

THE
Edinburgh Magazine,
 OR
LITERARY MISCELLANY

For *MARCH* 1788.

With a View of the CASTLE of ELAN STALKER.

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State of the BAROMETER in inches and decimals, and of Farenheit's THERMOMETER in the open air, taken in the morning before sun-rise, and at noon; and the quantity of rain-water fallen, in inches and decimals, from the 29th of February 1788, to the 30th of March, near the foot of Arthur's Seat.

	Thermom.		Barom.	Rain.	Weather.
	Morning.	Noon.			
February 29	27	38	29.3	0.22	Rain.
March 1	38	46	29.6	0.05	Ditto.
2	37	38	29.875	0.06	Ditto.
3	32	41	30.075	0.02	Ditto.
4	37	43	29.925	0.05	Ditto.
5	25	32	29.495	0.2	Snow.
6	23	31	29.325	—	Clear.
7	21	34	29.55	—	Ditto.
8	19	33	29.675	—	Ditto.
9	19	37	29.875	—	Ditto.
10	17	38	30.033	—	Ditto.
11	19	37	29.95	—	Ditto.
12	28	41	29.8	—	Cloudy.
13	24	41	29.575	—	Clear.
14	30	36	29.5	—	Cloudy.
15	35	39	29.5125	0.08	Sleet.
16	34	34	29.675	0.02	Ditto.
17	31	33	29.725	0.03	Ditto.
18	28	35	29.875	0.02	Ditto.
19	30	41	29.7	0.3	Rain.
20	37	40	29.5	0.33	Ditto.
21	37	45	29.55	—	Cloudy.
22	36	48	29.6125	—	Ditto.
23	35	43	29.5	0.06	Rain.
24	32	45	29.425	—	Clear.
25	42	50	29.375	—	Cloudy.
26	36	51	29.425	0.04	Rain.
27	39	46	29.4	—	Cloudy.
28	39	43	29.73	0.07	Rain.
29	38	49	29.73	0.15	Ditto.
30	51	52	29.3	0.12	Ditto.

Quantity of Rain, 1.82

Thermometer.
Days.

30. 52. greatest height at noon.
10. 17. least ditto, morning.

Barometer.
Days.

3. 30.075 greatest elevation.
30. 29.3 least ditto.

VIEWS IN SCOTLAND.

CASTLE OF ELAN STALKER.

THIS Castle, the property of Mr Campbell of Airds, stands on a rock called in Gaelic *Elan Vio-Stalcair*, that is, Island Stalker, within a small bay, or inlet, from Lochlinne in Argyleshire. At a mile's distance to the West lies the island of Lismore, formerly the seat of the Bishops of Argyleshire; and on the East, the post town of Portnacroish, formerly the old town of Beregonium, as by some has been conjectured from the great number of ruins, vaults, &c. which still remain at that place.

To the Publisher of the Edinburgh Magazine.

SIR,

SIR John Dalrymple, *Memoirs*, vol. II. p. 31. mentions several anecdotes and minute circumstances concerning Marshall Stair: but, as he speaks merely from report, he is not answerable for their accuracy, and indeed with respect to most of them, there is reason to suppose that he has been exceedingly misinformed.

It is said, that "all Lord Stair's offices were taken from him by Sir Robert Walpole, for voting in Parliament against the excise-scheme."

That which is vulgarly called the excise-scheme, was a money bill, lost or abandoned by the minister in the House of Commons; so we may presume that Lord Stair had no opportunity of voting against it in the House of Peers.

That in 1734 Lord Stair was employed in paying bills for expences incurred fifteen or twenty years before, during his embassy at Paris, is a singular circumstance, and merits confirmation.

That between 1734 and 1742, "he was often seen holding the plough three or four hours at a time," must be a mistake: the people, who thought they saw this, have certainly confounded the situation of a gentleman overseeing his labourers, with that of a sturdy operative ploughman. Before Lord Stair retired to his estate in the country, he had reached to his grand climacteric; and, besides, his constitution was never healthy, and much

less robust. No man would have done more to serve his country than Lord Stair, but he could not have held a plough three or four hours, had the security of the laws and liberties of Great Britain been the reward of his labour.

So far was he from being "fond of adorning a fine person with graceful dress," that, unless when he wore a black suit, his cloathes were of a plain brownish duffle.

A gentleman of distinction, who lived in his neighbourhood and who was much with him, remembers nothing of the "two French horns;" and he adds, that, being himself fond of music, and a performer, he thinks it impossible that two such artists could have escaped his observation. He doubts not that Lord Stair may have had a French cook, but he never heard of the heroical disinterestedness of that *galant homme*, as reported in the Memoirs.

It is in consequence of misinformation that Sir John says, that a messenger brought a letter from the late king to Lord Stair, which desired him to take the command of the army: I am confident that no such messenger was sent, and that no such letter came.

His favourite nephew, Captain John Dalrymple, died on the 22d of February 1742; just after that event, Lord Stair received a letter from London, desiring him to come up.

Who wrote the letter I cannot positively say; but I am sure that it was neither written nor signed by George II.: the letter made no mention of the command of the army, and Lord Stair did not understand that it conveyed any such meaning.

Having occasion for money to defray the extraordinary expences of a journey to London, and of his residence *there*, he, on the 25th of February 1742, borrowed L. 100 from his brother Col. William Dalrymple, and, on the following day, the like sum from his other brother George Dalrymple, one of the Barons of Exchequer in Scotland.

On the 25th of February 1742 Lord Stair borrowed L. 100 from Sir John Dalrymple, grandfather of the Historian, and, on the following day, L. 400 from a professed money-lender, in all L. 700; of which, the sum of L. 200 was furnished by his brothers, and L. 100 by his cousin.

This little detail seems hardly consistent with what Sir J. D. has heard, that "Lord Stair sent expressies for the gentlemen of his family, shewed the King's letter, and desired them to find money to carry him to London: that they asked how much he wanted, and *when* they should bring it? that his answer was, *the more the better, and the sooner the better*, and that they brought him three thousand guineas."

In 1742 credits in banks, and the discounting of bills were things hardly known, so that it would have been more difficult to collect 3000 guineas, *between terms*, at that time, than it would be to collect 30,000 guineas in 1788.

Besides, if Lord Stair had received 3000 guineas from the gentlemen of his family, what occasion had he to resort to a money-lender for L. 400?

It is added, that "the circumstance came to the late King's ears, who expressed to his ministers the uneasiness that he felt at Lord Stair's difficulties in money-matters—one

"proposed that the King should make him a present of a sum of money when he arrived—*another* said, Lord Stair was so high-spirited, that if he was offered money, he would run back to his own country, and *they should lose their General*. A third suggested, that, to save his delicacy, the King should give him six commissions of cornets to dispose of, which, at that time, sold for a thousand pounds a-piece. The King liked this idea best, and gave the commissions blank to Lord Stair, saying, they were intended to pay for his journey and equipage. But, in going from court to his own house, he gave all the six away."

This narrative, so far as it is connected with that of the 3000 guineas, may be thought dubious; the liberal misapplication which Lord Stair made of the royal liberality will be best confirmed by an account of the names of the gentlemen on whom he bestowed the commissions: it must, however, be observed, that the consultation of ministers, and the result of it, are supposed to have happened *before* Lord Stair arrived in London. Lord Stair was not appointed General till a considerable time *after*.

He left Scotland, so far as I can discover, about the end of February 1742.

In March 1742 he was appointed Ambassador to the States General. Mr Robert Keith, by his recommendation, was appointed secretary to the embassy.

It was not till April 1742, that Lord Stair was appointed Commander in Chief of the British forces in Flanders.

Egregiously mistaken, indeed, was that person who informed Sir John Dalrymple that Lord Stair carried in his coach to London Mr Keith and Sir John Pringle.

Mr Keith left Scotland on the 26th of March 1742; he rode post, but, fatigued with that mode of travelling, he got into a stage-coach about Hunt-

ington, and by that conveyance reached London.

Dr Pringle, Professor of Ethics in the University of Edinburgh, was appointed to examine candidates for the degree of Master of Arts, 23d *February* and 30th *March* 1742; this appears from the records of the University, and is inconsistent with the journey to London—it is probable that he continued to read lectures until Summer: he was appointed Physician General to the hospitals abroad on the 24th of *August* 1742.

Sir L. Dundas, resided at London when Lord Stair arrived there in 1742.

With respect to the coffee-house anecdote, which is introduced with an apology, it may be remarked, that Lord Mark Ker addressed his companion by the name of *Stair*. This brings down the anecdote to 1707, when that title descended to Lord Stair. He was then not a thoughtless high-spirited boy, but a man of thirty-four, and a General Officer. Lord Mark Ker, or Lord Stair, might have desired the inquisitive stranger to be silent, or to leave the room; but it seems hardly consistent with their known character for courtesy and courage, to suppose that they should have agreed to throw the dice for the honour of fighting a stranger who never meant to insult them.

The next anecdote is well known, tho', as is the fate of most anecdotes, it has been told different ways. My account of it is this: Lord Stair, as British Ambassador, became engaged

in a dispute with the Prince of Conti, and some other princes of the blood, about a point of ceremony and place, a dispute interesting at the moment. While mens minds were agitated by this controversy of *place*, Mr Parsons, a page, with arch simplicity, put the question which Sir John has taken the trouble of repeating; and that Lord Stair, "stepping out of the coach, paid respect to the religion of the country in which he was, and *kneeled in a very dirty street*," is what would not have been expected from a British Ambassador, and especially from such an Ambassador as Lord Stair!

I have only to add, that the contest about place happened in the year 1716; that Colonel Young was born on the 25th of February 1703, and that he could hardly have been Master of Horse to Lord Stair at the age of *thirteen*. It follows, that Sir John must have heard that well-known anecdote from some other person than Col. Young.

The other anecdote, as to Lewis XIV. is also well-known, but it would run better thus: In the reign of Charles II. the Duke of Buckingham went Ambassador to France. Lewis the XIV. on a certain occasion, desired the Duke to go into his coach; the Duke hesitated, and stood back; the King stepped in, shut the door, and, with elegant ambiguity, said, "Entre vous et moi M. le Duc, il n'y a point de *façon*." He made a like experiment on Lord Stair, but he found him a better bred man than the courtly Buckingham.

Account of the Hunting Excursions of Asoph ul Doulah, Vizier of the Mogul Empire, and Nabob of Oude. By W. Blane Esq; who attended these Excursions in 1785 and 1786.

THE Vizier, Asoph ul Doulah, always sets out upon his annual hunting-party as soon as the cold season is well set in; that is, about the beginning of December; and he stays out till the heats, about the beginning of March, force him back again. During this time, he generally

makes a circuit of country from four to six hundred miles, always bending his course towards the skirts of the northern mountains, where the country, being wild and uncultivated, is the most proper for game.

When he marches, he takes with him, not only his household and Zena-

na, but all his Court, and a great part of the inhabitants of his capital. Besides the immediate attendance about his person, in the various capacities of Rhidmitgars, Frashes, Chobdars, Harcaras, Mewatics, &c. which may amount to about two thousand, he is attended in camp by five or six hundred horse, and several battalions of regular sepoys, with their field-pieces. He takes with him about four or five hundred elephants; of these some are broke in for riding, some for fighting, some carry baggage, and the rest are reserved for clearing the jungles and forests of the game: of the first kind, there are always twenty or thirty ready caparisoned, with *Howdahs* and *Amrys*, that attend close behind the one he rides upon himself, that he may change occasionally to any of them he likes; or he sometimes permits some of his attendants to ride upon them. He has with him about five or six hundred sumpter horses, a great many of which are always led ready saddled near him; many of them are beautiful Persian horses, and some of them of the Arabian breed; but he seldom rides any of them. Of wheel-carriages, there are a great many of the country fashion drawn by bullocks, principally for the accommodation of the women; besides which, he has with him a couple of English chaises, a buggy or two, and sometimes a chariot; but all these, like the horses, are merely for show, and never used; indeed, he seldom uses any other conveyance but an elephant, or sometimes, when fatigued or indisposed, a palanquin, of which several attend him.

The arms he carries with him are a vast number of matchlocks—a great many English pieces of various kinds—pistols (of which he is very fond,) a great number, perhaps forty or fifty pairs—bows and arrows—besides swords, sabres, and daggers innumerable. One or more of all these different kinds of arms he generally has upon the elephant with him, and a great many more are carried in readiness by his attendants.

The animals he carries for sport are dogs, principally greyhounds, of which he has about three hundred—hawks, of various kinds, at least two hundred—a few trained leopards, called *Chocads*, for catching deer—and to this list I may add a great many marksmen, whose profession is to shoot deer—and fowlers who provide game; for there are none of the natives of India who have any idea of shooting game with small shot, or of hunting with slow hounds. He is also furnished with nets of various kinds, some for quail, and others very large, for fishing, which are carried along with him upon elephants, attended by fishermen, so as to be always ready to be thrown into any river or lake he may meet with on the march.

Besides this catalogue for the sport, he carries with him every article of luxury or pleasure; even ice is transported along with him to cool his water, and make ices; and a great many carts are loaded with the Ganges water, which is esteemed the best and lightest in India, for his drink. The fruits of the season, and fresh vegetables, are sent to him daily from his gardens to whatever distance he may go, by laid bearers, stationed upon the road at the distance of every ten miles, and in this manner convey whatever is sent by them at the rate of four miles an hour, night and day. Besides the fighting elephants, which I have mentioned, he has with him fighting antelopes, fighting buffaloes, and fighting rams, in great numbers; and, lastly, of the feathered kind (besides hawks), he carries with him several hundred pigeons, some fighting cocks, and an endless variety of nightingales, parrots, minos, &c. all of which are carried along with his tents.

What I have hitherto enumerated are the appendages of the Nabob personally; besides which, there is a large public Bazar, or, in other words, a moving town, attends his camp, consisting of shopkeepers and artificers of all kinds, money-changers, dancing-women,

women; &c. ; so that, upon the most moderate calculation, the number of souls in his camp cannot be reckoned at less than twenty thousand.

There are generally about twenty or thirty of the gentlemen of his Court, who attend him on his hunting parties, and are the companions of his sports and pleasures. They are principally his own relations in different degrees of consanguinity ; and such as are not related to him, are of the old respectable families of Hindostan, who either have Jaghires, or are otherwise supported by the Nabob : all of these are obliged to keep a small establishment of elephants for the sake of attending the Nabob ; besides horses, a palanquin, &c.

The Nabob, and all the gentlemen of his camp, are provided with double sets of tents and camp equipage, which are always sent on the day before to the place whither he intends going, which is generally about eight or ten miles in whatever direction he expects most game ; so that by the time he has finished his sport in the morning, he finds the whole camp ready pitched for his reception.

His Highness always rises before day-break, and after using the hot bath, he eats an English breakfast of tea and toast, which is generally over by the time the day is well broke. He then mounts his elephant, attended by all his household and *Suawry*, and preceded by some musicians on horseback, singing, and playing on musical instruments. He proceeds forwards, and is presently joined, from the different quarters of the camp, by the gentlemen of his Court, who having paid their respects, fall in upon their elephants on each side of, or behind, the Nabob's, so as to form a regular moving Court or Durbar; and in this manner they march on conversing together, and looking out for game. A great many dogs are led before, and are constantly picking up hares, foxes, jackalls, and sometimes deer. The hawks are also carried immediately before the ele-

phants, and are let fly at whatever game is sprung for them, which generally consists of partridges, in great numbers and varieties, quails, bustards, and different kinds of herons, which last give excellent sport with the falcons, or sharp-winged hawks. The Nabob takes great pains in ranging the elephants in a regular line, which is very extensive, and by proceeding in this manner no game can escape. The horse are generally at a little distance upon the wings, but small parties of three or four horsemen are placed in the intervals of, or before the elephants, in order to ride after the hawks, and assist the dogs when loosed at deer, or very often the horsemen run down what we call the *hog-deer*, without any dogs. Wild boars are sometimes started, and are either shot or run down by the dogs and horsemen.

When intelligence is brought of a tyger, it is matter of great joy, as that is considered as the principal sport, and all the rest only occasional to fill up the time. Preparations are instantly made for pursuing him, which is done by assembling all the elephants, with as many people as can conveniently go upon their backs, and leaving all the rest, whether on foot or on horseback, behind. The elephants are then formed into a line, and proceed forward regularly; the Nabob and all his attendants having their fire-arms in readiness. The cover, in which the tyger is most frequently found, is long grass, or reeds so high as often to reach above the elephants, and it is very difficult to find him in such a place, as he either endeavours to steal off, or lies so close that he cannot be roused till the elephants are almost upon him. He then roars and skulks away, but is shot at as soon as he can be seen; and it is generally contrived, in compliment to the Nabob, that he shall have the first shot at him. If he is not disabled, he continues skulking away, the line of elephants following him, and the Nabob and others shooting at him as often as he can be seen,

till he falls. Sometimes, when he can be traced to a particular spot where he couches, the elephants are formed into a circle round him, and in that case, when he is roused, he generally attacks the elephant that is nearest to him, by springing upon him with a dreadful roar, and biting at, or tearing him with his claws: but in this case, from his being obliged to shew himself, he is soon dispatched by the number of shots aimed at him; for the greatest difficulty is to rouse him, and get a fair view of him. The elephants all this time are dreadfully frightened, shrieking and roaring in a manner particularly expressive of their fear: and this they begin as soon as they smell him, or hear him growl, and generally endeavour to turn back from the place where the tyger is: some of them, however, but very few, are bold enough to be driven up to attack him, which they do by curling the trunk close up under the mouth, and then charging the tyger with their tusks; or they endeavour to press him to death by falling on him with their knees, or treading him under their feet. If one tyger is killed, it is considered as a good day's sport: but sometimes two or three are killed in one day, or even more, if they meet with a female and her cubs. The Nabob then proceeds towards his tents upon the new ground, so that every day is both a marching day and a day of sport; or sometimes he halts for a day or two upon a place that he likes, but not often. When he gets to his tents, which is generally about eleven or twelve o'clock, he dines, and goes to sleep for an hour or two. In the afternoon he mounts his elephant again, and takes a circuit about the skirts of the camp, with the dogs and hawks; or sometimes amuses himself with an elephant fight, with shooting at a mark, or such like amusements; and this course he repeats every day infallibly during the whole of the party.

