribe. Mr. Stuart gives his reasons for differing from Dr. Chandler, an enlightened traveller, who took that statue for Niobe. Mr. Stuart proves also, almost beyond the possibility of a doubt, that the statues of Demos, mentioned by Pausanias, were not meant to represent

one Demos, a minion of Pericles; as Meursius boldly asserts it; but that they were allegorical representations of *Demos, the people*, personified.

In the following extract Mr. Stuart has given us an account of several particulars relative to the Choragic games celebrated at Athens during the festival of Bacchus. "It should be observed, that the greater Dionysia, or festival of Bacchus, was celebrated by the Athenians with extraordinary magnificence. Tragedies and comedies were then exhibited in the theatre; and hymns in honour of Bacchus, accompanied with flutes, were chaunted by the chorus in the Odeum. On this occasion, each of the Athenian tribes (they were ten in number) appointed a Choragus, an office attended with considerable expence, as we may infer from what Plutarch has said in his disquisition, *Whether the Athenians were more illustrious for their military achievements, or their progress in science.* When the festival drew near, an emulous contention arose among the Choragi, which sometimes proceeded to great violence, each striving to excel his competitors, and to obtain the tripod, which was the prize gained by that Choragus to whom the victory should be adjudged. His disbursements did not finish with his victory; there still remained for him the charge of dedicating the tripod he had won, and probably that of erecting a little edifice, or temple, on which to place it, such as is described in the present chapter. Thus Nicias is said to have erected a temple whereon to place the tripod he had won. Nor shall we wonder that the honour of gaining a tripod was so anxiously and earnestly contended for, since, thus won

and dedicated, it became a family honour, and was appealed to as an authentic testimony of the merit and virtue of the person who obtained it; as we learn from Isaus, in his oration concerning the inheritance of Apollodorus, where he thus addresses his judges: 'What office did he not completely fill? What sum was he not the first to contribute? In what part of his duty was he deficient? Being Choragus, he obtained the prize with the chorus of boys which he gave; and yonder tripod remains a monument of his liberality on that occasion.' And again, in his oration concerning the inheritance of Diogenes, he says: 'Yet our ancestors, O judges! who first acquired this estate, and left it to their descendants, were Choragi in all the Choragic games: they contributed liberally to the expences of the war, and continually had the command of the triremes which they equipped. Of these noble acts, the consecrated offerings with which they were able, from what remained of their fortune, to decorate the temples, are no less undeniable proofs, than they are lasting monuments of their virtue; for they dedicated, in the temple of Bacchus, the tripods, which, being Choragi, and victorious, they bore away from their competitors; those also in the Pythium and in the Acropolis, &c.'—I should, however, observe, that sometimes the public defrayed the expence of the chorus, as appears by two of the inscriptions on this monument. There is a passage quoted from Pausanias, in our first volume, p. 30, from which we must conclude that these monuments were numerous. He there tells us of a place in Athens called the Tripods, with temples in it; not great ones,

I imagine, as the printed copies have it, but Choragic temples; for on them, he says, stand tripods well worth seeing, although they are of brass. Harpocration mentions a treatise written by Heliodorus, describing these Choragic tripods of Athens; and cites it to prove that Onetor had been a Choragus."

In the 5th chapter we have an account of the Propylea. The ignominious death of the Kissar Aga, occasioned disturbances which extended to Athens, and drove Mr. Stuart and Mr. Revett from that place before they had completed what they intended to perform. But in the year 1764, the Dilettanti Society sent Messrs. Revett, Pars, and Chandler, to visit some of the most celebrated antiquities of Asia Minor. These gentlemen in their way homewards passed through Athens, and among various drawings they made of different objects, they did not forget the Propylea; and it is to the generosity of the Dilettanti Society that the second volume is indebted for the Propylea. This building, according to Pausanias, was situated at the only entrance of the citadel. It was covered with roofs of white marble, surpassing in magnificence any thing he had seen before. On the right of the Propylea was a temple of Victory without wings; on the left, a building adorned with paintings. These three contiguous edifices originally formed but one front. Spon and Wheler mistook the real situation of the temple of Victory without wings, owing to the alteration the Turks have made in the Propylea, by shutting up the former passage, and opening another entrance. The little Ionic temple, which they mistook for that

of Victory, seems to have been that of Aglauros, a generous virgin, who devoted herself for her country.

After the five chapters follows an explanation of the vignettes. The tail-piece at the end of the 5th chapter exhibits the portrait of the illustrious Pericles, copied from a very fine antique bust in the collection of Mr. Townley.

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*Travels to discover the Source of the Nile, in the years 1768-69-70-71-72-73, in five vols. By James Bruce, of Kinnaird, Esq. F. R. S.*

**T**HIS long-expected work has now been some time in the hands of the public; and it was received at its first appearance with an eagerness of curiosity proportioned to the nature of the subject. It opens with a loyal dedication to his majesty, and with a long introduction, explanatory of the motives upon which these travels were undertaken, the order and manner in which they were executed, and of the reasons which so long withheld them from the public eye.

The principal motive Mr. Bruce refers to the unconquerable spirit raised in this nation (in the beginning of his majesty's reign) by a long and glorious war, and which he observes very naturally resolved itself into a spirit of adventure and inquiry at the return of peace. How largely our author partook of this spirit, will best appear from his own words—"The discovery of the source of the Nile was also a subject of these conversations [with the late lord Halifax] but it was always mentioned to me with a kind of diffidence, as if to be expected from a more experienced traveller. Whe-

ther this was but another way of exciting me to the attempt, I shall not say; but my heart in that instant did me justice to suggest, that this too was either to be atchieved by me, or to remain, as it had done for these last two thousand years, a defiance to all travellers, and an opprobrium to geography."

Of the book itself, Mr. Bruce observes, that it is a large one, and expensive by the number of engravings; that this was not at first intended, but that the journey had proved a long one, and matter had increased as it were insensibly under his hands; that it now fills a great chasm in the history of the universe; that it is not intended to resemble the generality of modern travels, the agreeable and rational amusement of one vacant day, but calculated to employ a greater space of time. He adds also, that those who are the best acquainted with Diodorus, Herodotus, and other Greek historians, will find some very considerable difficulties removed; and that such as are unacquainted with those authors, and receive from this work the first information of the geography, climate, and manners of these countries, which are little altered, will have no great occasion to regret that they have not searched for information in more ancient sources.

The order and matter of the work is thus described by Mr. Bruce:

"The work begins with my voyage from Sidon to Alexandria, and up the Nile to the first cataract. The reader will not expect that I should dwell long upon the particular history of Egypt; every other year has furnished us with some account of it, good or bad; and the two

last publications of M. Savary and Volney seem to have left the subject threadbare—This however is not the only reason.

“ After Mr. Wood and Mr. Dawkins had published their Ruins of Palmyra, the late king of Denmark, at his own expence, sent out a number of men, eminent in their several professions, to make discoveries in the East, of every kind, with these very flattering instructions, that though they might and ought to visit both Baalbec and Palmyra for their own studies and improvement, yet he prohibited them to so far interfere with what the English travellers had done, as to form any plan of another work similar to theirs. This compliment was gratefully received; and as I was directly to follow this mission, Mr. Wood desired me to return it, and to abstain as much as possible from writing on the same subjects chosen by M. Niebuhr, at least to abstain either from criticising or differing from him on such subjects. I have therefore passed slightly over Egypt and Arabia: perhaps indeed I have said enough of both; if any shall be of another opinion, they may have recourse to M. Niebuhr’s more copious work; he was the only person of six who lived to come home, the rest having died in different parts of Arabia, without having been able to enter Abyssinia, one of the objects of their mission.

“ My leaving Egypt is followed by my survey of the Arabian gulph as far as the Indian ocean—arrival at Masuah—some account of the first peopling of Atbara and Abyf-

sinia—conjectures concerning language—first ages of the Indian trade—foundation of the Abyssinian monarchy, and various revolutions till the Jewish usurpation, about the year 900. These compose the first volume.”

We shall select from this volume the following extract, in which the author has attempted, and we think not without success, to ascertain the situation of Ophir and Tarshish, rendered famous by the triennial voyages made thither in the time of king David and Solomon.

“ Many doubts have arisen about a port called Ophir, whence the immense quantities of gold and silver came, which were necessary at this time, when provision was making for building the temple of Jerusalem. In what part of the world this Ophir was, has not been yet agreed. Connected with this voyage, too, was one to Tarshish, which suffers the same difficulties; one and the same fleet performed them both in the same season.

“ In order to come to a certainty where this Ophir was, it will be necessary to examine what scripture says of it, and to keep precisely to every thing like description which we can find there, without indulging our fancy farther. First, then, the trade to Ophir was carried on from the Elanitic gulf through the Indian ocean. Secondly, the returns were gold, silver, and ivory, but especially silver\*. Thirdly, the time of the going and coming of the fleet was precisely three years †, at no period more nor less.

“ Now, if Solomon’s fleet sailed from the Elanitic gulf to the Indian

\* 1 Kings, chap. x. ver. 22. chap. ix. ver. 21.

† 1 Kings, chap. x. ver. 22. 2 Chron.

ocean, this voyage of necessity must have been made by monsoons, for no other winds reign in that ocean. And, what certainly shews this was the case, is the precise term of three years, in which the fleet went and came between Ophir and Ezion-gaber. For it is plain, so as to supersede the necessity of proof or argument, that, had this voyage been made with variable winds, no limited term of years ever could have been observed in its going and returning. The fleet might have returned from Ophir in two years, in three, four, or five years; but, with variable winds, the return precisely in three years was not possible, whatever part of the globe Ophir might be situated in.

“Neither Spain nor Peru could be Ophir; part of these voyages must have been made by variable winds, and the return consequently uncertain. The island of Ceylon, in the East Indies, could not be Ophir; the voyage thither is indeed made by monsoons, but we have shewed that a year is all that can be spent in a voyage to the East Indies; besides, Ceylon has neither gold nor silver, though it has ivory. St. Domingo has neither gold, nor silver, nor ivory. When the Tyrians discovered Spain, they found a profusion of silver in huge masses, but this they brought to Tyre by the Mediterranean, and then sent it to the Red Sea over land to answer the returns from India. Tarshish, too, is not found to be a port in any of these voyages, so that part of the description fails, nor were there ever elephants bred in Spain.

“These mines of Ophir were

probably what furnished the East with gold in the earliest times; great traces of excavation must, therefore, have appeared; yet in none of the places just mentioned are there great remains of any mines that have been wrought. The ancient traces of silver mines in Spain are not to be found, and there never were any of gold. John Dos Santos\*, a Dominican friar, says, that on the coast of Africa, in the kingdom of Sofala, the mainland opposite to Madagascar, there are mines of gold and silver, than which none can be more abundant, especially in silver. They bear the traces of having been wrought from the earliest ages. They were actually open and working when the Portuguese conquered that part of the peninsula, and were probably given up since the discovery of the new world, rather from political than any other reasons.

“John Dos Santos says, that he landed at Sofala in the year 1586; that he sailed up the great river Cuama as far as Tètè, where, always desirous to be in the neighbourhood of gold, his order had placed their convent. Thence he penetrated for above two hundred leagues into the country, and saw the gold mines then working, at a mountain called Afura †. At a considerable distance from these are the silver mines of Chicoua; at both places there is a great appearance of ancient excavations; and at both places the houses of the kings are built with mud and straw, whilst there are large remains of massy buildings of stone and lime.

“It is a tradition which gene-

\* Vid. Voyage of Dos Santos, published by Le Grande.

† See the map of this voyage.

rally obtains in that country, that these works belonged to the queen of Saba, and were built at the time; and for the purpose of the trade on the Red Sea: this tradition is common to all the Casrs in that country. Eupolemus, an ancient author quoted by Eusebius \*, speaking of David, says, that he built ships at Eloth, a city in Arabia, and thence sent miners, or, as he calls them, 'metal-men,' to Orphi, or Ophir, an island in the Red Sea. Now, by the Red Sea, he understands the Indian ocean †; and by Orphi, he probably meant the island of Madagascar; or Orphi, (or Ophir) might have been the name of the continent, instead of Sofala, that is, Sofala where the mines are might have been the mainland of Orphi.

"The kings of the isles are often mentioned in this voyage; Socotra, Madagascar, the Commorras, and many other small islands thereabout, are probably those the scripture calls the *Isles*. All, then, at last reduces itself to the finding a place, either Sofala, or any other place adjoining to it, which avowedly can furnish gold, silver, and ivory in quantity, has large tokens of ancient excavations, and is at the same time under such restrictions from monsoons, that three years are absolutely necessary to perform the voyage, that it needs no more, and cannot be done in less, and this is Ophir."

Mr. Bruce then endeavours to demonstrate, by tracing the supposed track of the ships from Ebion-gaber to Sofala, and calculating the effects of the monsoons, that this voyage

thither and back again could not be performed in more or less time than three years exactly, and consequently that the mines of Dos Santos were those which furnished Palestine with gold and silver. This argument he has further confirmed by another drawn from the significance of the names of several places which lie in the course of the voyage.

The second volume takes up the Abyssinian history at the restoration of the line of Solomon. This history, Mr. Bruce inform us, is compiled from their own annals, now first translated from the Ethiopic; the original of which has been lodged in the British Museum, to satisfy the curiosity of the public.

In the historical parts of this work, which occupies a considerable portion of the first and the whole of the second volume, we apprehend the reader will not meet either with useful instruction or entertainment proportionate to his labour. Indeed, when we consider that the materials from which it is compiled must have been furnished by a people of the most gross ignorance and disgusting barbarity, a great deal will not be expected. Of the religion, customs, and manners of the Abyssinians, and of the characters of several of the principal persons who were living at the time our author resided in the country, a very accurate, and, we suppose, faithful account is given.

The following relation of their meals, taken from the third volume, we conceive our readers will think sufficient upon the subject of Abyssinian manners.

"When a man can say that he is

\* Apud. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9.

† Dionysii Periegesis, ver. 33. and Comment. Eustathii in eundem. Strabo, lib. 16. p. 765. Agathemeni Geographia, lib. 2. cap. 11.

safe at home, and the spear and shield is hung up in the hall, a number of people of the best fashion in the villages of both sexes, courtiers in the palace, or citizens in the town, meet together to dine between twelve and one o'clock.

“ A long table is set in the middle of a large room, and benches beside it for a number of guests who are invited. Tables and benches the Portuguese introduced amongst them: but bull-hides spread upon the ground served them before, as they do in the camp and country now. A cow or bull, one or more as the company is numerous, is brought close to the door, and his feet strongly tied. The dewlap is cut only so deep as to arrive at the fat, of which it totally consists; and, by the separation of a few small blood vessels, six or seven drops of blood only fall upon the ground.

“ Having satisfied the Mosaical Law, according to his conception, by pouring these six or seven drops upon the ground, two or more of them fall to work on the back of the beast, and each side of the spine they cut skin deep; then putting their fingers between the flesh and the skin, they begin to strip the hide of the animal half way down his ribs, and so on to the buttock, cutting the skin where-ever it hinders them commodiously to strip the poor animal bare. All the flesh on the buttocks is cut off thus, and in solid square pieces, without bones or much effusion of blood; and the prodigious noise the animal makes is a signal for the company to sit down to table.