The other principal objects of the Nabob's sport are, wild elephants, buffaloes, and rhinoceros.

I was present two years ago at the chase of a wild elephant of prodigious size and strength. The plan first followed, was to endeavour to take him alive by the assistance of the tame elephants, who try to surround him, whilst he was kept at bay by fire-works, such as crackers, porte-fires, &c. but he always got off from them, notwithstanding the drivers upon some of the tame elephants got so near as to throw nooses of very strong ropes over his head, and endeavoured to detain him by fastening them round trees, but he snapped them like packthread, and held on his way towards the forest. The Nabob then ordered some of the strongest and most furious of his fighting elephants to be brought up to him. As soon as one of them came near him, he turned and charged him with dreadful fury; so much so, that in the struggle with one of them, he broke one of his tusks by the middle, and the broken piece (which was upwards of two inches in diameter, of solid ivory) flew up in the air several yards above their heads. Having repelled the attacks of the fighting elephants, he pursued his way with a slow and sullen pace towards his cover. The Nabob then seeing no possibility of taking him alive, gave orders for killing him. An incessant fire from matchlocks was immediately commenced upon him from all quarters, but with little effect, for he twice turned round and charged the party. In one of these charges he struck obliquely upon the elephant which the Prince rode, and threw him on his side, but fortunately passed on without offering farther injury to him. The Prince, by laying hold of the Howdah, kept himself in his seat, but the servant he had behind, and every thing he had with him on the Howdah, was thrown off to a great distance. At last, our grisly enemy was overpowered by the number of bullets showered upon him from all sides, and he fell dead, after having received, as was computed, upwards of one thousand balls in his body.

Original

Original Letters of the celebrated John Wilmot Earl of Rochester, to his Lady and Son.

THAT there is a kind of veneration, which may be stiled Natural, for whatever belongs to great men, appears from hence, that in all ages and in all countries this humour has prevailed, and the most trifling things have been thought precious on the score of their belonging to, or having been left by some person of high distinction. We may add to this, that the value of these relics is very little, if at all, enhanced by their materials. The rusty sword of Scanderbeg would be looked upon (except by a Goldsmith) as infinitely a better thing than a modern gold hilt ever so finely finish'd; and hence it is, that we see such large sums given for things of very little intrinsic value, and sometimes too of very doubtful authority.

It is from these considerations, and many more of a like nature that might be mentioned, that, it is hoped, the Public will receive pleasure from the publication of these few genuine remains of a nobleman, esteemed the greatest Wit in an age the most fertile of wits this island has ever had to boast. We cannot indeed say, that they relate either to striking or important subjects, for they are addressed to the Countess his wife, (to whom, if not ever constant, he was always civil) and to his Son, while a child of eight years old at Eaton. We cannot therefore expect any thing of that flame and passion, which would have appeared in his epistles to Mrs Barry, who is known to have been his favourite, and to have owed to his instructions a very large share of that fame which she acquired upon the stage. Neither are we to look for the grave, sententious discourses of one who was or had a mind to pass for a philosopher, that being neither his Lordship's character; nor would it have been a stile proper to have been com-

prehended by one of so tender an age, as the child to whom these epistles were addressed.

But we may look for good sense, good humour, and a good manner of writing to a wife and child, without being disappointed. They have in this respect all the beauties that can be wished for; they are easy and correct; those to his Lady full of humour; those to his Son, of paternal tenderness and good sense. They shew us, that he was not able to set pen to paper, on the slightest and most trivial occasion, without leaving those marks of genius, which distinguish a true wit, and which one who affects it can never reach. The letter to his lady, ill spelt and full of hard words, is no doubt a very natural burlesque on that kind of stile, which then was and still is in use among a certain sort of people; the verses also have probably the same character, and in the last letter there are allusions, which we live at too great a distance of time to hope for any lights that may enable us fully to understand. But what then? the same thing happens in the familiar letters of all the ancients, and yet they are not thought trivial, or below our notice. We enter as far as we can into the family circumstances of such epistles; and yet we have nothing more to do with them than with these. The only rational cause that can be assigned for the pleasure we receive in reading them, is the delight that constantly results from looking into human nature, and examining the recesses of the mind. This we may gratify here as well as there; and therefore those who have a true taste cannot fail of approving the pains taken to convey these glittering fragments, long buried in the dust of a closet, with due respect to posterity.

LETTER I.—*To his Son.*

CHARLES,

I TAKE it very kindly that you write to me (tho' seldome) and wish heartily that you would behave yourself so, that I may shew how much I love you, without being ashamed. Obedience to your mother and grandmother, and those that instruct you in good things, is the way to make you happy here and for ever. Avoid idleness, scorn lying, and God will bless you; for which I pray.

ROCHESTER.

II.—*To his Son.*

I HOPE, Charles, when you receive this, and know that I have sent this gentleman to be your tutor, you will be very glad to see that I take so much care of you, and be very grateful; which is best shewn in being obedient. You are now grown bigg enough to be a man, if you can be wise enough; and the way to be truly so, is to serve God, learn your book, and observe the instructions of your parents, and next your tutor, to whom I have intirely resigned you for these seven years; and according as you employ that time, you are to be happy or unhappy for ever; but I have so good an opinion of you, that I am glad to think you will never deceive me. Dear child, learn your book, and be obedient, and you shall see what a father I will be to you: You shall want no pleasure whilst you are good, and that you may be so, is always my constant prayer.

ROCHESTER.

III.—*To my more than meritorious Wife.*

I AM, by fate, slave to your will,
And shall be most obedient still;
To shew my love, I will compose you,
For your fair fingers ring a po'sie;
In which shall be express'd my duty,
And how I'll be for ever true t' you,
With low-made legs and sugar'd
speeches,
Yielding to your fair bum the breeches;

I'll shew myself, in all I can,
Your faithful humble servant, JOHN

R.

IV.—*To his Lady.*

PERSONS in absence ought to notify returns reciprocally, affectionately reconfeild with humble redentigration; however correspondent to the senseibility of equivalent apolleggy: neither can I distinctly glorifie myself collaterally in superlative transcendency with more lustre, than by vanting myself

Your most humble Servant,

ROCHESTER.

MADAM,

I humbly thank you for your kind letter, and am in hopes to be very speedily with you, which is ever a great happiness to

Your humble Servant,

ROCHESTER.

V.—*To his Lady.*

THE last letter I received from your honour was something scandalous, so I knew not how to answer it. It was my design to have written to Lady Ann Wilmot to intercede for me, but now with joy I find myself again in your favour, it shall be my endeavour to continue so; in order to which very shortly I will be with you. In the mean time, my mother may be pleased to dispose of my children, my chymist, and my little dogs, and whatever is mine, as she pleases; only if I may have nothing about me as I like, it will be the cause of making the felicity of waiting on her befall me very seldome. Thus I remain with my duty to her, my service to you, and all those things,

ROCHESTER.

MADAM,

This illustrious person is my ambassador to my son and daughter; the presents she brings are great and glorious, and I hope will gain her an equal reception. To my son, she will deliver a dog of the last litter of lap-dogs so much revered at Indostan,
for

for the honour they have to lie on cushions of cloth of gold at the feet of the Great Mogul. The dog's name is *Omrah*. To my daughter I have sent the very person of the Duchesse La Valliere, late Mistress to the King of France, dried up and pined away to a very small proportion by fasting.

VI.—*To Lady Rochester.*
MADAM,

I RECEIVED three pictures, and am in a great fright lest they should be like you. By the bigness of the head I should apprehend you far gone in the rickets; by the severity of the countenance, somewhat inclined to prayer and prophecy; yet there is an alacrity in your plump cheeks, that seems to signify sack and sugar; and your sharp-sighted nose has borrowed quickness from the sweet-smelling eye. I never saw a chin smile before, a mouth frown, or a forehead mump. Truly the artist has done his part (God keep him humble) and a fine man he is, if his excellencies don't puff him up like his pictures. The next impertinence I have to tell you is, that I am coming into the country; I have got horses, but want a coach; when that defect is supplied, you shall quickly have the trouble of

Your humble Servant,
ROCHESTER.

VII.—*To the Same.*

MADAM,

I AM at last come to Adderbury, where I find none but the house-

keeper, the butler, and rats, who squeak mightily, and are all in good health; your daughter, our next door neighbour, is well; I gave her your present, which she received handsomely. Your maids, for good husbandry and equipage sake, I would have sent you from tithing to tithing, as the law of England allows; but Florance was gentle and penitent, and deserves something better. I have given her counsel for one end, and a soft pillow for the other, upon which she ambles to Somersetshire, where I am glad to hear your Ladyship is, I hope in good health at this present writing. Your other maid is a very eloquent person, and I have paid her her wages. To-morrow I intend for Woodstock, and from thence to London, where I hope to receive your commands. Present my humble duty to my Lady Warre, whose favours will ever be in my grateful memory; my humble service to Lady La Warre, to cousin Betty, Sweet Honey, Mr Windham, the Spright, and the little girl whom my soul loveth. I hope my brother is well, but it is not usual to present our service to men in ladies letters; so like a well-bred gentleman I rest,

Madam,

Your humble Servant,
ROCHESTER.

If you are pleased, I am pleased: were my mother pleased, all were pleased; which God be pleased to grant.

ROCHESTER.

*Memoirs of Richard Brinsley Sheridan, Esq *.*

RICH. BRINSLEY SHERIDAN is of a family which, during the greatest part of the present century, has been eminent for genius and learning. The fame which it has acquired, has been built on the most secure founda-

tion, and promises to receive still further increase from the branches of it now in being.

He is son of Thomas Sheridan, Esq; (heretofore manager of the theatre in Dublin, and well known in London for

for ability as an actor, and his merit both as an orator and author) by Francis his wife, a lady who has produced several dramatic pieces, novels, &c. particularly the comedy of *The Discovery*, and the justly-admired novel of Miss Sidney Biddulph; and grandson of Dr Thomas Sheridan, the celebrated friend of Dean Swift. Mr Sheridan, the object of our present inquiry, was born at Quilea, near Dublin, about the year 1750, and, at the age of six years, was brought to England by his father (who, at that time, was compelled to leave his native country) and placed at Harrow school, where he received his education under the care of Dr Summer, a gentleman who was particularly successful in the arduous and important employment of a school-master. During his residence at school, he was not so much distinguished for application to learning, as a quickness of apprehension, strong memory, and lively imagination, which occasionally displayed themselves in an extraordinary degree. It does not appear that he ever was a member of either of the universities, but chusing the law for his profession, he entered himself of the Middle Temple, with a view of being called to the bar.

In this dry study, where success is only to be obtained by unremitted application, and in which the brightest geniusses have found themselves sometimes below the common run of mankind, Mr Sheridan did not long persist; his attention was soon drawn aside by the flattering and irresistible charms of beauty and poetry. At the age of eighteen years, he joined with a friend in translating the *Epistles of Aristænetus*, from the Greek, and about the same period printed several works, which are known only to his intimate friends; and some of them, perhaps, not even to them.

At the critical season of youth, when the passions are apt to lead their possessors into extravagancies, and consequent difficulties, Mr Sheridan resided

chiefly at Bath, where he became acquainted with the amiable lady (Miss Linley, daughter of Mr Linley, a musician of eminence at Bath, and sister of Mr Tho. Linley, now one of the patentees of Drury-Lane Theatre; a gentleman much distinguished by his scientific knowledge in music, and taste as a composer. From the father and his sons being musicians of the first class, and the daughters unrivalled in the melodious sweetness of their voices, they were at Bath distinguished by the appellation of *The Musical Family*. It was on the circumstances of this lady's contract with a certain Baronet, the late witty satirist, *Foote*, founded his admired comedy of *The Maid of Bath*) who afterwards was united to him by the bands of matrimony. That an attachment to each other should be the result of this acquaintance, will appear no way surprising, nor that one in whom the charms both of mind and body were to be found, should be the object of admiration by several pretenders. A disagreement on this subject, as is supposed, took place between Mr Sheridan and a gentleman of the name of Matthews, which occasioned much conversation at Bath during the time that the event was recent there. The particulars of this quarrel are only important to the parties themselves, and as it is probable they may not have any wish to perpetuate them, at so great a distance of time, we shall only observe, that a duel ensued, which was conducted in a manner that displayed both the courage and spirit of the combatants in a very singular manner; perhaps no conflict of this kind ever exhibited more symptoms of inveterate resentment than this we are now alluding to; which, however, may be easily accounted for, when we consider the cause of the quarrel, and the youth of the gentlemen.

On the 13th of April 1773 he married the lady we have already mentioned; a lady no less distinguished

ed for the most astonishing vocal powers that ever charmed a listening auditory *, than for every personal accomplishment that can add grace or dignity to virtue. Soon after his marriage, he turned his attention to the stage, and produced a comedy in 1775, at Covent-Garden theatre, called *The Rivals*. This play abounds in character and situation, but, on its first appearance, was received with so little favour, that it required some management and alteration to obtain for it a second hearing. Several causes conspired to occasion this extraordinary treatment; one of the actors, Mr Lee (now dead, but well remembered in the dramatic world, both as an actor of eminence, and for his disputes with the late Mr Garrick, whom he charged with keeping him back in parts, through jealousy of his abilities. He was father of the two celebrated Miss Lee's, who have so ably distinguished themselves by their literary productions—the eldest being authoress of the *Recess*, *The Chapter of Accidents*—the youngest, of the *New Peerage*, brought out with success this season at Drury-Lane) mangled and misunderstood the character of an Irishman in such a manner, as to render every scene in which he was con-

cerned ridiculous and disgusting. The performance was also too long in the representation. A change, however, in the performer, and the pruning knife judiciously applied, procured the piece the applause it deserved, though its reputation has been much less than the succeeding dramas of the same author.

The person who succeeded Mr Lee in personating the Irishman, was Mr Clinch, who received so great applause in the character, and rendered himself so great a favourite, that at his benefit he was complimented with the first representation of the farce of *St Patrick's Day*. Early in the next season the Duenna appeared, and was honoured with a degree of approbation which even exceeded what had been formerly bestowed on the *Beggar's Opera*. About this period, Mr Garrick began to think of quitting the stage in earnest; Mr Sheridan, Mr Linley, and Dr Ford, entered into a treaty with him, which, in the year 1777, was perfectly compleated, and the new managers invested with the powers of the patent.

The efforts of these gentlemen were by no means proportioned to the importance of their undertaking, a number of despicable pieces were brought forward, and the *School for Scandal* †, which

* The following instance may convey some idea of her great merit as a singer:—At Salisbury music-meeting, in July 1770, Miss Linley, (now Mrs Sheridan) while singing the air in the oratorio of the *Messiah*, “I know that my Redeemer liveth,” a little bullfinch that had found means, by some accident or other, to secrete itself in the cathedral, was so struck with the inimitable sweetness, and harmonious simplicity of her manner of singing, that, mistaking it for the voice of a feathered chorister of the wood, and far from being intimidated by the numerous assemblage of spectators, it perched immediately on the gallery over her head, and accompanied her with the musical warblings of its little throat through great part of the song. This was perceived by all present with great satisfaction and pleasure, and considered as the strongest proof in nature that could be produced of Miss Linley's merit, except a lubberly, senseless fellow that played on the bassoon, who took aim with his instrument, as with a gun, at the gallery, and the bird immediately frightened, flew away.

† At one of the representations of this comedy, most of the wits of the time attended behind the scenes, highly delighted with the entertainment they received; each applauded the genius of the author, except Mr C——, who never was seen to laugh at the humour, or betray any mark of satisfaction at the excellency of the piece. One of the company informed Mr Sheridan of this, who replied, “It was very hard, indeed, and I think he used me ill, for I am sure the other night I laughed the whole time his tragedy was performing.”

which alone was calculated to keep up the credit of the house, and fill the treasury of it, was deferred until the 8th of May, when the season ought to have concluded. This piece can receive no honour from additional praise, nor can it be injured by the severest critical examination; but what is most singular, confessedly great as is the merit of this comedy, Mr Sheridan was either so dilatory in finishing, or hasty in writing it, that in order to get it out within the season, the managers were obliged to rehearse an act at a time, as it was got ready; nay, we have been informed, that when the first three acts were put in rehearsal, not a line was wrote of the last, and but little of the fourth—an astonishing proof of the extent of his genius, and the exertion it is capable of. It has been followed by *The Camp*, *The Critic*, and *Robinson Crusoe*.

On the general election, in the year 1782, through the interest of the Devonshire family, Mr Sheridan was returned member for the borough of Stafford, which place he has continued to represent through the succeeding parliaments, and has since devoted his time to political inquiries.—These new pursuits have had a fatal effect on his dramatic exertions. Seven years are now elapsed since the appearance of *The Critic*; and though we have frequently been informed, that an opera called *The Foresters*, and a comedy entitled *Affectation*, that wanted little to compleat them, were to be produced; we have expected them so long, that we have now no reliance on any assurances that can be given respecting these pieces. We even begin to suspect, that he is no longer to be considered as a follower of the Muses, and are sincerely sorry to see his defection from their service, since no modern votary was more capable of giving them support.