“ There are then laid before every guest, instead of plates, round cakes, if I may so call them, about twice as big as a pancake, and something

thicker and tougher. It is unleavened bread of a fourish taste, far from being disagreeable, and very easily digested, made of a grain called *teff*. It is of different colours, from black to the colour of the whitest wheat bread. Three or four of these cakes are generally put uppermost for the food of the person opposite to whose seat they are placed. Beneath these are four or five of ordinary bread, and of a blackish kind. These serve the master to wipe his fingers upon, and afterwards the servant for bread to his dinner.

“ Two or three servants then come, each with a square piece of beef on their bare hands, laying it upon the cakes of *teff*, placed like dishes down the table, without cloth or any thing else beneath them. By this time all the guests have knives in their hands, and the men have the large crooked ones, which they put to all sorts of uses during the times of war. The women have small clasp knives, such as the worst of the kind made at Birmingham, sold for a penny each.

“ The company are so ranged, that one man sits between two women; the man with his long knife cuts a thin piece, which would be thought a good beef-stake in England, while you see the motion of the fibres yet perfectly distinct and alive in the flesh. No man in Abyssinia, of any fashion whatever, feeds himself, or touches his own meat. The women take the steak, and cut it lengthways like strings, about the thickness of your little finger, then crossways into square pieces something smaller than dice. This they lay upon a piece of *teff* bread, strongly powdered with black pepper, or Cayenne pepper, and *fosile salt*;

salt; they then wrap it up in the tuff bread like a cartridge.

“In the mean time the man having put up his knife, with each hand resting upon his neighbour’s knee, his body stooping, his head low and forward, and mouth open, very like an ideot, turns to the one whose cartridge is first ready, who stuffs the whole of it into his mouth, which is so full that he is in constant danger of being choked. This is a mark of grandeur. The greater the man would seem to be, the larger piece he takes in his mouth; and the more noise he makes in chewing it the more polite he is thought to be. They have indeed a proverb that says, “Beggars and thieves only eat small pieces, or without making a noise.” Having dispatched this morsel, which he does very expeditiously, his next female neighbour holds forth another cartridge, which goes the same way, and so on till he is satisfied. He never drinks till he has finished eating; and before he begins, in gratitude to the fair ones that fed him, he makes up two small rolls, of the same kind and form; each of his neighbours open their mouths at the same time, while with each hand he puts their portion into their mouths. He then falls to drinking out of a large handsome horn; the ladies eat till they are satisfied, and then all drink together; “*Vive la Joye et la Jeunesse!*” A great deal of mirth and joke goes round, very seldom with any mixture of acrimony or ill-humour.

“All this time the unfortunate victim at the door is bleeding indeed, but bleeding little. As long as they can cut off the flesh from his bones, they do not meddle with the thighs or the parts where the

great arteries are. At last they fall upon the thighs likewise; and soon after the animal bleeding to death, becomes so tough, that the canibals who have the rest of it to eat, find very hard work to separate the flesh from the bones with their teeth like dogs.

“In the mean time those within are very much elevated; Love lights all its fires, and every thing is permitted with absolute freedom. There is no coyness, no delays, no need of appointments or retirement to gratify their wishes; there are no rooms but one, in which they sacrifice both to Bacchus and to Venus. The two men nearest the vacuum a pair have made, by leaving their seats, hold their upper garment like a screen before the two that have left the bench; and, if we may judge by sound, they seem to think it as great a shame to make love in silence as to eat. Replaced in their seats again, the company drink the happy couple’s health; and their example is followed at different ends of the table, as each couple is disposed. All this passes without remark or scandal; not a licentious word is uttered, nor the most distant joke upon the transaction.”

The author, aware of the improbability of this relation, has in another place, after giving an account of the like process used by the Abyssinian soldiers in the field, with this additional circumstance, that after a small party had satisfied their hunger, the skin of the mangled animal was replaced upon the wounded part, and the beast was then driven on before them to furnish a future meal, has added the following apology.

“When first I mentioned this in  
England,



England, as one of the singularities which prevailed in this barbarous country, I was told by my friends it was not believed. I asked the reason of this disbelief, and was answered, that people who had never been out of their own country, and others well acquainted with the manners of the world, for they had travelled as far as France, had agreed the thing was impossible, and therefore it was so. My friends counselled me further, that as these men were infallible, and had each the leading of a circle, I should by all means obliterate this from my journal, and not attempt to inculcate in the minds of my readers the belief of a thing that men who had travelled pronounced to be impossible. They suggested to me, in the most friendly manner, how rudely a very learned and worthy traveller had been treated, for daring to maintain that he had eat part of a lion, a story I have already taken notice of in my Introduction. They said, that being convinced by these connoisseurs his having eaten any part of a lion was *impossible*, he had abandoned this assertion altogether, and after only mentioned it in an appendix; and this was the farthest I could possibly venture.

“Far from being a convert to such prudential reasons, I must for ever profess openly, that I think them unworthy of me. To represent as truth a thing I know to be a falsehood, not to avow a truth which I know I ought to declare; the one is fraud, the other cowardice; I hope I am equally distant from them both; and I pledge myself never to retract the fact here advanced, that the Abyssinians do feed in common upon live flesh; and that I myself have, for several years, been partaker of that disagreeable

and beastly diet: on the contrary, I have no doubt, when time shall be given to read this history to an end, there will be very few, if they have candour enough to own it, that will not be ashamed of ever having doubted.”

The third volume, says the author, comprehends my journey from Masuah to Gondar, and the manners and customs of the Abyssinians—also two attempts to arrive at the fountains of the Nile—description of these sources, and of every thing relating to that river and its inundations.

The reader may not be displeased to learn the state of Mr. Bruce's feelings at the moment he was approaching to the accomplishment of his favourite object. “We saw,” he observes, “immediately below us the Nile itself, strangely diminished in size, and now only a brook that had scarcely water to turn a mill. I could not satiate myself with the sight, revolving in my mind all those classical prophecies that had given the Nile up to perpetual obscurity and concealment. The lines of the poet came immediately into my mind, and I enjoyed here, for the first time, the triumph which already, by the protection of Providence and my own intrepidity, I had gained over all that were powerful and all that were learned, since the remotest antiquity.

Arcanum natura caput non prodidit  
ulli,  
Nec licuit populis parvum te, Nile,  
videre,  
Amovique sinus, et gentes maluit or-  
tus  
Mirari, quam nosse tuos.”

LUCAN.

In another place—“I after this came to the island of green turf, which was in form of an altar, apparently

parently the work of art, and I stood in rapture over the principal fountain which rises in the middle of it.

“ It is easier to guess than to describe the situation of my mind at that moment—standing in that spot which had baffled the genius, industry, and inquiry of both ancients and moderns, for the course of near 3000 years. Kings had attempted this discovery at the head of armies, and each expedition was distinguished from the last, only by the difference of the numbers which had perished; and agreed alone in the disappointment which had uniformly and without exception followed them all. Fame, riches, and honour, had been held out for a series of ages to every individual of those myriads these princes commanded, without having produced one man capable of gratifying the curiosity of his sovereign, wiping off this stain upon the enterprise and abilities of mankind, or adding this desideratum for the encouragement of geography.

“ Sesostris, one of the earliest and greatest conquerors of antiquity, is mentioned, amidst all his victories, earnestly to have desired to penetrate to the head of the Nile, as a glory he preferred to almost universal monarchy :

Venit ad occasum, mundique extrema  
Sesostris,

Et Pharios currus regum cervicibus  
egit :

Ante tamen vestros amnes, Rhodanumque  
Padumque,

Quam Nilum de fonte bibit.”