Mr Sheridan's character as a writer and a manager, is calculated to impress separate and distinct sensations on

those who contemplate it. In the former, he has distinguished himself by an early prematurity, which has enabled him to outstrip every veteran competitor in the same race. His comedies abound in wit, humour, satire, situation, and pleasantry; in satire, which is calculated to improve, without wounding any individual; in pleasantry, so general, that it cannot but delight every spectator and reader of taste and judgment. His versification is equally elegant and polished, and his prologues and epilogues exhibit the excellencies of those of the late Mr Garrick, without their defects. In point of composition, they are certainly superior, and with respect to wit and humour, will lose nothing in the comparison. With excellencies like these, Mr Sheridan might support the reputation of the English theatre, and in this line he seems to have been intended to shine without any rival. Regarding the stage, however, here our eulogium must end. As a manager, perhaps no person is so totally unequal to the duties of that office. Nor need we wonder at this, as the labour and attention necessary in the character of a manager, but ill accord with the genius of a young and successful author. So indifferent did he appear in this avocation, that he subjected himself to the imputation of some malevolent or disappointed play-wrights, of having received the worst pieces, with a view to set off his own. This insinuation, however, is only mentioned to afford an opportunity of declaring our thorough conviction of its want of foundation; for we cannot now boast any of those superior enlightened geniuses with whom he would lose by comparison, or who are gifted in a degree to excite either his envy or jealousy. The brilliancy of his dramatic performances require no *fait* to add to their lustre. He has, however, for some years resigned every concern in the management of the theatre to Dr Ford, and his brother-in-

in-law, Mr Linley, under whom Mr King acts as deputy-manager, reserving to himself only the emolument arising from his share of the patent, abstracting himself from every study, unless that essential to form the complete statesman and politician.

Although we cannot but regret his loss to the public as a dramatist, we must, at the same time, congratulate them on the valuable acquisition of an able and disinterested statesman in the stead. When the motives which induced him to quit the drama, and engage in politics, are impartially considered, he will derive additional honour, from no sinister motives having influenced his conduct. He attached himself to the patriotic party, when he could have no hope of interest from their favour, and no ambition to gratify, except that of deserving well of his country. He withdrew from an employment in which he had acquired unrivalled reputation and proportionable profit, and encountered prejudice and difficulty, to manifest the spontaneous feelings of his heart.

On the change of Lord North's administration, when the Rockingham party came into place and power, he was appointed Secretary, under Mr Fox, for the Foreign Department; in which office he manifested the greatest diligence and ability. But the demise of that worthy nobleman occasioning a dispute for pre-eminence and power among the leading members, with his patron and friends he relinquished his situation, and once more dealt his *Philippics*, than whom no man could utter more severe, from the Opposition side. The Shelburne administration being too feebly textured to withstand the joint powers of North and Fox, when with their powerful auxiliaries they were cemented by a *Coalition*, he soon retired from the helm of state. The Rockingham party, or at least those who professed still to be governed by the principles and politics of that deceased nobleman,

headed by the Duke of Portland, again came into power; and Mr Sheridan resumed his former situation under Mr Fox; till the famous India Bill exciting a jealousy in the breasts of many, that it too far trenching on the royal prerogative, they received a signification that his Majesty had no further occasion for their services, and the present Administration were appointed to their places; but to establish whose power it was found expedient to have a general election; so that Mr Sheridan has but in a very small degree realized by his political, what he might have insured by his literary pursuits.

When he first took his seat in the Commons, he gave little presage of those astonishing powers which have since distinguished him as an orator. Though possessing the advantage of having been brought up under one so capable of directing his study thereto as his father, he appeared, on first entering the lists as an orator, to have benefited little by his instruction; his manner was awkward and embarrassed; and his language, though good, much disarranged: the diffidence which particularly predominates where genius is most powerful, frequently overwhelmed him, and the brilliancy of his conception was lost in the inadequacy of his delivery. Conscious of his defect, but sensible by perseverance it might be overcome, he abstracted himself from every other study, determined, as he has often said, to speak to every road or inclosure bill, till he had effectually conquered that timidity which arrested him in the career of fame as an orator. In the second session of his sitting in the House, he shewed a greater degree of confidence in himself, and made no inconsiderable figure as a debater. If his speeches were less diffusive than those of others more accustomed to this School of Eloquence, they were generally more replete with argument and wit, and adhered closely to the point, of which

he never lost sight. The severe retort he gave Mr Pitt, who, feeling the keenness of his observation, rather ungenerously, and with much anger and asperity, advised him to exercise his talents on another stage, and on that line they were best adapted to excel in, will be long remembered, as giving a deserved check to the contumacy of birth or power. When Mr Sheridan in turn replied to the young Statesman, among many other pointed remarks, he observed, that if he should again dedicate his time to dramatic study, however vain and presumptuous the task might appear, it would be to improve on the *Kasfrill*, or *Angry Boy*, in the Alchymist of Ben Johnson. In the course of that, and the subsequent sessions, he made the most rapid progress towards perfection; so that when out of place few could more successfully attack, or in, more ably defend, the measures of administration. It was not, however, till the last session, he fully established his character as an orator of the first class, who would lose no credit by comparison with the most renowned sages of antiquity, or the most admired ones of modern times. We allude to his speech on the charges against Warren Hastings, Esq; which took him five hours and forty minutes in the delivery; an oration of unexampled excellence, that commanded the universal attention and admiration of the whole House; uniting the most convincing closeness and accuracy of argument, with the most luminous precision and perspicuity of language; and alternately giving force and energy to truth by solid and substantial reasoning; and enlightening the most extensive and involved subjects with the purest clearness of logic, and the brightest splendor of rhetoric. Every prejudice, every prepossession, were gradually overcome by the force of this extraordinary combination of keen, but liberal discrimination; of brilliant, yet argumentative wit. It will be a permanent record of Mr She-

ridan's unrivalled abilities, that, on this trying occasion, which, of all others, had divided not only the House of Commons, but the nation at large into a variety of parties, this memorable speech produced almost universal union; with the slight exception of those only, who, from personal gratitude, and the venial influence of even obsolete attachment, persevered, silently supporting what they wanted both inclination and ability to defend.

The apostrophe with which he concluded this unexampled effort of genius, in an appeal to the justice and humanity of the House, has in it so much of beauty, so forcible and pathetic, that we cannot resist the opportunity of laying it before our readers:—He remarked, that he heard of factions and parties in that House, and knew they existed. There was scarcely a subject upon which they were not broken and divided into sects. The prerogative of the crown found its advocates among the representatives of the people. The privileges of the people found opponents even in the House of Commons itself. Habits, connections, parties, all led to diversity of opinion. But when inhumanity presented itself to their observation, it found no division among them; they attacked it as their common enemy, and as if the character of this land was involved in their zeal for its ruin, they left it not till it was completely overthrown. It was not given to that House, to behold the objects of their compassion and benevolence in the present extensive consideration, as it was to the officers who relieved, and who so feelingly describe the extatic emotions of gratitude in the instant of deliverance. They could not behold the workings of the hearts, the quivering lips, the trickling tears, the loud, and yet tremulous joys of the millions whom their vote of this night would for ever save from the cruelty of corrupted power. But though they could not directly see the effect, was not the

true enjoyment of their benevolence increased by the blessing being conferred unseen? Would not the omnipotence of Britain be demonstrated to the wonder of nations, by stretching its mighty arm across the deep, and saving by its *fiat* distant millions from destruction? And would the blessings of the people thus saved dissipate in empty air? No! If I may dare to use the figure, we shall constitute Heaven itself our proxy, to receive for us the blessings of their pious gratitude, and the prayers of their thanksgiving.

In his private character, Mr Sheridan is humane and generous in the extreme; social in his temper, and friendly in his habits; and, when in his power, more ready to confer than solicit a favour. He has been charged with indolence; but perhaps those who have attributed this to him have little

considered, that minds elevated like his, capable of exertions beyond belief, need relaxation from severity of study; perhaps more than the hind, whose mouth never receives but what the sweat of his brow procures, does from his labour. The difficulties he may have encountered in pecuniary matters are more chargeable to the goodness of his heart than the extravagance of his conduct: an amiable weakness, that harbours no suspicion, and makes him too prone to believe men what he wishes them. On the whole, it appears his public character is irreproachable, his abilities super-eminent, uniting in one the first dramatic writer with the most accomplished orator of his time; and to his private, we may justly say with Goldsmith,

His very failings lean to Virtue's side.

Ulloa's Account of the Indigenous Inhabitants of America.—Continued.

THE huts of the American Indians are of a round shape, somewhat lower than the height of a man. The walls are raised perpendicularly, and covered with a contexture of branches in the form of a pyramid: around the interior circle of the hut they range a kind of scaffolding, over which they throw the skins of animals taken in chase. This serves for their sleeping place. In the middle is the fire. The only opening is the door, which has no more height or width than is absolutely necessary for an entrance. The smoke therefore has no other issue than partly thro' this, and partly thro' the interstices of the branches that form the roof. The materials of their huts are either mud and stones, or when stones are not at hand, timber, with the interstices filled up with mud.

A few niches constructed in the inner part of the wall serve as the only repositories of the few articles of furniture which they possess. Ex-

cepting the dimensions, which vary according to the number of individuals in the family, the construction of every hut is the same.

Each tribe has also a common hut, furnished with the same scaffolding in the inner part of the walls. This is necessarily of much larger dimensions than the others, and differs also in its shape, which is either square or rectangular. Here the whole tribe assembles to deliberate about their common interests, and to appoint the time of setting out on their expeditions of hunting or fishing. Here they arrange the separate parties in such expeditions, appoint the quarters they are to occupy, and fix the time of their return. Here too they settle their plans of hostile incursion, either upon their neighbouring tribes, or upon the colonies of Europeans: in a word, every thing which relates to the general interest of the community. It is also in this common hut that they assemble

for their public diversions, that is, to drink and dance. The upper part of the building serves as a granary, where they deposit the maize, and the calabashes of the former harvest. The ordinary huts are placed at random, without any regard to the formation of streets, or regular rows, and the favourite situation is commonly along the banks of a river.

The civilized Indians of Peru construct their lodgings in the same manner, and have also a common place of meeting in order to settle the plans of the community. When these meetings are conducted under proper regulations, so as to prevent the abuses into which they are apt to degenerate, they are found to be of advantage to the civil government. They furnish a means of keeping them in obedience, the more effectual that it coincides with their national habits. Proper objects are suggested for their consideration; laudable, or at least innocent modes of occupation are proposed to them, which may divert their natural propensity to mischief and disorder.

With this view, both the civil and ecclesiastical ministers of government keep a watchful eye over these assemblies, and are careful that no improper subject of consultation be moved in them. Certain trusty Indians are employed as spies to report all that passes at their meetings: and whenever it is suspected that they are likely to devise any mischief, the judges or curates repair thither, dissolve the assembly, and inflict some gentle punishment on the authors of such improper suggestions. This degree of attention generally suffices to defeat their machinations. Strict precautions are used, and more severe penalties inflicted, when information is procured of any deep-laid plot against the government.

It is impossible to prevail on these people to renounce their ancient habits; the attempt would be attended with the utmost danger. Were an interdiction to be issued against these open

assemblies, they would hold them by night, and in remote places, where it would be impossible to learn their deliberations.

The labour of the mines is not at all hurtful to the Indians of Peru. The aversion of those who are made to work in them proceeds entirely from their indolence, and would be the same with respect to any other kind of employment. Repeated observation has shewn, that, were they left to their own choice, they would occupy themselves in nothing beyond the little agriculture which they practise, as is the case with all the independent tribes.

Neither are the services required of them in the employments of pasturage and agriculture at all oppressive, so far as they are regulated by the prescriptions of government. Even the manufactures in which their labours are exacted would involve no great hardships, if individual masters would moderate the task which they lay on them, and encourage them by a more adequate recompence. But many of these consider nothing but their own interest, and overlook the obligations of humanity with respect to their workmen. From this, and not from any severity in the regulations of government, has arisen the diminution of the species. The only remedy for this evil, would be to liberate these Indians from all obligation to labour, and to employ free people taken from among the Metifs, and other castes, who are entirely without employment. An edict ought to be issued, threatening, on the part of the government, all vagrant and idle persons with perpetual imprisonment, and withdrawing from individual employers the liberty of punishing their workmen at pleasure. In a word, the same measures ought to be adopted that are established with respect to the manufacturers of Europe. It is well known that penal sanctions are necessary for keeping them in order: But this does not prevent these penalties

penalties from being moderate, and in the power of the magistrate only to inflict. Such chastisements would be far more effectual for correcting their propensities to idleness and disorder, than the capricious and arbitrary ones inflicted by individual employers. Punishments, in this case, would never be carried to an excess of cruelty, the forms of law would tend to open the eyes of the offenders to their faults, and the resentment they now feel at the cruelty of individuals, would change into a salutary apprehension of the severities of law.

It appears then, in opposition to the general belief, that it is not expedient for individual masters to possess a despotical power over their workmen. It is however true, that a kind of perpetual compulsion must be used with these people, not only for the sake of their master's interest, but even for their own, in what concerns the common sowing of their lands, and other occupations that relate to their clothing. Reasonable motives have no influence with them, every species of labour is contrary to their inclinations, and force must be used to procure the proportion of work exacted of the different bands into which they are arranged.

The work which an Indian performs in a day is hardly equal to what an ordinary European labourer would perform in half the time. Yet it is not that they want strength, but that their extreme indolence seems, as it were, to benumb all their powers. Those who remain in their primitive condition, occupy themselves in nothing but the necessary tasks of hunting and fishing to procure their food. As long as the provision procured by these means lasts, they surrender themselves to absolute inaction.

The conquered Indians sow their lands in common. All that belong to one parish, men, women, and children, convene, and form what they call a *Chaca*. Six or eight Europeans

could in one day do more, without any excessive exertion, than all this numerous company. They carry with them to the field their flutes and drums, with a plentiful provision of liquor. They work, they eat, and they drink to the sound of these instruments; they repose themselves by turns, and the whole parade of their united labours amounts only to a day or two of amusement. The case is the same in the Harvest, so that the greater part of the crop is frequently consumed in the time of reaping. No consideration whatever could bring them together, without the attractions of drinking and dancing.

Those who do not know from experience the character, genius, and dispositions of the American Indians, might imagine that there was a degree of tyranny in making them work so hard, especially in the mines. But this is a mistake. There is, with respect to every nation on earth, a certain form of government, and mode of legislation, corresponding to their peculiar character, which are absolutely necessary to the maintenance of their public happiness and good order. But the characters and inclinations of the Indians are so different from those of every other people, that no ordinary standard of legislation is applicable to them. The immoderate use of spirituous liquors destroys more of them in one year, than the labour of the mines does in fifty, even including those who suffer by extraordinary accidents, such as the falling in of the earth. In fact, the ordinary manufactures are much more destructive than the labour of the mines: for in spite of all the precautions of government in appointing inspectors to visit these manufactures from time to time, the workmen employed in them too often experience unjustifiable cruelties from their masters.

Notwithstanding all that they suffer from Europeans, the Indians still consider themselves as a race of men far

superior

superior to their conquerors. This proud belief, arising from their perverted ideas of excellence, is universal over the whole known continent of America. They do not think it possible that any people can be so intelligent as themselves. When they are detected in any of their plots, it is their common observation, that the Spaniards, or *Viracochas*, want to be as knowing as they are. Those of Louisiana and the countries adjacent, are equally vain of their superior understanding, confounding that quality with the cunning which they themselves constantly practise. The whole object of their transactions is to over-reach those with whom they deal. Yet though faithless themselves, they never forgive the breach of promise on the part of others. While the Europeans seek their amity by presents, they give themselves no concern to secure a reciprocal friendship. Hence, probably, arises their idea, that they must be a superior race of men in ability and intelligence, to those who are at such pains to court their alliance, and avert their enmity.

The free tribes of Savages who enter into conventions with the Europeans, are accustomed to make long,

pompous, and, according to their own notions, sublime harangues, but without any method or connection. The whole is a collection of disjointed metaphors and comparisons. The light, heat, and course of the sun, form the principal topic of their discourse; and these unintelligible reasonings are always accompanied with violent and ridiculous gestures. Numberless repetitions prolong the oration, which, if not interrupted, would last whole days: At the same time, they meditate very accurately before hand, in order to avoid mentioning any thing but what they are desirous to obtain.

This pompous faculty of making speeches is also one of the grounds on which they conceive themselves to be superior to the nations of Europe: They imagine that it is their eloquence that procures them the favours they ask. The subjected Indians converse precisely in the same style. Prolix and tedious, they never know when to stop: so that, excepting by the difference in language, it would be impossible, in this respect, to distinguish a civilized Peruvian from an inhabitant of the most savage districts to the northward.

Account of the Discovery of the Mines of Potosi, in South America.*

THE famous Mountain of Potosi, in the province of Charcas and Kingdom of Peru, is situated in twenty-one degrees forty minutes South latitude, consequently within what is called the Torrid Zone. Notwithstanding this situation, the climate there is colder than in Flanders or in Old Castile. This degree of cold is owing to the great height of the land, and to the piercing winds which blow from all quarters, especially that called *Tomahavi*, which reigns during the

months of May, June, July, and August. The country around is parched, barren, and naturally uninhabitable: but the attraction of silver, and the violent desires of mankind for that precious metal, have contributed to render it the most populous district of the whole kingdom. All the necessaries and conveniences of life abound there in consequence of the ready market which it supplies. The mountain is of an obscure reddish colour. Its general aspect is agreeable. The shape is conical,

* Translated from *Observations and Additions aux Discours de Don Ulloa*; par J. G. Schneider.

nical, and the summit far above that of all the neighbouring mountains.

The road, though very steep, is practicable on horseback to the very top, which terminates in an obtruse vertex; having, at the base of this highest point, a circumference of sixteen hundred *Varas*, or a quarter of a Spanish league. On the side of the mountain is to be seen an eminence, where there were formerly several excavations which yielded a species of soft mineral, found in unconnected parcels, and not in any regular vein. These minerals were very rich, but in small quantities. The eminence that produced them was called, in the language of the Indians, Huayna Potosi, or Potosi the Younger. Near to this eminence begin the dwellings of the Spaniards and Indians, who have settled there in order to share in the profit or loss of the mines contained in the mountain. The whole range of dwellings is about two leagues in circuit. This is the centre of all the commerce of Peru.

The Incas did not cause these mines to be wrought, but only those of Porco, which are about the distance of six leagues from Potosi. It is probable they did not know them; for the other reasons that are alledged are no better than fables.

What follows is the account of the discovery of those mines about twelve years after the arrival of the Spaniards in South America. An Indian, named Hualpa, a native of Chumbivilca in the province of Cusco, was pursuing some wild goats, who directed their flight straight upon the mountain of Potosi, then almost entirely covered with trees of the species called *Quina*, and other shrubs of different kinds. The Indian continuing his pursuit, arrived at a steep and difficult path which led to the heights of the mountain. Taking hold of a branch to assist him in climbing, his weight tore up the tree, the roots of which brought up with them portions of a

very rich ore. It happened that the Indian was acquainted with the labour of the mines. He therefore examined the ground surrounding the vein thus accidentally discovered, and having gathered some pieces of the enriched mineral which the action of the sun and of the waters had rendered almost undistinguishable, he carried them to Porco, in order to make the assay of their quality by fire. The experiment having ascertained their excellent quality, he continued his researches, digging secretly in the mountain, without communicating the discovery to any other person.

This continued until another Indian, called Huanca, of the valley of Xauria, observed that the ore which Hualpa melted was different from that of the mines of Porco; that, besides, Hualpa formed larger lingots from his ore, and that he appeared much easier than formerly in his circumstances. On these grounds, he importuned him with such earnest and repeated inquiries, that at length Hualpa, after having enjoyed his discovery for two months without a rival or partner, consented to take the other with him, and communicate the treasure that had enriched him. Having led him to the spot, he shewed him, both the first vein, since distinguished by the appellation of the *Rich*, and another which he had discovered afterwards, and which he gave up to the possession of his companion. This last vein lies at no great distance from the former, and is that called *Diego Centeno*. It is equally rich with the other, having only the disadvantage of being more hard in the operation of reducing to the pure metal. Having agreed upon these terms, they returned to their habitations.

Huanca, however, soon became sensible of the difficulties attending the process of the vein that had fallen to his possession. The other was obstinate in refusing to impart any share of his. A quarrel arose, and Huanca discovered

discovered the whole affair to his master Villa Roel, who lived at Porco. Villa Roel immediately repaired to the spot to ascertain the truth of the report; which being done, he caused Huanca enroll himself in the register for his claim to that portion of land which the laws allow to those who discover a mine. In consequence of this, Villa Roel and he became joint proprietors of the district in which the mine is situated, after having communicated the discovery to government, and engaged to pay the fifth of the produce to the king. This happened the 21st of April 1545. A few days afterwards several other veins were discovered, in all of which, however, the ore, though very rich, was at the same time very hard in the operation of reducing to metal. In Spanish, this hard mineral is called Mine of Tin. The 31st of August in the same year, the mine of Mendieta was discovered, which was also registered. These are the four principal mines of Potosi. It is said, that the mine called the *Rich*, formed a rock issuing above the surface of the ground about the height of a *vara*, and extending to the length of three hundred feet by a breadth of thirteen. The ore was so rich as to produce the half of its weight of silver. This rich proportion continued till they had sunk to fifty or sixty fa-

thoms below ground, when the produce began to lessen.

It appears, from the accounts of the *Caiſſes Royales*, that while Polo was governor of Peru, there was paid in every Sunday evening the fifth of an hundred and fifty, or two hundred thousand pounds weight of silver, amounting in the year to nearly a million and a half. This calculation comprehended only the silver which paid the fifth, and of which the accounts were checked. But it is well known, that it has long been a custom in Peru not to pay the fifth of the silver, which goes by the name of *Argent de Cours*, and of which the accounts are not checked. Now, those who are acquainted with the mines of Potosi, allege that a very great proportion of the silver which they yield is not subjected to the fifth, particularly that which serves the purpose of current specie among the Indians and Spaniards. It may be presumed on these grounds, that the third, or perhaps even the half of the whole produce is never exhibited to the *Caiſſes Royales*, and consequently pays no tax to the king. It is a remarkable singularity in the mines of Potosi, that they have never been subject to inundation, although the pits have been sunk to the depth of above two hundred fathoms.

*Observations on a New Sort of Volcano. By M. Deodat de Dolomieu *.*

IF the name of Volcano were not given exclusively to such mountains as vomit forth fire, and if it did not particularly serve to express the effects produced by this terrible element, but were applicable to every mountain that is formed by the accumulation of its own ejected matter, I would bestow the name upon a singular phenomenon which I had an op-

portunity of observing in Sicily, between Arragona and Girgenti: I would say that I had discovered an *air volcano*, exhibiting effects similar to those occasioned by fire; for this new species of volcano has, like others, its intervals of rest, and periods of great agitation and commotion; it produces earthquakes, subterranean thunder, violent shocks, and lastly explosions, which

* *Voyages aux îles de Lipari.*

which eject the substances it throws out to the height of three hundred feet and upwards. But by whatever name this mountain may be designed, its phenomena are certainly very singular and surprising.

On the 18th of September 1781, as I was travelling from Arragona to Girgenti, I quitted the road leading to this last town, in order to view a place which, from the variety of accounts I had received of it, excited my curiosity. The soil of the country is chiefly calcareous. It is interpersed with hills and little eminences of clay, which are worn and deeply excavated by the rains, some of them having a nucleus of gypsum. After an hour's journey, I arrived at the place that had been described to me. I found a mountain with a truncated top, its base having nothing remarkable; but on the plain which terminates it, I observed the most singular phenomenon I had ever met with.

This mountain has a circular base, it imperfectly represents a truncated cone, and is about 150 feet high from the valley below which surrounds it. It is absolutely sterile, and produces not the smallest appearance of vegetation. On its summit there is a vast number of smaller ones in the shape of truncated cones, at different distances and of different heights. The largest are about two feet and an half high, the smallest only a few lines. They are all furnished at the top with little funnel-shaped craters proportioned to their size, and these are nearly half the depth of the whole elevation. The soil on which they stand is a greyish clay, hardened and intersected with chinks in every direction, breaking into pieces of four or five inches in thickness. The very sensible vibrating motion which a person feels in walking over this plain, sufficiently shews that he is supported by a very thin crust, incumbent on a soft and semi-fluid mass; and he is soon convinced that this dried clay really

covers a vast and immense gulf of mud, into which there is the greatest danger of falling.

The inside of each crater is always moist, and in a state of continual motion. From the bottom of the funnel there constantly rises a quantity of diluted clay, of a greyish colour, convex on the surface, which reaches and rests upon the edges of the crater in an hemispherical form; this hemisphere at last bursts, and a bubble of air, which was the occasion of the appearance, immediately escapes. The bubble bursts with a noise like that made by a bottle when suddenly uncorked; it throws out from the crater part of the clay that enveloped it, and this runs like lava down the sides of the eminence till it reaches the bottom, where it extends itself around to a greater or less distance. When the air is disengaged, the residue of the clay falls back into the crater, where it resumes and preserves its first form till a new bubble is ready to escape. Thus there is a continual motion of rising and falling more or less rapid, at intervals of two or three minutes. It is accelerated by shaking the crust with one's foot.

When a stick is thrust into one of these craters, it is pushed back again by little and little, and by jerks; but it is not thrown to a distance, as I had been told it was. While I was busy in observing the phenomena of this mountain, three of my servants amused themselves by putting into one of the large craters bits of the hardened clay from the surface; these were absorbed; and after an hour, during which this operation continued, the orifice was only a little dilated, but not filled. Some of these eminences are quite dry, and afford no passage to the air; the number of both kinds generally amounts to more than a hundred, but varies daily. Besides the small cones, there are cavities in the ground itself, especially towards the West,

West, where it inclines a little. These round holes, of one or two inches in diameter, are full of muddy water, which has a saline taste; from these arise, and immediately issue, bubbles of air which cause an ebullition like that of boiling water, and they burst without noise or explosion. I found at the surface of some of these cavities a pellicle of bituminous oil of a strong smell, which is often mistaken for that of sulphur.

Such is the state of the mountain during the Summer and Autumn while it is dry weather, and it was then that I saw it. But in Winter the circumstances are different: the rains soften and dilute the dried clay of the summit, the conical eminences are obliterated, the surface becomes level, and the whole appears a vast gulf of mire and clay, the depth of which is unknown, as it cannot be approached without the greatest danger. A continual ebullition takes place over all the surface, the air that produces it has no particular vent, but issues from all places indiscriminately.

These two different states, which I have just described, subsist only while the mountain is at rest. It has likewise its moments of great agitation, when it presents phenomena that strike terror into the people of its neighbourhood, and that resemble those which precede eruptions in ordinary volcanoes. At two or three miles distance are sometimes perceived very violent shocks of an earthquake; a noise of subterraneous thunder is heard, and, after a continued agitation for several days, and progressive augmentation of the internal commotion, there succeed violent eruptions, accompanied with noise; and masses of earth, mud, moistened clay mixed with a few stones, are ejected perpendicularly to the height of two or three hundred feet. These substances fall down again upon the spot from whence they issued. The explosions recur three or four times in twenty-four hours: they are attended

with a fetid smell of liver of sulphur, which is felt all over the neighbourhood, and sometimes, it is said, smoke is seen. Afterwards these preliminary phenomena cease, and the mountain re-assumes one of the two states in which I have represented it.

The eruptions of this singular volcano happen in Autumn, after warm Summers and great droughts, but at different intervals. Sometimes a great number of years intervenes, then they take place two years successively, or twice in three years, as was the case in 1777 and 1779. Some authors have asserted that there is a regular intermission of five years, but this is not confirmed by observation.

I shall here give a literal translation of an account drawn up at the time by an eye-witness of the eruption in the year 1777.

"About a league from the sea behind Cirgenti, there is a place called Moruca by the ancients, now Macalubi, where, upon an eminence situated in a salt plain (*salina*) of sterile ground, are observed different apertures from whence clay and troubled water are discharged with slow ebullition. On the 30th of last September, (1777) about half an hour after sun-rise, a dull noise was heard at this place, which, increasing by degrees, exceeded that of the loudest thunder. Afterwards the ground in the neighbourhood began to shake, and the large chasms that were then made in it are still to be seen; the principal aperture from which the clay and the maddy water generally flow increased to the size of ten spans, (*palmi*) in diameter: then there arose something like a cloud of smoke, which gained in a few moments the height of eighty spans: although this explosion appeared in some places of a flame colour, it however consisted of mud and bits of clay; some of which as they fell back again spread themselves all over the plain, but the greater part fell into the apertures from which they were ejected.

The

The eruption lasted for half an hour, and was renewed three other times at intervals of a quarter of an hour, and each eruption continued a quarter of an hour. In the mean time, the motion and agitation of the great mass were heard under ground, and, at the distance of three miles, a noise was observed like that of the roaring of the sea. While these terrible convulsions lasted, people thought the end of the world was come, and were afraid of being buried under the substances discharged from the aperture, and which covered the ground to the depth of six spans, besides filling up the neighbouring vallies; and altho' the clay was liquid on the day of the eruption, it appeared on the next day to have regained its usual consistence, allowing the curious to approach and examine the great aperture situated in the middle of the plain. This mud still preserves the smell of sulphur, though not so strongly as at the time of the eruption. The other orifices that had been shut during the explosion again appeared, and a slight subterranean noise is yet heard that makes us dread another eruption."

We are always apt to attribute effects nearly similar to a similar cause. As this mountain is liable to eruptions like *Ætna*, the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, and the few travellers who have seen it, consider this as sufficient to make them suppose that all the phenomena are owing solely to subterranean fire. I was prepossessed with the same opinion, and thought I was going to see an ordinary volcano at the commencement of its convulsions, or after they had ceased. I never suspected that there was any other agent in nature capable of producing the phenomena that had been described to me; but I was soon undeceived. I saw nothing around me that indicated the presence of the igneous element, which impresses every thing it acts on with such distinctive characters; and I was soon convinced, that nature employs very dissimilar means

to operate similar effects. I perceived that fire was not here the principal agent, that it produced none of the phenomena of this mountain; and though in some of the eruptions smoke and heat were observable, yet that these were only accessory circumstances, but by no means the true cause of the explosions. However, before I attempt to investigate the nature of the new agent, I must relate some circumstances which I omitted in describing the more obvious appearances.

Upon my arrival at Macalubi, I was, in the first place, solicitous to ascertain whether there existed any heat in the ebullitions which I saw around me. I walked with fear and trembling over this unstable surface; I thought it hazardous to approach the larger cones, near which the ground was less hard than elsewhere, and which might swallow me up; growing bolder, however, after various attempts I ventured to approach the centre of the plain: I put my hand into the moist clay of the craters, and into the hollows full of water which was then bubbling; but, instead of the sensation of heat, I felt a degree of cold. I plunged into them my thermometer, which at that time, in the open air, stood at $23\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, when it sunk three degrees. I thrust my naked arm into the clay of one of the craters as far as I could, and found it colder than at the surface. No smell of sulphur, no smoke were perceptible; and, in a word, by no other means could I discover, in the state of the mountain at that time, any vestige of fire. This fact being sufficiently confirmed, we must endeavour to ascertain whether, in the great eruptions, the igneous element is the chief agent, or in any degree accessory. Of this I soon began to doubt: I traversed every part of the plain and of the mountain, especially its external surface, and found nothing on which fire had ever acted: on the contrary, I met with substances which proved uncontestedly that this destroying agent

had never existed here. I saw, in the ejected matter of the last eruptions, diluted clay, containing calcareous spar which had suffered no change, calcareous stones absolutely untouched, with regular crystals of spar, fragments of foliaceous selenite, or lapis specularis. These substances, to wit, the spar and and crystallised gypsums, are altered by the least touch of fire, and the clay hardens and becomes red. Now, as this clay and those stones bore no marks of fire, it follows, that they had never been exposed to its action; it has never therefore existed here, and this singular phenomenon cannot be attributed to it. When my observations had convinced me that this mountain was not a common volcano, I easily found the cause of all the appearances. I collected in a bottle a quantity of the air, disengaged from the diluted clay as well as from the water, and introduced into it a lighted taper, which was instantly extinguished. This air, when mixed with that of the atmosphere, was neither attended with inflammation nor explosion. I had no convenience for making other experiments, but this was sufficient to shew, that the air was fixed air, and the only agent in the phenomena I have described: and it occurred to me, that the following explanation was sufficient to solve the problem that had at first embarrassed me.

The soil of the whole country is calcareous, as I have already said; it is overspread with mountains of a grey and ductile argilla, which contain pretty frequently a nucleus of gypsum. There happens accidentally to be placed in the midst of that called Macalubi, a spring of salt water, such as are frequent in the countries where mines of sal-gem abound. This water keeps the argilla continually in a moist state, and oozing out of the mountain, runs down one of its sides. The vitriolic acid of the argilla unites with the basis of the sea salt, and thus disengages the muriatic acid, which then seizes the calcareous matter of the soil. Its com-

bination with this new basis produces a considerable extrication of fixed air, which transudes through the whole mass of superincumbent clay, and appears at the surface. The vitriolic acid of the clay may likewise combine at once with the calcareous matter, and thus continually form gypsum. The air in its passage through the clay gives it a sort of kneading, which augments its ductility and tenacity. During the rains of Winter, the clay is more diluted, the air is more easily disengaged, and the ebullitions are more frequent. In Summer, the clay on the surface dries, and forms a crust more or less thick. The air at this time makes an effort to escape, and issues at the place which offers the least resistance. It deposits by degrees the portion of earth which it forces along, and forms the smaller cones, through which it secures an exit. But when the Summers have been long, warm, and dry, the clay becomes more and more compact and viscid; it is only imperfectly diluted by the spring below, which is then less copious; it resists the elasticity of the air, to which it is no longer permeable, and this air being continually disengaged in the lower parts, which are always moist, makes ineffectual efforts to escape; and when at last it is accumulated and compressed to a certain degree, it produces those earthquakes, subterraneous noises and eruptions I have before described; and its force is proportioned to the resistance it meets with. This fixed air is therefore the only agent in all the phenomena of this mountain.

The smoke which accompanies the eruptions is a circumstance that does not contradict the explanation I have here given. Smoke in general is nothing but water in a state of vapour: clouds and mists resemble it, and it is not extraordinary that the air, when it is dilated, and produces the explosions I attribute to it, should reduce into vapour the water of the spring that is under the mountain.

The

The appearance of flame, mentioned by the author of the foregoing relation, may likewise be produced by the opposition of the jets of mud and clay with the rising sun, which, if it was seen through them, would appear red. The observer, as he told me, was standing with his face to the sun.

It is also possible that the bituminous matter which exists under the mountain, as may be inferred from the petroleum that swims on the surface of the water in the cavities, produces inflammable air during the time of the internal fermentation. This air may take fire either of itself or by the collision of the different substances when it mixes with the atmospheric air. Its inflammation in the cavities of the mountain is impossible, because, to produce this effect, there is a necessity for its meeting with pure air; this cannot be formed by the combination of the acid with the calcareous matter which produces the fixed air, as in the ordinary state of the mountain this bursts forth at the surface.

There are in the neighbourhood, distant about half a mile, several other little eminences where the same effects are observed; but these are inconsiderable, they are not subject to violent eruptions, and they have received the diminutive appellation of *Macalubette*.

The sterility of the mountain Macalubi, and of those where the same phenomena are observable, is entirely owing to the sea-salt of the spring, which keeps the clay wet, and checks the least tendency to vegetation.

The existence of this singular volcano is owing to the combination of many different circumstances. For the extrication of the fixed air which issues

from the interior parts of the earth is a very common phenomenon; it is this which produces the bubbling we observe in the waters of many lakes and springs both warm and cold; these waters never having heat enough in themselves to make them boil. They are frequent in Sicily, where the spouting waters of the *Lacus Pallicorum* are the most remarkable. The neighbourhood of volcanoes is productive of many: such as the lake of Paterno on the side of *Ætna*, that of Agnano near Naples, that of the Solfatara near Rome, the fountain of Spina in the Duchy of Modena, and many others. We have them likewise in France: one other circumstance, in the place called Boudon near Montpellier, would have made it another Macalubi. The presence of a little hillock of clay on the place where there is here a perpetual disengagement of fixed air, would have produced the same phenomena that I have described in Sicily.