LUCAN.

Whilst Mr. Bruce was congratulating himself in this strain of exultation upon the success of his labours, it is hardly possible to suppose

that he knew, nor yet fair to conclude him ignorant, that his discovery was a mere nullity, and his triumph over the ancients an empty boast. Not to enter into his dispute with the jesuits, it is evident that the stream whose source he discovered, is but one of the innumerable rivulets which form the lake of Dambecca or Tzana, and that this lake may perhaps, with more propriety, be called the head of the Nile. But be this as it may, Mr. D’Anville has clearly shewn, that the Nile, whose source the ancients sought for, was a different river, or at least a southern branch of the Egyptian Nile. Besides, the most judicious critics are of opinion, that when the ancients speak of the hidden sources of the Nile, they generally speak metaphorically and mean the causes of its inundation. Nor yet were these unknown to them, as is evident from the account which Herodotus gives of information he received in Egypt, and which agrees in almost every particular with that given by our author. Indeed Mr. Bruce himself acknowledges, that his theory is the same with that of Democritus of Abdera, recited amongst several others by Diodorus Siculus. The following extract contains the substance of the argument by which he supports his opinion.

“ Modern travellers have found that the plentiful fall of the tropical rains, produced every year at the same time, by the action of a violent sun, has been uniformly, without miracle, the cause of Egypt being regularly overflowed.

“ The sun being nearly stationary for some days in the tropic of Capricorn, the air there becomes so much rarified, that the heavier winds,

winds, charged with watery particles, rush in upon it from the Atlantic on the west, and from the Indian Ocean on the east. The south wind, moreover, loaded with heavy vapour, condensed in that high ridge of mountains not far south of the Line, which forms a spine to the peninsula of Africa, and, running northward with the other two, furnish wherewithal to restore the equilibrium.

“ The sun, having thus gathered such a quantity of vapours as it were to a focus, now puts them in motion, and draws them after it in its rapid progress northward. Advancing to the Line, the sun brings on a few drops of rain at Gondar the 1st of March, being then distant  $5^{\circ}$  from the zenith; these are greedily absorbed by the thirsty soil; and this seems to be the farthest extent of the sun’s influence, capable of causing rain, which then only falls in large drops, and lasts but a few minutes: the rainy season, however, begins most seriously upon its arrival at the zenith of every place, and these rains continue constant and increasing after he has passed it, in his progress northward. In April, all the rivers in Amhara, Begemder, and Lasta, first discoloured, and then beginning to swell, join the Nile in the several parts of its course nearest them. In the beginning of May, hundreds of streams pour themselves from Gojam, Damot, Maitsha, and Dembea, into the lake Tzana, which had become low by intense evaporation, but now begins to fill insensibly, and contributes a large quantity of water to the Nile, before it falls down the cataract of Alata. In the beginning of June, the sun having now passed all Abyssinia, the rivers there are all full, and then is

the time of the greatest rains in Abyssinia, while it is for some days, as it were, stationary in the tropic of Cancer.

“ These rains are collected by the four great rivers in Abyssinia; the Mareb, the Bowiha, Tacazzé, and the Nile. All these principal, and their tributary streams, would, however, be absorbed, nor be able to pass the burning deserts, or find their way into Egypt, were it not for the White River, which, rising in a country of almost perpetual rain, joins to it a never-failing stream, equal to the Nile itself.

“ In the first days of May, the sun, in his way to the northern tropic, is vertical over the small village of Gerri, the limit of the tropical rains. Not all the influence of the sun, which has already past its zenith, and for many days has been as it were stationary within a few degrees of it over Syene, in the tropic of Cancer, can bring them one inch farther to the northward. Yet all the time that it is in the tropic of Cancer at its greatest distance, these rains are then at their heaviest throughout all Abyssinia; and Egypt, and all its labours, would soon be swept into the Mediterranean, did not the sun now begin to change its sphere of action, by hastening its progress southward.

“ From Syene the sun passes over the desert, and arrives at Gerri; here he reverses the effects his influence had when on his passage northward; for whereas, in his whole course of declination northward, from the Line to Gerri, he brought on the rains at every place where he became vertical, so now he cuts off those rains the instant he returns to the zenith of each of those places, passing over Abyssinia

in his journey southward, till arrived at the Line, in the autumnal equinox, his influence ceases on the side of Abyssinia, and goes to extend itself to the southern hemisphere. And so precisely is this stupendous operation calculated, that, on the 25th of September, only three days after the equinox, the Nile is generally found at Cairo to be at its highest, and begins to diminish every day after.

“There are three remarkable appearances attending the inundation of the Nile: every morning in Abyssinia is clear, and the sun shines. About nine, a small cloud, not above four feet broad, appears in the east, whirling violently round as if upon an axis, but, arrived near the zenith, it first abates its motion, then loses its form, and extends itself greatly, and seems to call up vapours from all opposite quarters. These clouds having attained nearly the same height, rush against each other with great violence, and put me always in mind of Elisha foretelling rain on Mount Carmel\*. The air, impelled before the heaviest mass, or swiftest mover, makes an impression of its own form in the collection of clouds opposite, and the moment it has taken possession of the space made to receive it, the most violent thunder possible to be conceived instantly follows, with rain: after some hours, the sky again clears, with a wind at north, and it is always disagreeably cold when the thermometer is below 63°.

“The second thing remarkable is the variation of the thermometer; when the sun is in the southern tropic, 36° distant from the zenith of Gondar, it is seldom lower than

72°; but it falls to 60° and 59° when the sun is immediately vertical; so happily does the approach of rain compensate the heat of the too-scorching sun.

“The third is, that remarkable stop in the extent of the rains northward, when the sun, that has conducted the vapours from the Line, and should seem, now more than ever, to be in possession of them, is here over-ruled suddenly, till, on its return to the zenith of Gerri, again it resumes the absolute command over the rain, and re-conducts it to the Line to furnish distant deluges to the southward.”

The fourth volume contains his return from the source of the Nile to Gondar—the campaign of Serbraxos, and revolution that followed—his return through Sennaar and Befa, or the Nubian Desert, and his arrival at Marseilles. We shall make but one short extract from this volume; it is an account of a phenomenon so finely described by one of our poets:

So where our wide Numidian wastes  
 extend,  
 Sudden th' impetuous hurricanes descend,  
 Wheel thro' the air, in circling eddies  
 play,  
 Tear up whole plains and sweep whole  
 sands away.  
 The helpless traveller, with wild surprise,  
 Sees the wide desert all around him  
 rise,  
 And, smother'd in the dusty whirl-  
 wind, dies.

“On the 14th, at seven in the morning, we left Asfa Nagga, our course being due north. At one o'clock we alighted among some acacia-trees at Waadi el Halboub,

\* 1 Kings, chap. xviii. ver. 43.

having gone twenty-one miles. We were here at once surpris'd and terrified by a sight surely one of the most magnificent in the world. In that vast expanse of desert, from W. and to N. W. of us, we saw a number of prodigious pillars of sand at different distances, at times moving with great celerity, at others stalking on with a majestic slowness: at intervals we thought they were coming in a very few minutes to overwhelm us; and small quantities of sand did actually more than once reach us. Again they would retreat so as to be almost out of sight, their tops reaching to the very clouds. There the tops often separated from the bodies; and these, once disjoined, dispersed in the air, and did not appear more. Sometimes they were broken near the middle, as if struck with a large cannon-shot. About noon they began to advance with considerable swiftness upon us, the wind being very strong at north. Eleven of them ranged alongside of us about the distance of three miles. The greatest diameter of the largest appeared to me at that distance as if it would measure ten feet. They retired from us with a wind at S. E. leaving an impression upon my mind to which I can give no name, though surely one ingredient in it was fear, with a considerable degree of wonder and astonishment. It was in vain to think of flying; the swiftest horse, or fastest sailing ship, could be of no use to carry us out of this danger, and the full persuasion of this rivetted me as if to the spot where I stood, and let the camels gain on me so much in my state of lameness, that it was with some difficulty I could overtake them."