Different authors, both ancient and modern, have mentioned this mountain, but under different names, and none of them have attempted to account for its appearances.

The explanation which I have given of the eruptions of Macalubi appears to me deducible from the phenomena: I am not, however, bigotted to my opinion; on the contrary, if any other method can be devised of accounting for the appearances I have described, I shall thank the author of it, and receive with gratitude the light which he shall throw on the subject. It is sufficient for me to have made known a natural curiosity worthy of engaging the attention of philosophers.

est, were totally unprovided for: he exhibited, at a very early period of life, the seeds of a strong imagination, brilliant talents, and a general thirst of knowledge: drawing and painting were his earliest occupations; and these he pursued with such unabated perseverance and industry, that, while yet a boy, he contributed very essentially to the support of his widowed mother and her little family, by designing and painting fans for the late Goupee of the Strand.

Some time after, he placed one of his sisters under the care of this person as his shop-woman, and for many years continued to pursue the same mode of maintaining the rest of his family.

Notwithstanding the extreme pressure of such a charge, and notwithstanding the many inducements which constantly attract a young man of lively genius and extensive talents, he employed the greatest part of his time in those studies which tended to the perfecting himself in the art he loved. He attained a very accurate knowledge of anatomy; he became a correct draftsman, and rendered himself a master of geometry and all the branches of the mathematics, so necessary to form the mind of a good painter: and it is no less extraordinary than true, that necessity and application were his only instructors; he has often confessed, that he was first led into the obligation of studying the Latin language, by the desire of understanding what was written under prints published after pictures of the ancient masters.

As his years increased, so his information accompanied their progress; he acquired a great proficiency in the Greek language, and his unparalleled strength of mind carried him into the familiar association with most of the sciences, and chiefly that of architecture.

His stature was of the middle size, but athletic; of robust constitution, and a natural courage invincible by terror; and a bold perseverance, un-

shaken by the most poignant difficulties.

The following fact may serve as a proof of his fortitude:

A wen had grown to an inconvenient size upon the front of his forehead; one day, being in conversation with a surgeon, whose name I much regret the having forgotten, he asked how it could be removed? The surgeon acquainted him with the length of the process; to which Mr Stuart objected, on account of its interruption of his pursuits, and asked if he could not cut it out, and then it would be only necessary to heal the part? The surgeon replied in the affirmative, but mentioned the very excruciating pain and danger of such an operation; upon which Mr Stuart, after a minute's reflection, threw himself back in his chair and said, "I'll sit still, do it now."—The operation was performed with success.

With such qualifications, though yet almost in penury, he conceived the design of seeing Rome and Athens; but the ties of filial and fraternal affection made him protract the journey till he could ensure a certain provision for his mother, and his brother and second sister.

His mother died: he had soon after the good fortune to place his brother and sister in a situation likely to produce them a comfortable support; and then, with a very scanty pittance in his pocket, he set out on foot upon his expedition to Rome; and thus he performed the greatest part of his journey; travelling through Holland, France, &c. and stopping through necessity at Paris, and several other places in his way, where, by his ingenuity as an artist, he procured some moderate supplies towards prosecuting the rest of his journey.

When he arrived at Rome, he made himself known to the late Mr Dawkins and Sir Jacob Bouverie, whose admiration of his great qualities and wonderful perseverance secured to him their patronage; and it was un-

der their auspices that he went on to Athens, where he remained several years.—During his residence here, he became a master of architecture and fortification, and having no limits to which his mind could be restricted, he engaged in the army of the Queen of Hungary, where he served a campaign voluntarily as chief engineer.

On his return to Athens, he applied himself more closely to make drawings; and take the exact measurements of the Athenian architecture, which he afterwards published on his return to England after fourteen years absence; and which work, from its classical accuracy, will ever remain as an honour to this nation, and as a lasting monument of his skill.—This work, and the long walk the author took in order to cull materials to compose it, have united themselves as the two most honourable lines of descent from whence he derived the title of *ATHENIAN STUART*, accorded to him by all the learned in this country.

Upon his arrival in England he was received into the late Mr Dawkins's family, and among the many patrons which the report of his extraordinary qualifications acquired him, the late Lord Anson led him forward to the reward most judiciously calculated to suit his talents and pursuits; it was by his Lordship's appointment that Mr Stuart became Surveyor to Greenwich Hospital, which he held till the day of his death with universal approbation.

He constantly received the notice and esteem of Lord Rockingham, and most of the nobility and gentry of taste and power.

Besides his appointment at Greenwich Hospital, all the additions, and rebuilding of that part which was destroyed by the fire there, were conducted under his direction; he built several other houses in London—Mr Anson's in St James's square, Mrs Montague's in Portmansquare, &c.

Whatever new project he engaged in, he pursued with such avidity, that

he seldom quitted it while there was any thing further to be learnt or understood from it: thus he rendered himself skilful in the art of engraving; likewise of carving; and his enthusiastic love for antique elegance, made him also an adept in all the remote researches of an antiquarian. But in the midst of my display of his talents, let me not omit to offer a just tribute to his memory as a man. Those who knew him intimately, and had opportunities of remarking the nobleness of his soul, will join in claiming for him the title of Citizen of the World; and if he could be charged with possessing any partiality, it was to merit, in whomsoever he found it.

Raised by his own abilities and integrity from the utmost abyss of penury to the most pleasing condition of respectable affluence, without servility, without chicane, without any stratagem, but by the bold efforts of unconquerable perseverance, prudence, and an independent mind! reader, can we refrain from his praise!

But with such a mind so occupied, and such an expedition in the younger part of his life, it is no impeachment to his feelings if they escaped so long the influence of the *belle passion*. We have now conducted him to his seventy-second year; a time when most men have fallen so long into their own ways, as to dread the thought of female interruption, and content themselves with rallying the smiles of the world upon their sullen celibacy. Mr Stuart, on the contrary, now found himself the master of a very comfortable income, which he longed to divide with a companion, to whom his long series of events would be amusing, and whose smiles would add comfort to his latter days, of which he always reflected, but did not feel the approach.

About the year 1781, being on a visit at Sittingbourne, in Kent, he became acquainted with a young lady there about twenty years of age, whose personal qualifications were the uni-

versal admiration of every one who had ever felt the happiness of seeing her. The old Athenian having always studied the fine arts, was a sensible judge and discriminator of the just line of beauty.—Though the experience of years had increased his knowledge, yet it had not impaired the vigor of his robust constitution.—Disparity of age was no obstacle with the lady; and Mr Stuart, at the age of seventy-two, felt and returned all the happiness of an accepted lover. The

parties were soon after married, and the lady and her father and mother accompanied Mr Stuart to his house in Leicester-fields, where the parents found a welcome beyond their utmost hopes. The fruits of this marriage are four children. Mr Stuart did possess of a considerable fortune, amassed, as we have seen by upright assiduity alone, and has left an example to his family and the world to be for ever revered.

*Account of the Institution of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.**

THE institution of Societies of learned men, who have united their labours for the cultivation of Philosophy, or of Literature, is of an ancient date in several polished nations of Europe. It is, however, for the honour of Great Britain to have set the first example of an institution for these purposes, incorporated by charter from the Sovereign, and carrying on its researches under his patronage. A hint of this kind, to the Prince then reigning, is found in the works of Lord Bacon, who recommends, as one of the *opera verè basilica*, the establishment of Academies or Societies of learned men, who should give, from time to time, a regular account to the world of their researches and discoveries. It was the idea of this great philosopher, that the learned world should be united, as it were, in one immense republic, which, though consisting of many detached states, should hold a strict union, and preserve a mutual intelligence with each other, in every thing that regarded the common interest. The want of this union and intelligence he laments as one of the chief obstacles to the advancement of science; and, justly considering the institution of public societies, in the different countries of Europe, under

the auspices of the Sovereign, to be the best remedy for that defect, he has given, in his fanciful work of the *New Atlantis*, the delineation of a Philosophical Society, on the most extended plan, for the improvement of all arts and sciences; a work which, though written in the language, and tinged with the colouring of romance, is full of the noblest philosophic views. The plan of Lord Bacon, which met with little attention from the age in which he lived, was destined to produce its effect in a period not very distant. The scheme of a *Philosophical College*, by Cowley, is acknowledged to have had a powerful influence in procuring the establishment of the Royal Society of London, by charter from Charles II.; and Cowley's plan is manifestly copied, in almost all its parts, from that in the *New Atlantis*. The institution of the Royal Society of London was soon followed by the establishment of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris; and these two have served as models to the Philosophical Academies of highest reputation in the other kingdoms of Europe.

In Scotland, similar associations for the advancement of science and of literature have, even without the benefit of Royal patronage, and with no other

* Preface to the *Transactions of the Society*, Vol. I.

other support than the abilities of their members, attained to no common degree of reputation.

In Edinburgh, a Society was instituted in 1751, for the improvement of medical knowledge, by collecting and publishing Essays and Observations on the various branches of Medicine and Surgery, written by the members themselves, or communicated to them. The Secretary of this Society was the eldest Dr Alexander Monro, the first professor of Anatomy in the University of Edinburgh, and the founder of the medical school which has since attained to such eminence and celebrity. Under his care, the Transactions of this Society were published at different periods, in five volumes 8vo, with the title of *Medical Essays and Observations*, &c.; a work which has undergone many editions, which has been translated into many foreign languages, and is honoured with the encomium of Haller, as one of the most useful books in the sciences of Medicine, Anatomy and Surgery.

Soon after the publication of the above-mentioned volumes of Medical Essays, viz. in 1739, the celebrated Mr Maclaurin, professor of Mathematics in the University of Edinburgh, conceived the idea of enlarging the plan of this Society, by extending it to subjects of Philosophy and Literature. The institution was accordingly new-modelled by a printed set of laws and regulations, the number of members was increased, and they were distinguished, from that time, by the title of *The Society for improving Arts and Sciences*, or, more generally, by the title of *The Philosophical Society of Edinburgh*. They chose for their President James Earl of Morton; afterwards President of the Royal Society of London: Sir John Clerk of Pennycuik, one of the Barons of Exchequer, and Dr John Clerk, were elected Vice-presidents; and Mr Maclaurin and Dr Plummer Secretaries of the institution. The ordinary members were

some of the most distinguished men of letters in Scotland at that time.

A few years after the Society had received its new form, its meetings were interrupted, for a considerable space of time, by the disorders of the country during the rebellion in 1745; and no sooner was the public tranquillity re-established, than it suffered a severe loss by the death of Mr Maclaurin, whose comprehensive genius, and ardour in the pursuits of science, peculiarly qualified him for conducting the business of an institution of this nature. The meetings of the Society, however, were renewed about the year 1752; and the new Secretaries, who were the celebrated Mr David Hume and Dr Alexander Monro, junior, were directed to arrange and prepare for the press such papers as were judged worthy of being submitted to the public eye. The first volume of the Transactions of the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh was accordingly published in 1754, under the title of *Essays and Observations, Physical and Literary*; the second volume was published in 1756, and the third in 1771.

It has been always observed, that institutions of this kind have their intervals of languor, as well as their periods of brilliancy and activity. Every associated body must receive its vigour from a few zealous and spirited individuals, who find a pleasure in that species of business, which, were it left to the care of the members in general, would be often reluctantly submitted to, and always negligently executed. The temporary avocations, and, still more, the deaths of such men, have the most sensible effect on the societies to which they belonged. The principle of activity which animated them, if not utterly extinguished, remains long dormant, and a kindred genius is required to call it forth into life.

From causes of this kind, the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh, tho' its meetings were not altogether discontinued,

continued, appears to have languished for some time, till about the year 1777, when its meetings became more frequent, and, from the uncommon zeal and distinguished abilities of the late Henry Home, Lord Kaim, at that time elected President of the institution, its business was conducted with renewed ardour and success.

About the end of the year 1782, in a meeting of the Professors of the University of Edinburgh, many of whom were likewise members of the Philosophical Society, and warmly attached to its interests, a scheme was proposed by the Reverend Dr Robertson, Principal of the University, for the establishment of a New Society on a more extended plan, and after the model of some of the foreign Academies, which have for their object the cultivation of every branch of science, erudition, and taste. It appeared an expedient measure to solicit the Royal Patronage to an institution of this nature, which promised to be of national importance, and to request an establishment by charter from the Crown. The plan was approved and adopted; and the Philosophical Society, joining its influence as a body, in seconding the application from the University, his Majesty was most graciously pleased to incorporate the Royal Society of Edinburgh by Charter.

The first general meeting of the Royal Society of Edinburgh was held, in terms of that Charter, on Monday the 23d day of June 1783, and the Right Hon. Thomas Miller of Barskimming, Lord Justice-Clerk, was chosen President of the meeting.

It was then unanimously resolved, That all the members of the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh should be assumed as members of the Royal Society: And it was likewise resolved, That the Lords of Council and Session, the Barons of Exchequer for Scotland, and a select number of other gentlemen, should be invited to a participation of the Society's labours.

At the second general meeting, the Secretary gave in a list of those noblemen and gentlemen who had accepted of the invitation to become members. He also informed the meeting, that he had been directed by the Vice-president and members of the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh, to deliver their minute-book, and all such dissertations and papers as were in their Secretary's hands, to the Royal Society. The minute-book and papers were accordingly received, and given in charge to the General Secretary.

The compilation of the printed transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, is to be made in the following manner: The papers read at the monthly meetings, and deposited in the hands of the Secretaries of the two classes, are subjected to the review of the *Committee for Publication*, which consists of the President, Vice-Presidents and Council, the General Secretary and Treasurer of the Society; together with the Presidents and Secretaries of the two classes. This Committee makes a selection of papers, and determines the order in which they are to be published. It is not, however, to be understood, that those papers which do not appear in the Transactions of the Society are thought unfit for the public eye. Several papers have been communicated with the sole view of furnishing an occasional entertainment to the members; and that end being answered, have been withdrawn by their authors: Essays, observations, and cases, are often read at the meetings of the Society, in order to obtain the opinions of the members on interesting or intricate subjects: Some papers intended for a future publication have been withdrawn for the present by their authors, in order to profit by what has occurred in the conversations which the reading of the papers has suggested; and others, of acknowledged merit, the Committee has found it necessary to reserve for a subsequent volume.

lume. Nor is the publication of any paper to be considered as expressing any concurrence in opinion with the author. It only intimates, that the Committee judges the paper to be

worthy of public notice, on account of the useful information it contains, the hints which it may suggest, or the ingenuity which it displays.

Abstract of a Dissertation read in the Royal Society of Edinburgh, upon the 7th of March and 4th of April 1785, concerning the System of the Earth, its Duration, and Stability. By James Hutton, M. D. F. R. S.

IN this Dissertation, the system of the terraqueous globe is first considered as presenting to us a machine of a peculiar construction, wisely adapted to a certain end. But not only is the globe of this earth a moving machine, it is also a habitable world; and this may be examined, in order to perceive how far the means employed have been wisely calculated to fulfil the purpose for which it was designed.

To acquire a general or comprehensive view of this mechanism of the globe, by which it is adapted to the purpose of being a habitable world, it is necessary to distinguish three different bodies which compose the whole. These are, a solid body of earth, an aqueous body of sea, and an elastic fluid of air.

It is the proper shape and disposition of these three bodies that forms this globe into a habitable world; and it is the manner in which these constituent bodies are adjusted to each other, and the laws of action by which they are maintained in their proper qualities and respective departments, that form the theory of the machine now examined.

Besides this mechanism of the globe, there are powers employed, by which motion is produced, and activity procured to the mere machine.

Gravitation and *vis insita* preserve this body in its orbit round the sun. Light and heat, cold and condensation, are the powers by which the various operations of the habitable earth, or living world, are more immediately

transacted. Thus it is by the operation of those powers that the varieties of season in Spring and Autumn are obtained, that we are blessed with the vicissitudes of Summer's heat and Winter's cold, and that we possess the benefit of artificial light and culinary fire. But there are other actuating powers employed in the operations of this globe, which we are little more than able to enumerate; such are those of electricity and magnetism, of which the actual existence is well known, although the proper use of them in the constitution of the world is still obscure.

We have thus surveyed the machine in general, with those moving powers by which its operations, diversified almost *ad infinitum*, are performed. Let us now confine our view more particularly to that part of the machine on which we dwell, that so we may consider the natural consequences of those operations, which being within our view, we are better qualified to examine.

A solid body of land could not have answered the purpose of a habitable world; for a soil is necessary to the growth of plants, and a soil is nothing but the materials collected from the destruction of the solid land. Therefore the surface of this earth, inhabited by man, and covered with plants and animals, is made by nature to decay, in dissolving from that hard and compact state in which it is found below the soil; and this soil is necessarily washed away, by the continual circulation of the water running from the summits

summits of the mountains towards the general receptacle of that fluid.

The heights of our land are thus levelled with the shores; our fertile plains are formed from the ruins of the mountains; and those travelling materials are still pursued by the moving water, and propelled along the inclined surface of the earth. These moveable materials, delivered into the sea, cannot, for a long continuance, rest upon the shore; for, by the agitation of the winds, the tides and currents, every moveable thing is carried farther and farther along the shelving bottom of the sea, towards the unfathomable regions of the ocean.

If the vegetable soil is thus constantly removed from the surface of the land, and if its place is thus to be supplied from the dissolution of the solid earth, as here represented, we may perceive an end to this beautiful machine; an end, arising from no error in its constitution as a world, but from that destructibility of its land which is so necessary in the system of the globe, in the economy of life and vegetation.

We have now considered the globe of this earth as a machine, constructed upon chymical as well as mechanical principles, by which its different parts are all adapted, in form, in quality, and in quantity, to a certain end; an end attained with certainty or success; and an end from which we may perceive wisdom, in contemplating the means employed.

But is this world to be considered thus merely as a machine, to last no longer than its parts retain their present position, their proper forms and qualities? or may it not be also considered as an organized body? such as has a constitution, in which the necessary decay of the machine is naturally repaired, in the exertion of those productive powers by which it had been formed?