Mr. Bruce has added a fifth volume, in the form of an appendix,  
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with a view of preserving the subject of natural history distinct from the other objects of his travels. He was apprehensive that by presenting the two subjects promiscuously, he might incommode and disgust both species of readers.

The first portion of this part of the work treats of trees, shrubs, or plants; and in the selecting of them, our author observes, that he has preferred those which, having once been considered as subjects of consequence by the ancients, and treated largely of by them, are now come, from want of the advantage of drawing, lapse of time, change of climate, alteration of manners, or accident befallen the inhabitants of a country, to be of doubtful existence and uncertain description.

After having bestowed his first consideration upon those that make a principal figure in ancient history, which are either not at all or imperfectly known now, his next attention has been given to those which have their uses in manufactures, medicine, or are used as food in the countries he is describing. The next subject treated of are the plants, or the varieties of plants unknown, whether in genus or species.

Amongst these he gives the following account of a plant called by the Abyssinians *Wooginoos*.

"This shrub is a production of the greatest part of Abyssinia, especially the sides of the valleys in the low country, or Kolla. It is indeed on the north side of Debra Tzai, where you first descend into the Kolla. This drawing was made at Hor-Cacamoot, in Ras el Feel, where the *Wooginoos* grows abundantly, and where dysenteries reign continually, Heaven having

put the antidote in the same place where grows the poison.

“ Some weeks before I left Gondar I had been very much tormented with this disease, and I had tried both ways of treating it, the one by hot medicines and astringents, the other by the contrary method of diluting. Small doses of ipecacuanha under the bark had for several times procured me temporary relief, but relapses always followed, My strength began to fail, and, after a severe return of this disease, I had, at my ominous mansion, Horcacamoot, the valley of the shadow of death, a very unpromising prospect, for I was now going to pass through the kingdom of Sennaar in the time of year when that disease most rages.

“ Sheba, chief of the Shangalla, called Genjar, on the frontiers of Kuara, had at this time a kind of embassy or message to Ras el Feel. He wanted to burn some villages in Atbara belonging to the Arabs Jeheina, and wished Yafine might not protect them: they often came and sat with me, and one of them hearing of my complaint, and the apprehensions I annexed to it, seemed to make very light of both, and the reason was, he found at the very door this shrub, the strong and ligneous root of which, nearly as thick as a parsnip, was covered with a clean, clear, wrinkled bark, of a light-brown colour, and which peeled easily off the root. The bark was without fibres to the very end, where it split like a fork into two thin divisions. After having cleared the inside of it of a whitish membrane, he laid it to dry in the sun, and then would have bruised it between two stones, had we not shewn him the easier and more ex-

peditious way of powdering it in a mortar.

“ The first dose I took was about a heaped tea-spoonful in a cup of camel's milk; I took two of these in a day, and then in the morning a tea-cup of the infusion in camel's milk warm. It was attended the first day with a violent drought, but I was prohibited from drinking either water or bouza. I made privately a drink of my own; I took a little boiled water which had stood to cool, and in it a small quantity of spirits. I after used some ripe tamarinds in water, which I thought did me harm. I cannot say I found any alteration for the first day, unless a kind of hope that I was growing better, but the second day I found myself sensibly recovered. I left off laudanum and ipecacuanha, and resolved to trust only to my medicine. In looking at my journal, I think it was the 6th or 7th day that I pronounced myself well, and, though I had returns afterwards, I never was reduced to the necessity of taking one drop of laudanum, although before I had been very free with it. I did not perceive it occasioned any extraordinary evacuation, nor any remarkable symptom but that continued thirst, which abated after it had been taken some time.

“ In the course of my journey through Sennaar, I saw that all the inhabitants were well acquainted with the virtues of this plant. I had prepared a quantity pounded into powder, and used it successfully everywhere. I thought that the mixing of a third of bark with it produced the effect more speedily, and, as we had now little opportunity of getting milk, we made an infusion in water. I tried a spirituous

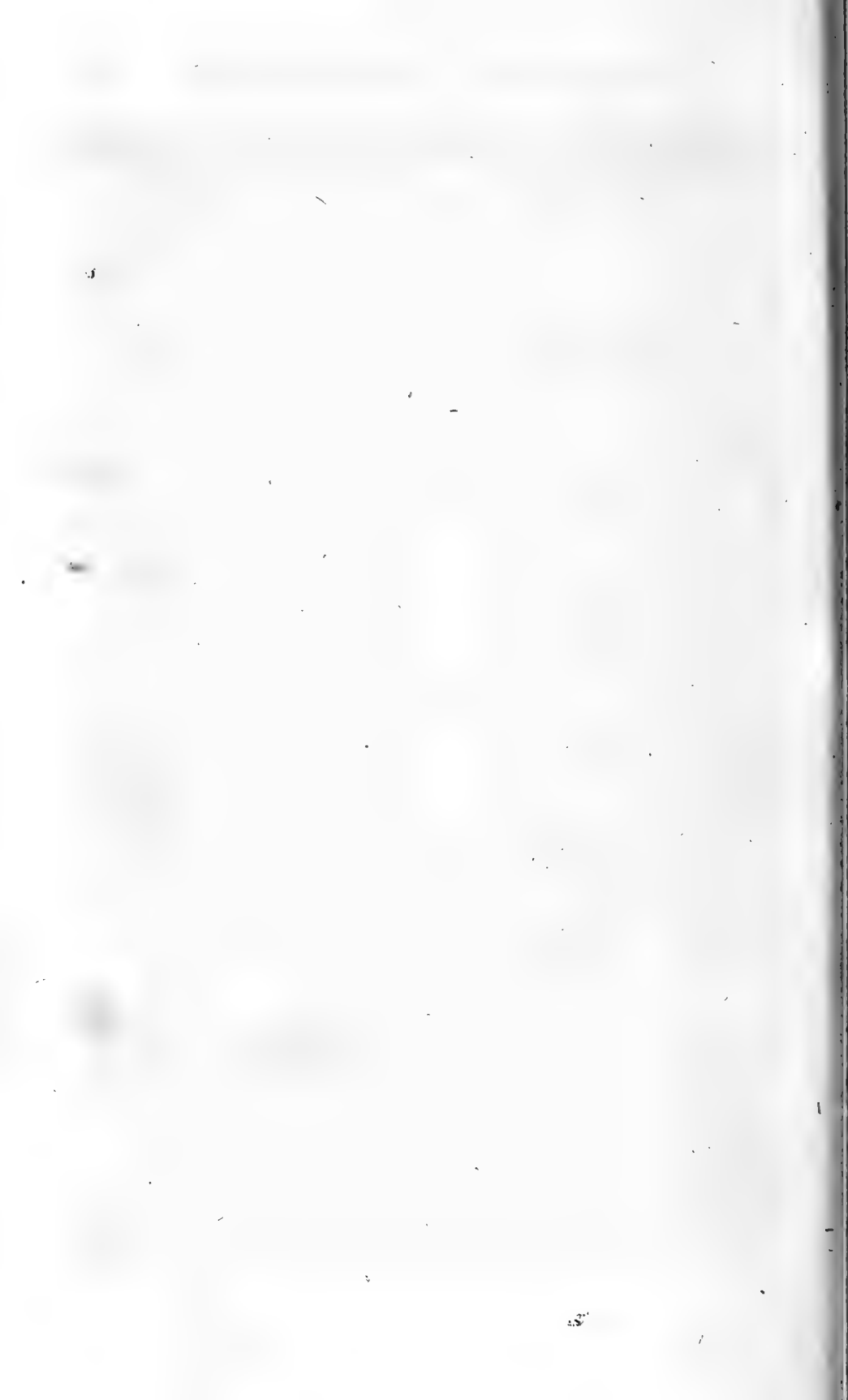
spirituous tincture, which I do believe would succeed well, I made some for myself and servants, a spoonful of which we used to take when we found symptoms of our disease returning, or when it was raging in the place in which we chanced to reside. It is a plain, simple bitter, without any aromatic or resinous taste. It leaves in your throat and palate something of roughness resembling ipecacuanha.

“ This shrub was not before known to botanists. I brought the seeds to Europe, and it has grown in every garden, but has produced only flowers, and never came to fruit. Sir Joseph Banks, President of the Royal Society, employed Mr. Millar to make a large drawing from this shrub as it had grown at Kew. The drawing was as elegant as could be wished, and did the original great justice. To this piece of politeness Sir Joseph added another, of calling it after its discoverer's name, *Brucea Antidysenterica*: the present figure is from a drawing of my own on the spot at Ras el Feel.

“ The leaf is oblong and pointed, smooth, and without collateral ribs that are visible. The right side of the leaf is a deep green, the reverse very little lighter. The leaves are placed two and two upon

the branch, with a single one at the end. The flowers come chiefly from the point of the stalk from each side of a long branch. The cup is a perianthium divided into four segments. The flower has four petals, with a strong rib down the center of each. In place of a pistil there is a small cup, round which, between the segments of the perianthium and the petals of the flower, four feeble stamens arise, with a large stigma of a crimson colour, of the shape of a coffee-bean, and divided in the middle.”

The history of birds and beasts occupies the next place; and the rule which is followed here, is to give the preference to such of each kind as are mentioned in scripture, and concerning which doubts have arisen. As for the fishes and other marine productions of the Red Sea, Mr. Bruce observes, that his industry has been too great for his circumstances, and that he has by him above 300 articles from the Arabian gulph alone, all of equal merit with those specimens which he has laid before the public. He adds, that his moderate fortune, already impaired by the expence of the journey, will not, without doing injustice to his family, bear the additional one of publishing the numerous articles he is in possession of.





THE

CONTENTS.

HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAPTER I.

*Retrospective view of the affairs of France towards the close of the year 1789. State of Paris. Sudden and frequent revolutions in the government and constitution of that metropolis. Body of electors appointed for the present, to supply the place of the former regal and municipal authorities. Laudable conduct of the electors, and great benefits derived from it, in preserving some degree of order and peace in that city. Incidents which led to their being exposed to imminent danger, through the caprice and the suspicious disposition of the people. Seemingly apprehensive of this change of temper, they had the fortune previously to secure a retreat, by inducing the people to elect 120 deputies, who were to be their temporary successors. The division of Paris into sixty districts, for the better conducting of the late elections for deputies to the states, productive of many consequences favourable to the revolution, as well as to the establishment of form and order. In each of these districts general assemblies were held, whose resolutions carried the effect of laws, and the most sovereign acts of authority for the government of the district, were dispensed by its own administration. Thus, Paris was rather to be considered as a confederacy, composed of sixty independent democratical republics, than as one commonwealth. A few demagogues assume the lead in all these districts, and being supported by the lower orders, soon oblige people of character to absent themselves from these assemblies. Instances of the noise, disorder, and tumult, which prevailed at these meetings. New republican clubs, who have their appendant societies in every town of France, soon become rulers of the mobs and demagogues of Paris;*

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and at the same time dictators to the national assembly. Instances from a writer of credit, that falsehoods and forgeries were the great and constant resources of the cabals in Paris. Parisians noted for credulity, and at the same time for the extreme suspiciousness of their nature. Similar instances of credulity in the provinces. The excessive liberty and unbounded licentiousness of the press, a powerful instrument of the revolution. The literati of Paris estimated at 20,000, and these dictated to the rest of the nation. Unaccountable and indefensible supineness of the ministers, with respect to the press. Strange and fatal blindness of the two first orders of the state. Famine, as a cause of general discontent, another powerful instrument of the revolution. Real or imputed conduct of the duke of Orleans. National assembly seriously alarmed at the conflagrations and massacres which were spreading desolation and ruin through many parts of the kingdom, the nobility being hunted down like wild beasts in several of the provinces. This impression of terror, produces the extraordinary events of the 4th of August. The viscount Noailles, and the duke d'Aiguillon, make speeches in the assembly, in which they propose substantial redress and relief to the peasantry, by relinquishing and abolishing those parts of the feudal rights and duties, which lay the heaviest on, or were the most complained of by, that order of men. A sudden fit of enthusiasm spreads at once through the two first orders, and the only contest after seemed to be, who should sacrifice the most, and who should be the first to offer; while the commons seemed left in astonishment and applause. It was in an instant decreed, that all imposts should be equally and equitably laid on; that all the feudal services should be redeemable at an equitable price; and that personal servitude should be abolished for ever, without any purchase. These are followed by a sacrifice of the exclusive rights of the chace, of fishing, of warren, and of dove-cotes. The parish priests make an offering of all their parochial perquisites, and the beneficiaries bind themselves never to hold a plurality. Various other resolutions passed on the same night, each of which was from that moment considered as an irrevocable decree, and afterwards made the foundation of a formal law. Assembly decree a medal to be struck, to commemorate the acts of this glorious night. They likewise confer on the king the title of Restorer of the Liberties of France. Solemn Te Deum celebrated, at which the king and the national assembly assist. Astonishment and dismay of the clergy, after the great sacrifices which they had voluntarily made, upon a motion for the sequestration of their tithes. Debates renewed with great violence on the following day. Cause of the clergy eloquently and ably defended by the Abbe Sieyes. In general they stand firmly in support of their rights. Debate, after much tumult, adjourned late at night. Means used during the remainder of the night, and the morning, to bring over the heads of the clergy to a consent. Archbishop of Paris, in the name of his brethren, surrenders all the tithes of the church into the hands of the nation. His short speech on that occasion. The old provincial names, distinctions, peculiar rights, and privileges, determined to be abolished, and the whole nation consolidated into one compact body, and under one equal form of government. Deputies of privileged towns and districts  
make

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make a surrender of their charters and municipal documents. Provinces which possessed a right of taxing themselves, renounced that right and their states together; and the parliaments were annihilated as well as the provincial states. All fees and taxes to the court of Rome for ever abolished. Some observations on the precipitancy, with which sixteen laws of the utmost moment were hurried through in one night; as well as on the bad effect of passing laws by acclamation. Nobility and clergy in the provinces highly discontented with the conduct of their delegates on the 4th of August, in making such vast sacrifices without their consent. Several members of the assembly likewise repent their own concessions, and become equally dissatisfied. Landed proprietaries at length take up arms in their own defence, and repress the barbarous ravages of the peasantry. King appoints a new ministry, with the approbation of the assembly. Distressed state of the public, through the failure of the taxes. Loans attempted and fail. Scheme of patriotic contributions adopted. [1