This is the view in which we are now to examine the globe; to see if

there be, in the constitution of this world, a reproductive operation, by which a ruined constitution may be again repaired, and a durable, or stability thus procured to the machine, considered as a world sustaining plants and animals.

If no such reproductive power, or reforming operation, after due inquiry, is to be found in the constitution of this world, we should have reason to conclude, that the system of this earth has either been intentionally made imperfect, or has not been the work of infinite power and wisdom.

In what follows, therefore, we are to examine the construction of the present earth, in order to understand the natural operations of time past; to acquire principles by which we may conclude with regard to the future course of things, or judge of those operations by which a world, so wisely ordered, goes into decay; and to learn by what means such a decayed world may be renovated, or the waste of habitable land upon the globe repaired.

As it is not in human record, but in natural history, that we are to look for the means of ascertaining what has already been, it is here proposed to examine the appearances of the earth, in order to be informed of operations which have been transacted in time past. It is thus that, from principles of natural philosophy, we may arrive at some knowledge of order and system in the economy of this globe, and may form a rational opinion with regard to the course of nature, or to events which are in time to happen.

The solid parts of the present land appear, in general, to have been composed of the productions of the sea, and of other materials similar to those now found upon the shores. Hence we find reason to conclude,

1st, That the land on which we rest is not simple and original, but that it is a composition, and had been formed by the operation of second causes.

2dly, That, before the present land was made, there had subsisted a world composed of sea and land, in which were tides and currents, with such operations at the bottom of the sea as now take place. And,

Lastly, That, while the present land was forming at the bottom of the ocean, the former land maintained plants and animals; at least, the sea was inhabited by animals, in a similar manner as it is at present.

Hence we are led to conclude, that the greater part of our land, if not the whole, had been produced by operations natural to this globe; but that, in order to make this land a permanent body, resisting the operations of the waters, two things had been required; 1st, The consolidation of masses formed by collections of loose or incoherent materials; 2dly, The elevation of those consolidated masses from the bottom of the sea, the place where they were collected, to the stations in which they now remain above the level of the ocean.

Here are two different changes, which may serve mutually to throw some light upon each other; for, as the same subject has been made to undergo both these changes, and as it is from the examination of this subject that we are to learn the nature of those events, the knowledge of the one may lead us to some understanding of the other.

Thus the subject is considered as naturally divided into two branches, to be separately examined: *First*, by what natural operation strata of loose materials had been formed into solid masses; *secondly*, By what power of nature the consolidated strata at the bottom of the sea had been transformed into land.

With regard to the *first* of these, the consolidation of strata, there are two ways in which this operation may be conceived to have been performed; first, by means of the solution of bodies in water, and the after concretion of these dissolved substances, when se-

parated from their solvent; *secondly*, the fusion of bodies by means of heat, and the subsequent congelation of those consolidating substances.

With regard to the operation of water, it is *first* considered, how far the power of this solvent, acting in the natural situation of those strata, might be sufficient to produce the effect; and here it is found, that water alone, without any other agent, cannot be supposed capable of inducing solidity among the materials of strata in that situation. It is, 2dly, considered, how far, supposing water capable of consolidating the strata in that situation, it might be concluded, from examining natural appearances, that this had been actually the case? Here again, having proceeded upon this principle, that water could only consolidate strata with such substances as it has the power to dissolve, and having found strata consolidated with every species of substance, it is concluded, that strata in general have not been consolidated by means of aqueous solution.

With regard to the other probable means, heat and fusion, these are found to be perfectly competent for producing the end in view, as every kind of substance may by heat be rendered soft, or brought into fusion, and as strata are actually found consolidated with every different species of substance.

A more particular discussion is then entered into: Here, consolidating substances are considered as being classed under two different heads, viz. siliceous and sulphureous bodies, with a view to prove, that it could not be by means of aqueous solution that strata had been consolidated with those particular substances, but that their consolidation had been accomplished by means of heat and fusion.

Sal Gem, as a substance soluble in water, is next considered, in order to show that this body had been last in a melted state; and this example is confirmed by one of fossil alkali. The case of particular septaria of iron-stone,

as well as certain crystallized cavities in mineral bodies, are then given as examples of a similar fact; and as containing in themselves a demonstration, that all the various mineral substances had been concreted and crystallized immediately from a state of fusion.

Having thus proved the actual fusion of the substances with which strata had been consolidated, in having such fluid bodies introduced among their interstices, the case of strata, consolidated by means of the simple fusion of their proper materials, is next considered; and examples are taken from the most general strata of the globe, viz. siliceous and calcareous. Here also demonstration is given, that this consolidating operation had been performed by means of fusion.

The substance of granite is next considered; that substance which forms those great irregular masses of the earth. Here also it is shown, from a particular example, that this body of granite had also been in the fluid state of fusion.

Having come to this general conclusion, that heat and fusion, not aqueous solution, had preceded the consolidation of the loose materials collected at the bottom of the sea, those consolidated strata, in general, are next examined, in order to discover other appearances, by which the doctrine may be either confirmed or refuted. Here the changes of strata, from their natural state of continuity, by veins and fissures, are considered; and the clearest evidence is hence deduced, that the strata have been consolidated by means of fusion, and not by aqueous solution; for, not only are strata in general found intersected with veins and cutters, an appearance inconsistent with their having been consolidated simply by previous solution; but, in proportion as strata are more or less consolidated, they are found with the proper corresponding appearances of veins and fissures.

With regard to the second branch,

in considering by what power the consolidated strata had been transformed into land, or raised above the level of the sea, it is supposed, that the same power of extreme heat, by which every different mineral substance had been brought into a melted state, might be capable of producing an expansive force, sufficient for elevating the land, from the bottom of the ocean, to the place it now occupies above the surface of the sea. Here we are again referred to nature, in examining how far the strata, formed by successive sediments or accumulations deposited at the bottom of the sea, are to be found in that regular state, which would necessarily take place in their original production; or if, on the other hand, they are actually changed in their natural situation, broken, twisted, and confounded, as might be expected, from the operation of subterranean heat, and violent expansion. But, as strata are actually found in every degree of fracture, flexure, and contortion, consistent with this supposition, and with no other, we are led to conclude, that our land had been raised above the surface of the sea, in order to become a habitable world; as well as that it had been consolidated by means of the same power of subterranean heat, in order to remain above the level of the sea, and to resist the violent efforts of the ocean.

This theory is next confirmed by the examination of mineral veins, those great fissures of the earth, which contain matter perfectly foreign to the strata they traverse; matter evidently derived from the mineral region, that is, from the place where the active power of fire, and the expansive force of heat, reside.

Such being considered as the operations of the mineral region, we are hence directed to look for the manifestation of this power and force in the appearances of nature. It is here we find eruptions of ignited matter from the scattered volcanoes of the globe;

globe; and these we conclude to be the effects of such a power precisely as that about which we now inquire. Volcanoes are thus considered as the proper discharges of a superfluous or redundant power; not as things accidental in the course of nature, but as useful for the safety of mankind, and as forming a natural ingredient in the constitution of the globe.

The doctrine is then confirmed, by examining this earth, and by finding every where, beside the many marks of ancient volcanoes, abundance of subterraneous or unerupted lava, in the basaltic rocks, the Swedish trap, the toadstone, the ragstone, and whinstone of Britain and Ireland, of which particular examples are cited, and a description given of the three different shapes in which that unerupted lava is found.

The peculiar nature of this subterraneous lava is then examined; and a clear distinction is formed between this mineral rock and the common volcanic lavas.

Lastly, The extension of this theory, respecting mineral strata, to all parts of the globe, is made by finding a perfect similarity in the solid land thro' all the earth, although, in particular places, it is attended with peculiar productions, with which the present inquiry is not concerned.

A theory is thus formed, with regard to a mineral system. In this system, hard and solid bodies are to be formed from soft bodies, from loose or incoherent materials, collected together at the bottom of the sea; and the bottom of the ocean is to be made to change its place with relation to the centre of the earth, to be formed into land above the level of the sea, and to become a country fertile and inhabited.

That there is nothing visionary in this theory, appears from its having been rationally deduced from natural events, from things which have already happened; things which have left, in the particular constitutions of bo-

dies, proper traces of the manner of their production; and things which may be examined with all the accuracy, or reasoned upon with all the light, that science can afford. As it is only by employing science in this manner, that philosophy enlightens man with the knowledge of that wisdom or design which is to be found in nature, the system now proposed, from unquestionable principles, will claim the attention of scientific men, and may be admitted in our speculations with regard to the works of nature, notwithstanding many steps in the progress may remain unknown.

By thus proceeding upon investigated principles, we are led to conclude, that, if this part of the earth which we now inhabit had been produced, in the course of time, from the materials of a former earth, we should, in the examination of our land, find data from which to reason, with regard to the nature of that world which had existed during the period of time in which the present earth was forming; and thus we might be brought to understand the nature of that earth which had preceded this; how far it had been similar to the present, in producing plants and nourishing animals. But this interesting point is perfectly ascertained, by finding abundance of every manner of vegetable production, as well as the several species of marine bodies, in the strata of our earth.

Having thus ascertained a regular system, in which the present land of the globe had been first formed at the bottom of the ocean, and then raised above the surface of the sea, a question naturally occurs with regard to time; What had been the space of time necessary for accomplishing this great work?

In order to form a judgment concerning this subject, our attention is directed to another progress in the system of the globe, namely, the destruction of the land which had preceded that on which we dwell. Now,
for

for this purpose, we have the actual decay of the present land, a thing constantly transacting in our view, by which to form an estimate. This decay is the gradual ablation of our soil, by the floods of rain; and the attrition of the shores, by the agitation of the waves.

If we could measure the progress of the present land, towards its dissolution by attrition, and its submersion in the ocean, we might discover the actual duration of a former earth; an earth which had supported plants and animals, and had supplied the ocean with those materials which the construction of the present earth required; consequently, we should have the measure of a corresponding space of time, viz. that which had been required in the production of the present land. If, on the contrary, no period can be fixed for the duration or destruction of the present earth, from our observations of those natural operations, which, though unmeasurable, admit of no doubt, we shall be warranted in drawing the following conclusions: *1st*, That it had required an indefinite space of time to have produced the land which now appears; *2^{dly}*, That an equal space had been employed upon the construction of that former land from whence the materials of the present came; *lastly*, That there is presently laying at the bottom of the ocean the foundation of future land, which is to appear after an indefinite space of time.

But as there is not in human observation proper means for measuring the waste of land upon the globe, it

is hence inferred, that we cannot estimate the duration of what we see at present, nor calculate the period at which it had begun; so that, with respect to human observation, this world has neither a beginning nor an end.

Besides this physiological description, an endeavour is also made to support the theory by an argument of a moral nature, drawn from the consideration of a final cause. Here a comparison is formed between the present theory, and those by which there is necessarily implied either evil or disorder in natural things; and an argument is formed, upon the supposed wisdom of nature, for the justness of a theory in which perfect order is to be perceived. For,

According to the theory, a soil adapted to the growth of plants is necessarily prepared, and carefully preserved; and, in the necessary waste of land which is inhabited, the foundation is laid for future continents, in order to support the system of this living world.

Thus, either in supposing nature wise and good, an argument is formed in confirmation of the theory, or, in supposing the theory to be just, an argument may be established for wisdom and benevolence to be perceived in nature. In this manner, there is opened to our view a subject interesting to man who thinks; a subject on which to reason with relation to the system of nature; and one which may afford the human mind both information and entertainment.

Abstract of an Essay on Instinct, read in the Royal Society of Edinburgh, upon the 5th of December 1785. By Mr W. Smellie.

MANY theories have been invented with a view to explain the instinctive actions of animals, but none of them have received the general approbation of Philosophers. This

want of success may be referred to different causes; to want of attention to the general œconomy and manners of animals; to mistaken notions concerning the dignity of human nature;

and, above all, to the uniform endeavours of philosophers to distinguish instinctive from rational motives. Mr Smellie endeavours to shew that no such distinction exists, and that the reasoning faculty itself is a necessary result of instinct.

He observes, that the proper method of investigating subjects of this kind, is to collect and arrange the facts which have been discovered, and to consider whether they lead to any general conclusions. According to this method, he exhibits examples, *First*, of pure instincts: *Secondly*, of such instincts as can accommodate themselves to particular circumstances and situations: *Thirdly*, of such as are improveable by experience or observation: And, *lastly*, he draws some conclusions.

By pure instincts are meant such as, independently of all instruction or experience, instantaneously produce certain actions, when particular objects are presented to animals, or when they are influenced by peculiar feelings. Such are, in the human species, the instinct of sucking, which is exerted by the infant immediately after birth, the voiding of fæces, the retraction of the muscles upon the application of any painful stimulus. The love of light is exhibited by infants, even so early as the third day after birth. The passion of fear is discoverable in a child at the age of two months.

Among the inferior animals, there are numberless pure instincts. Caterpillars shaken off a tree in every direction, turn immediately to the trunk, and climb up. Young birds open their mouths on hearing any noise, as well as that of their mother's voice. Every species of insect deposits its eggs in the situation most proper for hatching and affording nourishment to its future progeny. Some species of animals look not to future wants; others, as the bee and the beaver, are endowed with an instinct which has the appearance of foresight. They construct magazines,

and fill them with provisions. Bees display various remarkable instincts. They attend and feed the female or queen. When deprived of her all their labours cease till a new one is obtained. They construct cells of three different dimensions; for working bees, for drones, and for females; and the queen, in depositing her eggs, puts each species into its appropriated cells. They destroy all the females but one, lest the hive should be overstocked. The different instincts of the common bee, of the wood-piercing bee, and of that species which builds cylindrical nests, with rose-leaves, are very remarkable.

Equally singular are the instincts of wasps, and ichneumon flies, which, though they feed not themselves upon worms, lay up stores of these animals for the nourishment of their young.

Birds build their nests of the same materials, and in the same form and situation, though they inhabit very different climates. They turn and shift their eggs, that they may be equally heated. Geese and ducks cover up their eggs till they return to the nest. The swallow solicits her young to void their excrement over the nest, and assists them in the operation. The spiders, and many insects of the beetle-kind, when put in terror, counterfeit death. This is not, as has been supposed, a convulsion or stupor, but an artifice; for when the object of terror is removed, they recover immediately.

Of instincts which can accommodate themselves to peculiar circumstances and situations, many instances may be given from the human species; but these being improveable, fall more properly under the third class.

Those animals are most perfect, whose sphere of knowledge extends to the greatest number of objects. When interrupted in their operations, they know how to resume their labours, and to accomplish their purposes by different means. Some animals have no other power but that of contracting or extending

tending their bodies. But the falcon, the dog, and the fox, pursue their prey with intelligence and address.

In Senegal, the ostrich sits upon her eggs only during the night, leaving them in the day to the heat of the sun. At the Cape of Good Hope, where the heat is not so great, she sits upon them day and night. Rabbits, when domesticated, are not inclined to burrow. Bees augment the depth of their cells, and increase their number, as occasion requires. A wasp carrying out a dead companion from the nest, if he finds it too heavy, cuts off the head, and carries out the load in two portions. In countries infested with monkies, birds, which in other countries build in bushes or clefts of trees, suspend their nests at the end of slender twigs. The nymphæ of water-moths, which cover themselves with cases of straw, gravel, or shells, contrive to make their cases nearly in equilibrium with the water: when too heavy, they add a bit of wood or straw; when too light, a bit of gravel. A cat, when shut into a closet, has been known to open the latch with its paws.

The third class of instincts comprehends all those that are improvable by experience and observation.

The superiority of man over the other animals, seems to depend chiefly on the great number of instincts with which he is endowed. Traces of every instinct which he possesses are discoverable in the brute-creation, but no particular species enjoys the whole. On the contrary, most animals are limited to a small number. This appears to be the reason why the instincts of brutes are stronger, and more steady in their operation than those of man, and their actions more uniform.

Most human instincts receive improvement from experience and observation, and are capable of a thousand modifications. One instinct counteracts and modifies another, and often extinguishes the original motive to

action. The instinct of fear is often counteracted by ambition and resentment: The instinct of anger, by fear, by shame, by contempt, by compassion. Of modified, compounded, and extended instincts, there are many examples. Devotion is an extension of the instinct of love, to the first Cause or Author of the Universe. Superstition is the instinct of fear extended to imaginary objects of terror. Hope is the instinct of love directed to future good. Attachment is the instinct of love directed to an improper object. Fear is likewise an ingredient of this attachment. Envy is compounded of love, avarice, ambition, and fear. Sympathy is the instinct of fear transferred into another person, and reflected back upon ourselves. In this manner all the modified, compounded, or extended passions of the human mind, may be traced back to their original instincts.

The instincts of brutes are likewise improved by observation and experience. Of such improvement, the dog, the elephant, the horse, the camel, afford numerous and strong instances.

From these and other examples, given of the different classes of instinct, Mr Smellie argues, that instinct is an original quality of mind, which, in man, as well as in other animals, may be improved, modified, and extended, by experience.

Sensation implies a sentient principle or mind. Whatever feels, therefore, is mind. Of course, the lowest species of animals is endowed with mind. But the minds of animals have very different powers; and these powers are expressed by peculiar actions. The structure of their bodies is uniformly adapted to the powers of their minds; and no mature animal attempts actions which nature has not enabled it to perform: The instincts, however, of animals, appear often previously to the expansion of those instruments which nature intended they should employ. This view of instinct

is simple: It removes every objection to the existence of mind in brutes, and unfolds all their actions by referring them to motives perfectly similar to those by which man is actuated. There is perhaps a greater difference between the mental powers of some animals, than between those of man and the most sagacious brutes. Instincts may be considered as so many internal senses, of which some animals have a greater, and others a smaller number. These senses, in different species, are likewise more or less ductile; and the animals possessing them are, of course, more or less susceptible of improving, and of acquiring knowledge.

The notion that animals are machines, is therefore too absurd to merit refutation. Though not endowed with mental powers equal to those of man, they possess, in some degree, every faculty of the human mind. Sensation, memory, imagination, the principle of imitation, curiosity, cunning, ingenuity, devotion, or respect for superiors, gratitude, are all discoverable in the brute-creation. Every species too has a language, either of sounds or gestures, sufficient for

the individuals to communicate their wants to each other; and some animals understand in part the language of man. The language of infants is nearly on a par with that of brutes. Brutes, without some portion of reason, could never make a proper use of their senses. But many animals are capable of balancing motives, which is a pretty high degree of reason. Young animals examine all objects they meet with, and in this investigation they employ all their organs. The first periods of their life are dedicated to study. When they run about and make frolicsome gambols, it is nature sporting with them for their instruction. Thus they gradually improve their faculties, and acquire an intimate knowledge of the objects that surround them. Men who, from peculiar circumstances, have been prevented from mingling with companions, and engaging in the different amusements and exercises of youth, are always awkward in their movements, cannot use their organs with ease or dexterity, and often continue, during life, ignorant of the most common objects.

*Description of the Grotto of the Fairies at St Bauzile, near the town of
Ganges, in the Cevennes. By M. Marfollier*.*

NATURE presents so many beautiful objects to our view, that we never consider those she conceals from us as worthy of our attention. Avarice, indeed, with unceasing eagerness ransacks the bowels of the earth; and the Naturalist, with unwearied industry, explores the hidden recesses of the globe. Fossile shells, petrified wood, and volcanoes, are sources from which we draw new additions to our knowledge; and it is by the continued exertions of these labours and useful researches, that man has attained that degree of wisdom

which teaches him how little he knows.

Of those objects that most deserve the attention of the curious observer, mountains seem to be the chief; those vast reservoirs that attract and imbibe the waters of the clouds, that purify and transmit them through a thousand subterraneous channels; those bare and barren rocks, the deformity of which seems to announce the decrepitude of nature, afford ample scope for observation. Who would believe that these interesting objects sometimes conceal others still more interesting?

that many of these enormous masses, which seem to overburden the globe, are only vaults that protect the most beautiful fabrics, in the construction of which Nature seems to have excelled even herself? There, in silence, she is at work. Uncontroled by man, she makes light of the greatest difficulties; and even, though under the influence of second causes, art is astonished at her fortuitous, and yet regular combinations; at the boldness and majesty that appear even in her most careless performances; but, above all, at the simplicity of the means she employs. The vulgar are in raptures, and think they understand her operations; the philosopher admires, but laments his own ignorance.

Those subterraneous caverns, called Grottoes, have been often described, but the difficulty of approaching them has generally damped the curiosity of travellers, who have been content with viewing those of easiest access. Yet it is to be remarked, that those which are most worthy of being seen, are precisely those which are with most difficulty and danger approached; as if Nature meant to defend her treasures, and to protect them from the idle visits of the multitude.

Some years ago, Mons. Lonjon, of the town of Ganges, an enthusiastic admirer of the curiosities of nature, after having scrutinised all the grottoes in his neighbourhood, was tempted to examine that of the Fairies, (*baume de las doumaïsselles*, in the language of the country.) This grotto is situated three quarters of a league from Ganges, near St Bauzile, in a wood at the top of a very steep mountain called *Roc de Taurach*, where it is much celebrated. It is said, that, in the time of the religious wars, a devoted family sheltered themselves in this place from persecution and death; that they continued here for many years, living on herbs, roots, and such animals as came within their reach; that they were sometimes seen, towards evening, pale,

emaciated, and naked, the terror of the neighbouring shepherds. As the people are prone to the marvellous, they were considered as forcerers or fairies, and it was thought impious to doubt that they were supernatural beings. Afterwards, when misery had extinguished their race, the belief of their existence continued, and no body ventured near the spot they had inhabited. The bones that are still found, shew that they must have lived here for a long time; and some utensils, formed in a very rude manner, give some idea of their arts and their genius.

M. Lonjon, excited by the accounts of the inhabitants, and even by their fears, could not resist the desire of visiting this grotto; but finding insurmountable difficulties to his first attempt, he abandoned it, with the resolution of returning provided with every thing necessary for ensuring success.

Several years afterwards, I accidentally met M. Lonjon at Montpellier. A correspondence of pursuits made the discourse turn upon grottoes, many of which I had seen. The Grotto of the Fairies was mentioned, and the description of it, which seemed to me a romance, instantly determined me to visit it. M. Lonjon talked to me of the dangers; I replied, by fixing the day. We hastily provided ourselves with some necessary implements, which we thought would be more than sufficient.

M. Brunet, a young gentleman of Montpellier, who applies his mind to the sciences at an age when others think of nothing but pleasure, consented to accompany me, along with a domestic and two peasants. We had a ladder of ropes 50 feet long, with cords, torches, and some provisions, and with these, and a sufficient portion of curiosity, we set out on our subterranean expedition on Wednesday the 7th of June 1780.

At first we had nothing but fatigue. We were forced to clamber up the mountain

mountain for three quarters of an hour; we had to contend with the heat of the sun reverberated from the rocks, with roads never traversed but by goats, with loose stones, with the weight of our hammers, torches, ropes, and provisions, and, what was worst, with thirst, as we had neglected to bring water, expecting to meet with it at the grotto: but we supplied the want with some cherries.

About the middle of the mountain we stopped at the *Mas de la Geste*; (*mas* means a small house): here we increased our caravan by the addition of a man and of a ladder. On the top of the mountain we found a little wood of green oaks, which affords a grateful shade, and defends the opening of the cavern.

This is in the shape of a funnel, twenty feet in diameter at the mouth, and thirty feet deep. This opening is most delightfully overshadowed with trees, plants, and wild vines with their grapes, as if these meant to make the curious adventurer regret the beauties of nature which he is about to leave for dark and gloomy recesses. The aspect of this cavern must necessarily be very frightful, for M. Brunet's dog, an animal exceedingly attached to his master, preferred waiting for eight hours at the mouth of the grotto, making hideous yellings, and the most moving and pitiable cries, till M. Brunet returned.

We descended by a rope, tied round a rock, to the place where a wooden ladder had been firmly fixed. When we had overcome this difficulty, we found ourselves at the entrance of the first cavern, which inclines a little, and is covered with capillary plants: on the right is another cave, that does not reach far.

In front are four magnificent columns, like palm-trees, ranged in a line, and forming a gallery of stalactite thirty feet high. They do not reach the roof, which is smooth, and they are larger at the top than at the

bottom; this is not in general the shape of such stalactites as rest on the ground.

In this first cavern, which is divided into two by these columns, we kindled a fire, took breakfast, and renounced for a long time the light of day.

There is a passage from this into the second cavern, but it is so narrow that you must go sideways before you can get in. Here we again made use of our wooden ladder to descend twenty feet farther.

This second cavern is immense: here, you see, as it were, a curtain studded with diamonds, the height of which you cannot measure, touching the ground, and gracefully folded, as if its drapery had been adjusted by the most skilful artist: there, are petrified cascades, white like froth; others yellow, which seem about to fall upon you in accumulated waves; the first look terrifies, the second stupifies and astonishes you, but all is silence and rest. It looks as if some superior power had arrested the whole with a touch of his magic wand, as in those imaginary palaces through which, during the times of the fairies, the astonished traveller, lost in admiration, walked along without meeting a single animated being. Many columns, some truncated, others in the shape of an obelisk; the roof loaded with festoons or horrid with sharp points; some transparent like glass, others white as alabaster; crystals, diamonds, porcelain, forming a rich and fanciful assemblage, all contribute to recall to mind the fictions that delighted our infancy.

Proceeding to the left, we passed a third cavern, pretty large and very long: its form is that of a winding gallery, along which we walked a considerable way. At last we entered under an arch so low, that we had to stoop much; it was called the Oven, on account of its low and round shape: it has two exits; the congelations here are white and granulated like small

shot. It is impossible to conceive the fanciful appearance which Nature assumes in this oven. On the right we left a second oven, and entered a cavern where nothing was to be seen but rocks, overturned, broken, heaped or suspended, indicating violent convulsions in the bowels of the earth: every thing wore a dreadful aspect, and we hurried through, lest one of these enormous masses which seemed ready to fall should crush us in pieces. A little afterwards we found ourselves standing on them, having a view of others that produced similar effects. It was a vast amphitheatre, where we grew familiar with fear; and where optics, and the rules of geometry, were perpetually set at nought.

These first caverns were known to the country people, but, as they were not the principal object of our investigation, we came at last to a place at which M. Lonjon had formerly sprung a mine.

The passage is narrow, and cannot be entered but by creeping. This hole leads to a space large enough to hold only about a dozen of people.

Behind three small columns we discovered a reservoir filled with muddy water; a prodigious number of bats were our companions in this little space; upon the rocks we found many crystallizations in the form of plants: they were white and shining, and made a fine contrast with the dark ground on which they were laid. A passage, opposite to that by which we had entered, led to a place so large that the eye could not estimate the size of it. Into this there was no road but by a rock of 50 feet. To this we apply our ladder of ropes, fixing it to a stalactite; each encourages the other, looks down and instantly recoils; a horrible precipice appears on every side; a stone is thrown in, which takes a considerable time to descend; it is at last heard striking and bounding from rock to rock for some time before it ceases. A false step, or giddy-

ness, would instantly decide the fate of the hardiest adventurer.

However, the resolution is taken. The cavern before us, by the feeble light of our torches, promises to indemnify us for our labour. Pillars of prodigious height, an immense excavation, an arch of which, even at the place where we stood, it was impossible to ascertain the elevation, precipices of which we could not fathom the depth, all tend to inspire us with fear, and to stimulate our curiosity. A peasant of Ganges, called Peter, as alert as intrepid, is the first to venture: M. Brunet follows him; we lost sight, at the distance of three fathoms, of the person descending, the time he took up seemed enormous, the rock ceased abruptly at twenty feet, and the ladder without support swung in the air and turned round upon itself. The dead silence, the feeble light, which diminished the obscurity without dispelling it, the fear occasioned by this profound solitude, the alarming noise of pieces of broken stalactite falling from the roof and bounding from rock to rock, contributed to give our attempt an air of enchantment. It is possible, that on such occasions the mind may exaggerate its own sensations, but I describe those felt at the time, and which we have since several times avowed.

I was the third to descend: I was tired with looking and listening. The ladder was already affected with the descent of the two persons that preceded me; the steps were too distant from each other, and made of cords; the weight of the ladder made them still more distant; I was obliged to take some time in holding by my hand, that I might find the steps and detach the ladder from the rock, without being able to support myself with the other hand on account of the distance: all these circumstances exhausted my strength, so that having descended about a third of the ladder, my left arm became unable to support me, and I remained

I remained suspended with one foot on a step and the other in the air, embracing the ladder, without having the power either of descending or getting up again. I continued for a quarter of an hour in this most cruel perplexity, viewing below me a dreadful precipice with a narrow and slippery rock at the foot of the ladder, on which I would be obliged to come down perpendicularly, commiserating at once my own condition and that of my companions, whom this accident most cruelly alarmed. I heard them talk of my situation below me, and judged of my position by their discourse. At the end of a quarter of an hour, however, exerting all my strength, and pressed by necessity, I slid down several steps, and my two companions preparing to support me, I allowed myself to fall into their arms, bedewed with sweat and overpowered with fatigue; but throwing myself on a wet rock, which appeared to me the most luxurious sofa, I soon recovered my spirits.

My domestic, whom my success had not encouraged, and who had been in great fear for me, remained above with a son of M. Lonjon's; he had accompanied me through all the caverns, and tho' he had a great deal of courage, he was afraid of trusting to that ill-formed ladder which every moment became worse.

We now surveyed an immense space, enriched and covered with stalactites and stalagmites of every shape, and of a dazzling whiteness. But we were still 50 feet from the bottom; the precipitous rocks below, which were so smooth as to afford no support for the foot, nor any thing on which the hand could lay hold, seemed to threaten instant death to the rash person who should attempt to descend. After, therefore, having scrutinised every place in vain for a road, we found, that without iron hooks, and hammers, and assistants, it was impossible to proceed, and we were therefore reluctantly obliged to

re-ascend the fatal ladder. This I accomplished by the help of a rope held at top by my servant, and the assistance of the intrepid Peter, who humbled us all by his boldness and address.

Upon our return to Montpellier the relation of this enterprise enflamed the courage of our young naturalists, and froze the hearts of the petits maitres. Many solicited the favour of accompanying us on our next expedition, and more than we could possibly admit.

On Saturday, therefore, the 15th of July, Mess. Lonjon, father and son, M. Brunet, and several others, agreed to accompany me, with the firm resolution of penetrating to the bottom of the grotto, whatever might happen.

Every precaution was taken which prudence could suggest, the ladder was repaired, and men were employed for two days in making supports for the feet, and placing pegs of iron for fixing the ropes.

We departed early, lightly clothed, furnished with a thermometer, pencils, and hammers: at once painters, masons, naturalists, and mechanics, we inspired one another mutually with cheerfulness and courage. We followed without difficulty the road I have already described, till we arrived in the cavern at the frightful precipice which had stopped us before. Having overcome this difficulty, and several others of great danger, two of our companions refused to follow us, when we were just about to arrive at the end of our labours.

We came at last then to a solid bottom on which we could walk, if not with ease, at least with safety: when every step presented a new subject for admiration.

An altar, white like the finest porcelain, three feet high, perfectly oval, and surrounded with regular steps, was the first object that struck us. The table of this altar is most beautifully enamelled with a sort of foliage, imbricated like the leaves of an artichoke.

Further

Further are four twisted columns of a yellowish colour, but in several places transparent, notwithstanding their size, for four men could not embrace them. It was impossible to measure their height, but they seemed to touch the roof.

This place is so large that our eyes could not estimate either its elevation or depth. We perceived cavities into which the industry of man could not penetrate. While seated on this altar, we were surrounded with a number of stupendous objects which affected us with mute admiration. Among others there was an obelisk, high as a steeple, pointed and perfectly round, of a reddish colour, carved its whole height, and in the most exact proportions; huge masses like churches, sometimes in the form of cascades, and sometimes in that of clouds; pillars broken in all directions, and covered with ramifications of enamel, formed the most varied and phantastic combinations. A scull was the only object that disturbed our enchantment; we were at a loss to conceive how the unhappy being that owned it could have penetrated to such a depth, considering the pains that our descent had cost us; but at last we concluded that the water, which every Winter inundates this grotto, must have brought hither the head, and we re-assumed our gaiety.

One of the finest objects in this grotto is a colossal statue, placed on a pedestal, which represents a woman holding two children. This piece would be worthy the possession of the greatest Sovereign of Europe, if it could be procured in the form which we very distinctly and without any illusion viewed it in. It is adorned with fringes, curtains, and canopies, inlaid with enamel and crystal, with laces and ribbands so delicately wrought, that one must be convinced that no human being had ever penetrated these regions, before he can believe that it is not the workmanship of the most skilful artist.

This grotto is round; it may be compared to a stately church surrounded with chapels of different heights: the centre is a dome too high to be measured, but we supposed, from the height we had descended, that it was about 50 toises. The bottom is wet, in some of the caverns the ground is black, and among others there is one that perfectly resembles a riding-house, with a pillar in the middle.

It is impossible to describe every thing we saw in this place, and in the little chambers adjoining, during ten hours which we employed in descending and observing. Many parts were so beautiful, so regular, and so happily formed, that they were entitled to all our praise. Enthusiasm admires every thing, but indeed there were many pieces which it is impossible to describe that perfectly charmed us. The calcareous spar which is found in this grotto is of the finest kind, and would produce most valuable alabaster. We wished to carry away every thing, and have even to reproach ourselves with destroying many of these objects of our admiration.

In this place we dined, and it was illuminated as well as so vast a place could well be: for the light of the greatest torch seemed only equal to that of an ordinary taper.

After dinner we made the *proce-verbal* of our descent, and of the means we had employed to effect it: we put it into a sealed bottle, which was placed where it could not be broken; a tin box contained our names, and to the deepest part of the grotto we affixed a piece of lead with our names inscribed. These little effusions of self-love would not appear surprising, if the reader could have any idea of the patience, the courage, and circumspection which it was necessary for us to exert in this laborious and hazardous enterprise.

Our torches, which were nearly finished warned us to depart, which we did with regret. Let not our reluctance

tance be considered as the effect of enthusiasm; a whole day may be spent here without having time to view every thing that is worthy of being seen.

After having spent in these caverns twelve hours and a half, we left them without having suffered any misfortune except extreme fatigue. The air is moist without being noxious; it is even friendly to weak lungs. When we left this place of enchantment, and

emerged into day, we thought ourselves newly awaked out of a dream which we were sorry had ended.

There may be in the bowels of the earth other grottoes as beautiful as this; but my persuasion, that none of them can excell it, is the only motive that has prompted me to publish this description, for the exactness and authenticity of which I shall be answerable.

Account of the Insects called Aphides, and Remarks on the Natural History of the Bee. By George Adams.

THE habits of the Pucerons are so very singular, that I cannot pass them over in silence; the more so, as they are a very curious object for the microscope. They are called by various names, the proper one is aphid; that which they are most known by is puceron, though they are sometimes called vine-fretters and plant-lice. They belong to the hemiptera order. The rostrum is inflected, the antennæ are longer than the thorax, some have four erect wings, others have none at all: towards the end of the belly there are two tubes, from which is ejected that most delicate juice called honey-dew.

The aphides are a very numerous genus. Linnaeus has enumerated thirty-three different species, whose trivial names are taken from the plant which they inhabit, though it is probable the number is much larger, as the same plant is often found to support two or three different sorts of aphides.

An aphid, or puceron, brought up in the most perfect solitude from the very moment of its birth, in a few days will be found in the midst of a numerous family: repeat the experiment on one of the individuals of this family, and you will find this second generation will multiply like its parent,

and this you may pursue through many generations.