## C H A P. II.

King and queen send their gold and silver plate to the mint. Patriotic donations incapable of relieving the necessities of the state. Extraordinary tax decreed, under the name of a patriotic contribution, by which each man was to contribute one fourth of his annual revenue to the exigencies of the state. Loud complaints and violent animosities excited by this partial tax. Embarrassments and difficulties which the national assembly experienced in framing the new declaration of rights. Great debates upon the propriety or inexpediency of adopting the measure. Declaration at length passed and promulgated. Saying of Mirabeau upon the subject. Assembly divided into a number of sections or committees, to each of which is assigned some specified part of the new constitution, on which it is to make a report. Grand question arises, What share of authority it was fitting the king should possess in the new legislature? This operates like a touchstone in trying every man's principles, and compelling him to an open avowal of them. Assembly arranged, face to face, in two great hostile divisions, apparently equal in strength and numbers. Violent contests ensue, and are so long continued, that the people without, and at length the whole nation, become parties in them. State of the parties within and without, who thus divided the assembly and the nation. King's veto, or negative, with respect to the passing of laws, one of the subjects most violently and generally agitated. Populace of Paris interfere openly in the question of the veto; while the crowds in the galleries of the assembly become so daringly audacious, as by hootings and revilings to endeavour to drown the voices, and by insults and menaces to deter from giving their votes all those members who supported the rights of the crown. Long lists of members who were marked for proscription, and destined to be victims to the vengeance of the people, published in Paris, and distributed through every part of the kingdom. Popular fermentation in Paris risen nearly to its highest pitch. The notorious

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*St. Huruge, attempts to have the king, the dauphin, and the national assembly, brought to Paris; but by the spirited exertions of La Fayette, Bailly, and the Hotel de Ville, the leaders are committed to prison, and the sedition quelled. Heavy complaints made to the assembly by several of its members of those treasonable attempts against the freedom of the king, as well as of that body itself; and likewise of the lists of proscription which were published, and of the incendiary letters by which they were continually menaced with destruction; but Mirabeau with his faction turn the whole complaint into ridicule. Numberless charges of supposed plots and conspiracies now made against the royalists; which effectually answer one purpose, in exciting a general alarm and ferment through the nation. The Parisians, in particular, become again dangerously outrageous, and every thing bears the same aspect as in the preceding months of June and July. In this state of affairs; the king, ever wishing to preserve or restore tranquillity, sends Neckar with a proposal to the assembly, declaring that he would be contented with a suspensive veto, whose operation should not last longer than one or two legislatures. This proposal received with satisfaction; and it was decreed, that the royal suspension should continue during two legislatures. Great debates on the question, whether the national assembly should be composed of one or two chambers. Question at length carried for a single chamber by a prodigious majority. Members obliged to procure certificates how they had given their votes, to preserve their houses and families from destruction. Assembly decree, that the legislative body shall be renewed every two years by elections. Receive a letter from the king, containing his objections to certain parts of some of the new laws, which occasions much discontent in the assembly. King obliged to give his sanction simply, and without comment, to the laws in question. Things tending fast to an extraordinary crisis both in Paris and Versailles. Assembly, however, confirm the hereditary succession of the crown; and declare the king's person sacred and inviolable. Arrival of the regiment of Flanders at Versailles, the cause or pretence of the ensuing mischiefs. Entertainment given by the officers of the king's life guards to those of the new corps, productive of much licentiousness and folly. This banquet occasions a violent ferment both at Paris and Versailles. Numerous army of women, after plundering the town house, and supplying themselves with arms and artillery, march from Paris to Versailles. Are followed by unnumbered bands of russians. And not long after by La Fayette, at the head of a considerable army of the national guards. Events of the 5th and 6th of October. King and royal family led captive to Paris. Tumult in Paris, and the murder of a baker, soon after the arrival of the national assembly, occasion the greatest alarm and apprehension in that body. Severe decree passed, by which the magistrates are empowered to proclaim martial law, and to proceed to the last extremities in repressing the future outrages of the mob. La Fayette procures the Duke of Orleans' departure to England.*

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## C H A P. III.

*Effects of the transactions in France upon the minds of the people of Great-Britain. General disposition in their favour at the commencement of the revolution. Various political speculations thereon. The evils which followed foreseen by more accurate observers, and particularly foretold in the celebrated work of Mr. Burke. The interest which the French leaders had in involving the surrounding states in the same distractions. Their attempts, and the effects of them, particularly in Great-Britain and Ireland. Meeting of parliament. Speech from the throne. Address voted in both houses without debate. Act of indemnity relative to the order of council for stopping the exportation of corn. Military estimates animadverted upon by Sir Grey Cooper, Mr. Mansham, and Mr. Fox; and defended by Mr. Grenville and Mr. Pitt. Some expressions of Mr. Fox, applauding the French revolution, and the conduct of the French army on that occasion, censured by Col. Phipps. The same subject taken up by Mr. Burke. His speech upon the spirit and consequences of that event, and his regret at differing in opinion from Mr. Fox. His opinion concerning the conduct of the French army, and concerning the comparison between the French revolution, and the revolution of 1688. His speech received with general applause. Mr. Fox, in reply, laments the difference of opinion between them. His encomium upon Mr. Burke. Explains his own sentiments respecting the French revolution. Professes his political principles. His opinion of the revolution of 1688. His apology for the excesses of the French patriots. Mr. Sheridan's speech upon the same occasion. Declares his entire difference of opinion from Mr. Burke. Defends the French revolution. Apologizes for its excesses. Charges Mr. Burke with being an advocate for despotism. Compliments the marquis de la Fayette, and other French patriots. His opinion of the revolution of 1688. Mr. Pitt, and other members, rise to express their obligations and gratitude to Mr. Burke for the sentiments he had expressed during the debate. [62*

## C H A P. IV.

*The dissenters encouraged, by the small majority by which the motion for the repeal of the test and corporation act was rejected the last session, to renew their application. Steps taken by them to support it. Alarm of the friends of the established church. Mr. Fox's speech upon moving for the repeal. His general principles of toleration. His opinion of the impolicy and injustice of the test laws. Argues from the merit of the dissenters. Urges the example of France. Censures the conduct of the bishop of St. David's. Concludes with declaring his determination to support the question he had brought forward upon every future occasion. Motion opposed by Mr. Pitt. He objects to its extent, and the principles on which it was supported. Is of opinion it might affect the security of the church. He considers the test acts as proper restraints*

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restraints on the prerogative of the crown. Animadverts on the attempts of the dissenters to influence members of parliament. Thinks it would be dangerous to trust them with power. And that tests, the severity of which could be occasionally mitigated, were necessary to enable government to ward off danger in cases of necessity. Mr. Burke concurs with Mr. Fox in his principles of toleration; but thinks the dissenters, at the present moment, not intitled to indulgence. Charges them with factious and dangerous practices, and reads various papers in support of his charge. Suggests the propriety of a new test, and of a committee to enquire into their recent conduct. Mr. Fox's motion rejected by a majority of 294 to 105. Motion by Mr. Flood for a reform in parliament. States the inadequacy of the present mode of representation. Proposes one hundred additional members to be chosen by resident housekeepers. His arguments to prove the necessity of a reform. Answers objections. The motion opposed by Mr. Wyndham. He asserts, that the house of commons, as at present constituted, is adequate for all beneficial purposes. Answers the objections relative to the American war. Deprecates innovations founded upon theories. Objects to the time as dangerous. Mr. Pitt objects to the motion as ill-timed. Sir James Johnstone's objections. Mr. Fox supports the motion, and answers the objection of its being ill-timed. Mr. Burke in reply. Other speakers on both sides the question. The motion agreed to be withdrawn. [71

## C H A P. V.

Motion by Mr. Montagu for increasing the salary of the speaker of the house of commons. He states his present emoluments, argues upon their insufficiency, and proposes that they should be advanced to £.5,000 per annum. Motion opposed by Mr. Huxley, as tending to increase the influence of the crown. Supported by Mr. Marjham and other gentlemen. Amendment proposed in the committee that the salary should be £.6000 per annum, and carried by a large majority. India budget opened by Mr. Dundas. Comparative statement of the revenues and charges in India. Flourishing state of the company's affairs in general. Doubts expressed by Mr. Huxley. Speech of Mr. Francis upon the affairs of India. Proofs of the company's distress. Observations on the duty on salt. Remarks on the letter of Lord Cornwallis. Mr. Devaynes in reply to Mr. Francis. Mr. Dundas asserts the falshood of Mr. Francis's statement. Resolutions passed by the committee. Sir J. R. Miller's account of the proceedings of the committee on weights and measure, to be inserted entire in the article of useful projects. Petitions presented for the repeal of the tobacco excise act. Motion upon that subject by Mr. Sheridan, asserts that the act had endangered the foreign trade, encouraged smuggling, and laid the manufacturer under insuperable hardships. Mr. Pitt in reply. Sir Grey Cooper, Mr. Wyndham, and Mr. Fox, for the motion. Rejected by a majority of 191 to 147. Bill passed to explain and amend the tobacco act. Clause to grant trial by juries rejected. Budget for the year 1790. Flourishing state of the finances and growing

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growing prosperity of the country. Remarks on the budget by Mr. Sheridan. Message from the king to both houses of parliament relative to the disputes with Spain. Adresses voted unanimously. Motions for papers and debates thereon. Vote of credit for a million. Committee on American claims. Case of Mr. Penn. Compensation voted for the losses of his family. Pension granted to Dr. Willis. Amendment of the tonnage act. Account of proceedings relative to the slave trade. Proceedings relative to the trial of Mr. Hastings. Speech from the throne. Parliament prorogued. Summary of the proceedings of the Irish parliament. [82

## C H A P. VI.

Proceedings of the national assembly after the new law had established some order and security in Paris. Apply closely to the vast mass of public business upon their hands. Political annihilation of the two first orders of the state. New laws for regulating elections. Appellation of active citizens, to whom applied. Much trouble still with the provinces, to bring them to a surrender of their peculiar rights and privileges. France at length divided into eighty-three departments, and the term Province expunged from the language. Creation and organization of municipalities. Letters de cachet abolished. Gabelle, and others of the most obnoxious taxes, abolished. Assembly enter into the intricate business of finance; augment the pay of the army; and establish a new bank. Grand scheme for seizing the estates of the clergy, and offering them as a present to the nation, to serve as a fund and security for the discharge of the public debts, and to answer other important purposes. Some difficulties and obstructions, which appear in the way of carrying this scheme into execution, are far out-balanced by the vast advantages which it is capable of producing. Decree passed, which declares all the ecclesiastical estates to be at the disposal of the nation. Stipends allotted for the maintenance of parish priests, &c. Discontent rise to the highest pitch amongst the clergy, many of the bishops, and nearly all the chapters in the kingdom, protest against the decree. Combination of the canons, and endeavours used at Rome to draw the maledictions of the church upon the national assembly. Great prudence and address displayed by the assembly in its transactions with the court of Rome. Sovereign pontiff seems to be satisfied with their protestations. France swarms with publications of every sort, in prose and in verse, against the national assembly, its proceedings and designs. Several of the parliaments attempt to be troublesome, and protest against the decrees of the assembly; but having lost all influence with the people, are obliged to submit reluctantly to their fate. Parliament of Bourdeaux continues longer in a state of turbulence than any of the others, and endeavours to excite an insurrection in the south. Stories of plots and conspiracies necessary to keep the minds of the people in constant agitation. Various accusations against the king's ministers, and a greater number against the aristocrats in general. Animosities so violent between the remaining nobles in the assembly, and the democratical leaders, that frequent duels are the consequence.

Nation,

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*Nation, in general, said to be unanimous in supporting the assembly, and offers to raise three millions of soldiers in defence of the new constitution. Situation of the captive king and of the royal family in the palace, now state prison, of the Thuilleries. Ill effect produced at home and abroad, and various consequences likely to ensue, from the king's captivity, whom his presence is necessary to give validity to their laws, and for great weakness in the national assembly. Scheme formed to obviate these difficulties, by inducing the king to appear to come voluntarily to the national assembly, and to declare himself fully satisfied with all their proceedings, and that he considered himself as being at the head of the revolution. Liberal conduct of the assembly with respect to the civil list. King notwithstanding firmly rejects all the propositions used to induce him to pay the desired visit. Great distresses of the country. 20,000 people fed by charity at Lyons. 6,000 slaves advertised to be sold. Decretot's noble manufactories at Lavoisiers nearly ruined. Riots at Versailles. Some observations on the extraordinary conduct of that people through the course of the king's troubles. Parisians become again tumultuous, and, without regard to the general famine, want to have the price of bread fixed at a lower rate than it could have been afforded in the most plentiful seasons. Their rage increased to the highest pitch upon the acquittal of Bezenval by the chatelet. Form a plot for forcing the prison, and murdering him, on their own principles of summary justice. All their schemes overthrown, and Paris reduced to order, through the activity and vigour of La Fayette, well supported by the Bourgeoise militia. Surrounds a body of 1,100 of the mutineers at night, and makes 200 of them prisoners. Chatelet proceed to the trials of Lambesc, Broglio, and others of the principal refugees, for the real or supposed plot of the preceding month of July. Are all acquitted, through the failure of any evidence to support the charge. Various conspiracies apprehended or spoken of for the rescue of the king's person. The subject of the king's instant death, as the assigned penalty for any attempt to his rescue, a matter of public conversation in all companies and among all ranks, without the smallest expression of horror, at the idea of so deplorable a catastrophe. King's firmness at length gives way, and he submits to pay the proposed visit to the national assembly, and to make a speech nearly similar to that prescribed. Affairs of the clergy finally settled, their property seized, and assignats created.*

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## C H A P. VII.

*Ineffectual attempts made by the French privileged orders, for procuring redress or succour from the neighbouring continental powers. State of political affairs in Europe, which, with other causes, tended to produce that indifference with respect to France which now appeared. Courts of Madrid and Turin. Rash and impetuous proceedings, along with the contemptuous language used by the national assembly, serves continually to create new enemies abroad as well as at home. Wrong offered to the German princes with respect to their possessions and rights in Alsace, embitters the whole empire against.*



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against the new government, and implants deeply the seeds of future contention and war. West India colonies thrown into a state of the utmost disorder and confusion, and at length precipitated into the most dreadful scenes of pillage, conflagration, and massacre, which terminate in final destruction by a series of ill-judged and precipitate measures, of impolitic, impracticable or contradictory decrees. Great disorders in the army. Soldiers throw off all subordination and discipline. The people being now in possession of liberty, a desire of uncontrolled rule and sovereignty becomes the leading and general passion, a circumstance which serves greatly to unite them, and to strengthen the new system. The weak attempts of the royalists, and the continual reports of plots, conspiracies, and invasions, cause such a general alarm, that the provinces associate and arm; so that France seems covered with camps and armies. State of the aristocrates and parties adverse to government. Corsica annexed to France as part of the kingdom. Application from the court of Spain relative to the dispute with England, brings on a debate on the question, in whose hands the right of peace and war should be lodged. Second application from Spain brings on a change of the ministry. Mutiny of the fleet at Brest. Anacharsis Clootz introduces to the assembly his ambassadors from all mankind. Decree for abolishing all titles, and obliterating all memorials of nobility and family distinction, for ever in France. Grand national confederation at Paris. Bloody contest at Nancy. Mr. Neckar quits the kingdom, after various disgraces, and narrowly escaping the fury of the Parisians. Schism of the French clergy; the greater part of whom submit to the loss of their pensions, and to expulsion from their pastoral duties, rather than to take the newly-prescribed oaths. [131

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