Mr Bonnet had repeated experiments of this kind, as far as the sixth generation, which all uniformly presented the observer with fruitful virgins, when he was engaged in a series of new and tedious experiments, from a suspicion imparted by Mr Trembley in a letter to him, who thus expresses himself: "I have formed the design of rearing several generations of solitary pucerons, in order to see if they would all equally bring forth young. In cases so remote from usual circumstances, it is allowed to try all sorts of means; and I argued with myself, who knows but that one copulation might serve for several generations?" This "*who knows*" persuaded Mr Bonnet that he had not sufficiently pursued his investigations. He therefore now reared to the tenth generation his solitary aphides, having the patience to keep an exact account of the days and hours of the birth of each generation. He then discovered both males and females among them, whose amours were not in the least equivocal; the males are produced only in the tenth generation, and are but few in number; that these soon arriving at their full growth, copulate

pulate with the females, and that the virtue of this copulation serves for ten successive generations; that all these generations, except the first, from fecundated eggs, are produced viviparous, and all the individuals are females, except those of the last generation, among whom some males appear to lay the foundation of a fresh series.

In order to give a further insight into the nature of these insects, I shall insert an extract of a description of the different generations of them by Dr Richardson, as published in the *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. lxi.

“The great variety of species which occur in the insects now under consideration, may make an inquiry into their particular natures seem not a little perplexing; but by reducing them under their proper genus, the difficulty is considerably diminished. We may reasonably suppose all the insects, comprehended under any distinct genus, to partake of one general nature; and by diligently examining any particular species, may thence gain some insight into the nature of all the rest. With this view Dr Richardson chose out of the various sorts of aphides the largest of those found on the rose-tree, not only as its size makes it more conspicuous, but as there are few others of so long a duration. This sort appears early in the Spring, and continues late in the Autumn; while several are limited to a much shorter term, in conformity to the different trees and plants from whence they draw their nourishment.

1. If at the beginning of February the weather happens to be so warm as to make the buds of the rose-tree swell and appear green, small aphides are frequently to be found on them, tho’ not larger than the young ones in Summer, when first produced. It will be found, that those aphides which appear only in Spring, proceed from small black oval eggs, which were deposited on the last year’s shoot; though when

it happens that the insect makes too early an appearance, the greater part suffer from the sharp weather that usually succeeds; by which means, the rose-trees are some years in a manner freed from them. The same kind of animal is then at one time of the year viviparous, and at another oviparous.

Those aphides which stand the severity of the weather seldom come to their full growth before the month of April, at which time they usually begin to breed, after twice casting off their exuvia, or outward covering. It appears that they are all females, which produce each of them a numerous progeny, and that without having intercourse with any male insect; they are viviparous, and what is equally singular, the young ones all come into the world backwards. When they first come from the parent, they are enveloped by a thin membrane, having in this situation the appearance of an oval egg; these egg-like appearances adhere by one extremity to the mother, while the young ones contained in them extend the other, by that means gradually drawing the ruptured membrane over the head and body to the hind feet. During this operation, and for some time after, the fore part of the head adheres, by means of something glutinous, to the vent of the parent. Being thus suspended in the air, it soon frees itself from the membrane in which it was confined; and after its limbs are a little strengthened, is set down on some tender shoots, and left to provide for itself.

In the Spring months there appear on the rose-trees but two generations of aphides, including those which proceed immediately from the last year’s eggs; the warmth of the Summer adds so much to their fertility, that no less than five generations succeed one another in the interval. One is produced in May, which casts off its covering; while the months of June and July each supply two more, which cast off their coverings three or four times, according

according to the different warmth of the season. This frequent change of their outward coat is the more extraordinary, because it is repeated more often when the insects come the soonest to their growth, which sometimes happens in ten days, where warmth and plenty of nourishment conspire.

Early in the month of June, some of the third generation which were produced about the middle of May, after casting off their last covering, discover four erect wings much longer than their bodies; and the same is observable in all the succeeding generations which are produced during the Summer months, but still without any diversity of sex; for some time before the aphides come to their full growth, it is easy to distinguish which will have wings, by a remarkable fullness of the breast, which in the others is hardly to be distinguished from the body. When the last covering is rejected, the wings, which were before folded up in a very narrow compass, are gradually extended in a very surprising manner, till their dimensions are at last very considerable.

The increase of these insects in the Summer time is so very great, that by wounding and exhausting the tender shoots they would frequently suppress all vegetation, had they not many enemies to restrain them. Notwithstanding these insects have a numerous tribe of enemies, they are not without friends, if those may be considered as such, who are officious in their attendance for the good things they expect to reap thereby. The ant and the bee are of this kind, collecting the honey in which the aphides abound, but with this difference, that the ants are constant visitors, the bee only when flowers are scarce; the ants will suck in the honey while the aphides are in the act of discharging it; the bees only collect it from the leaves on which it has fallen.

In the Autumn three more generations of the aphides are produced,

two of which generally make their appearance in the month of August, and the third before the middle of September. The two first differ in no respect from those which are found in Summer; but the third differs greatly from all the rest. Tho' all the aphides which have hitherto appeared were females, in this tenth generation several male insects are found, but not by any means so numerous as the females.

The females have at first the same appearance with those of the former generations, but in a few days their colour changes from a green to a yellow, which is gradually converted into an orange before they come to their full growth; they differ also in another respect from those which occur in Summer, for all these yellow females are without wings. The male insects are, however, still more remarkable, their outward appearance readily distinguishing them from this and all other generations. When first produced, they are not of a green colour like the rest, but of a reddish brown, and have afterwards a dark line along the back; they come to their full growth in about three weeks, and then cast off their last covering, the whole insect being after this of a bright yellow colour, the wings only excepted; but after this change to a deeper yellow, and in a very few hours to a dark brown, if we except the body, which is something lighter coloured, and has a reddish cast. The males no sooner come to maturity than they copulate with the females, who in a day or two after their intercourse with the males lay their eggs, generally near the buds. Where there are a number crowded together, they of course interfere with each other, in which they will frequently deposit their eggs on other parts of the branches.

It is highly probable that the aphides derive considerable advantages by living in society; the reiterated punctures of a great number of them may attract a larger quantity of nutritive

ous juices to that part of the tree, or plant, where they have taken up their abode.

In the natural history of insects, new objects of surprize are continually rising before the observer: singular as we have already shown is the production of the Puceron, that of the Bee will not be found to be less so; and though this little republic has at all times gained universal esteem and admiration, though they have attracted the attention of the most ingenious and laborious inquirers into nature, yet the mode of propagating their species seems to have baffled the ingenuity of ages, and rendered their attempts to discover it abortive; even the labours and scrupulous attention of Swammerdam were unsuccessful; though, while he was writing his treatise on bees, his daily labour began at six in the morning, and from that hour till twelve he continued watching their operations, his head in a manner dissolving into sweat, under the irresistible ardour of the sun; and if he desisted at noon, it was only because his eyes then became too weak, as well from the extraordinary afflux of light and the use of glasses, to continue longer exercised by such minute objects. He spent one month entirely in examining, describing, and representing their intestines; and many months on other parts: employing whole days in making observations, and whole nights in registering them, till at last he brought his treatise of bees to the wished-for perfection; a work which all the ages, from the commencement of natural history to our own times, have produced nothing to equal, nothing to compare with it. "Read it, says the great Boerhaave, consider it, and then judge for yourself." Reaumur, however, thought he had in some measure removed the veil, and explained their manner of generating: he supposes the queen-bee to be the only female in the hive, and

the mother of the next generation: that the drones are the males, by which she is fecundated: and that the working bees, or those that collect wax on the flowers, that knead it, and form from it the combs and cells, which they afterwards fill with honey, are of neither sex. The queen-bee is known by its size, being generally much larger than the working-bee or the drone.

Mr Schirach, a German naturalist, affirms, that all the common bees are females in disguise, in which the organs that distinguish the sex, and particularly the ovaria, are obliterated, or at least from their extreme minuteness have escaped the observer's eye; that every one of those bees, in the earlier period of its existence, is capable of becoming a queen bee, if the whole community should think it proper to nurse it in a particular manner, and raise it to that rank: in short, that the queen bee lays only two kinds of eggs, those that are to produce the drones, and those from which the working bees are to proceed.

Mr Schirach made his experiments not only in the early Spring months, but even as late as November. He cut off from an old hive a piece of the brood-comb, taking care that it contained worms which had been hatched about three days. He fixed this in an empty hive, together with a piece of honey-comb, for food to his bees, and then introduced a number of common bees into the hive. As soon as these found themselves deprived of their queen and their liberty, a dreadful uproar took place, which lasted for the space of twenty-four hours. On the cessation of this tumult they betook themselves to work, first proceeding to the construction of a royal cell, and then taking the proper methods for feeding and hatching the brood inclosed with them; sometimes even on the second day the foundation of one or more royal cells were to be perceived; the view of which furnished cer-

tain indications that they had elected one of the inclosed worms to the sovereignty. The bees may now be left at liberty.

The final result of these experiments is, that the colony of working bees being thus shut up with a morsel of brood-comb, not only hatch, but at the end of eighteen or twenty days produce from thence one or two queens, which have to all appearance proceeded from worms of the common sort, which appears to have been converted by them into a queen, merely because they wanted one.

From experiments of the same kind, varied and often repeated, Mr Shirach concludes that all the common working bees were originally of the female sex; but that if they are not fed, lodged, and brought up in a particular manner while they are in a larva state, their organs are not developed; and that it is to this circumstance attending the bringing up of the queen, that the extension of the female organs is effected, and the difference in her form and size produced.

Mr Debraw has carried the subject further, by discovering the impregnation of the eggs by the males, and the difference of the size among the drones or males; though indeed this last circumstance was not unknown to Mess. Maraldi and Reaumur. Mr Debraw watched the glass hives with indefatigable attention, from the moment the bees, among which he took care there should be a large number of drones, were put into them, to the queen's laying her eggs, which generally happens the fourth or fifth day; he observed, that on the first or second day (always before the third) from the time the eggs are placed in the cells, a great number of bees fastening themselves to one another hung down in the form of a curtain, from the top to the bottom of the hive; they had done the same at the time the queen deposited her eggs, an operation which seems contrived on purpose to conceal what is transacting: however, through

some parts of this veil he was enabled to see some of the bees inserting the posterior part of their bodies each into a cell, and sinking into, but continuing there only a little while. When they had retired, it was easy to discover a whitish liquor left in the angle of the basis of each cell, which contained an egg. In a day or two this liquor was absorbed into the embryo, which on the fourth day assumes its worm or larva state, to which the working bees bring a little honey for nourishment, during the first eight or ten days after its birth. When the bees find the worm has attained its full growth, they leave off bringing it food, they know it has no more need of it; they have still, however, another service to pay it, in which they never fail, it is that of shutting it up in its cell, where the larva is inclosed for eight or ten days: here a further change takes place; the larva, which was heretofore idle, now begins to work, and lines its cell with fine silk, while the working-bees inclose it exteriorly with a wax covering. The concealed larva then voids its excrement, quits its skin, and assumes the pupa; at the end of some days the young bee acquires sufficient strength to quit the slender covering of the pupa, tear the wax covering of its cell, and proceeds a perfect insect.

To prove further that the eggs are fecundated by the males, and that their presence is necessary at the time of breeding, Mr Debraw made the following experiments. They consist in leaving in a hive the queen, with only the common or working bees, without any drones, to see whether the eggs she laid would be prolific. To this end, he took a swarm, and shook all the bees into a tub of water, leaving them there till they were quite senseless; by which means he could distinguish the drones, without any danger of being stung: he then restored the queen and working-bees to their former state, by spreading them on a brown paper in the sun; after

this he replaced them in a glass hive, where they soon began to work as usual. The queen laid eggs, which, to his great surprise, were impregnated; for he imagined he had separated all the drones, or males, and therefore omitted watching them; at the end of twenty days he found several of his eggs had, in the usual course of changes, produced bees, while some had withered away, and others were covered with honey. Hence he inferred, that some of the males had escaped his notice, and impregnated part of the eggs. To convince himself of this, he took away all the brood comb that was in the hive, in order to oblige the bees to provide a fresh quantity, being determined to watch narrowly their motions after new eggs should be laid in the cells. On the second day after the eggs were placed in the cells, he perceived the same operation that was mentioned before, namely, that of the bees hanging down in the form of a curtain, while others thrust the posterior part of the body into the cells. He then introduced his hand into the hive, broke off a piece of the comb, in which there were two of these insects; he found in neither of them any sting (a circumstance peculiar to the drones;) upon dissection, with the assistance of a microscope, he discovered the four cylindrical bodies which contain the glutinous liquor, of a whitish colour, as observed by Maraldi in the large drones. He was therefore now under a necessity of repeating his experiments, in destroying the males, and even those which might be suspected to be such.

He once more immersed the same bees in water, and when they appeared in a senseless state, he gently pressed every one, in order to distinguish those armed with stings from those which had none, and which of course he supposed to be males: of these last he found fifty-seven, and replaced the swarm in a glass hive, where they im-

mediately applied again to the work of making cells, and on the fourth or fifth day, very early in the morning, he had the pleasure to see the queen bee deposit her eggs in those cells: he continued watching most part of the ensuing days, but could discover nothing of what he had seen before.

The eggs after the fourth day, instead of changing in the manner of caterpillars, were found in the same state they were the first day, except that some were covered with honey. A singular event happened the next day, about noon; all the bees left their own hive, and were seen attempting to get into a neighbouring hive, on the stool of which the queen was found dead, being no doubt slain in the engagement. This event seems to have arisen from the great desire of perpetuating their species, and to which end the concurrence of the males seems so absolutely necessary; it made them desert their habitation, where no males were left, in order to fix a residence in a new one, in which there was a good stock of them.

To be further satisfied, Mr De-braw took the brood-comb, which had not been impregnated, and divided it into two parts; one he placed under a glass bell, No. 1, with honey-comb for the bees food, taking care to leave a queen, but no drones, among the bees confined in it: the other piece of brood-comb he placed under another glass bell, No. 2, with a few drones, a queen, and a proportionable number of common bees. The result was, that in the glass, No. 1, there was no impregnation, the eggs remained in the same state they were in when put into the glass; and on giving the bees their liberty on the seventh day, they all flew away, as was found to be the case in the former experiment; whereas in the glass, No. 2, the very day after the bees had been put into it, the eggs were impregnated by the drones, and the bees did not leave their hives on receiving their liberty.

The

The editor of the Cyclopædia says, a modern author suggests, that a small number of drones are reserved, to supply the necessities of the ensuing year; but that they are very little, if any, larger than the common bee.

Ode on the Popular Superstitions of the Highlands of Scotland. Written by the late Mr William Collins.*

AT a meeting of the Literary Class of the Royal Society, held on Monday 19th April 1784, the Rev. Dr Carlyle read an ode, written by the late Mr Wm. Collins, and addressed to John Home, Esq; (author of Douglas, &c.) on his return to Scotland in 1749. The committee appointed to superintend the publication of the Society's Transactions having judged this ode to be extremely deserving of a place in that collection, requested Mr Alex. Fraser Tytler, one of their number, to procure from Dr Carlyle every degree of information which he could give concerning it. This information, which forms a proper introduction to the poem itself, is contained in the two following letters.

Letter from Mr Alex. Fraser Tytler to Mr John Robison, General Secretary of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.

DEAR SIR,

AT the desire of the Committee for publishing the Royal Society's Transactions, I wrote to Dr Carlyle, requesting of him an account of all such particulars regarding Mr Collins's poem as were known to him, and which were, in his opinion, proper to be communicated to the public. I received from him the inclosed answer, and he transmitted to me, at the same time, the original manuscript in Mr Collins's handwriting. It is evidently the *prima cura* of the poem, as you will perceive from the alterations made in the manuscript, by de-

leting many lines and words, and substituting others, which are written above them. In particular, the greatest part of the twelfth stanza is new-modelled in that manner. These variations I have marked in notes on the copy which is inclosed, and, I think they should be printed: for literary people are not indifferent to information of this kind, which shews the progressive improvement of a thought in the mind of a man of genius.

This ode is, beyond all doubt, the poem alluded to in the Life of Collins by Johnson, who, mentioning a visit made by Dr Warton and his brother to the poet in his last illness, says, "He shewed them, at the same time, an ode, inscribed to Mr John Home, on the superstitions of the Highlands, which they thought superior to his other works, but which no search has yet found." Collins himself, it appears from this passage, had kept a copy of the poem, which, considering the unhappy circumstances that attended his last illness, it is no wonder was mislaid or lost; and, but for that fortunate hint given by Johnson, it appears from Dr Carlyle's letter, that the original manuscript would, in all probability, have undergone the same fate.

Struck with the singular beauty of this poem, of which, I believe no man of taste will say that Dr Warton and his brother have over-rated the merit, I could not help regretting the mutilated form in which it appeared; and, in talking on that subject to my friend

* *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.*

friend Mr Henry Mackenzie of the Exchequer (a gentleman well known to the literary world by many ingenious productions) I proposed to him the task of supplying the fifth stanza, and the half of the sixth, which were entirely lost. How well he has executed that task, the public will judge; who, unless warned by the inverted commas that distinguish the supplemental verses, would probably never have discovered the chasm. Several hemistichs, and words left blank by Mr Collins, had before been very happily supplied by Dr Carlyle. These are likewise marked by inverted commas. They are a proof that this poem, as Dr Carlyle has remarked, was hastily composed; but this circumstance evinces, at the same time, the vigour of the author's imagination, and the ready command he possessed of harmonious numbers.

I am, dear Sir,
Yours, &c.

To Alex. Fraser Tytler, Esq.

S I R,

I SEND you inclosed the original manuscript of Mr Collins's poem, that, by comparing with it the copy which I read to the Society, you may be able to answer most of the queries put to me by the Committee of the Royal Society.

The manuscript is in Mr Collins's handwriting, and fell into my hands among the papers of a friend of mine and Mr John Home's, who died as long ago as the year 1754. Soon after I found the poem, I shewed it to Mr Home, who told me that it had been addressed to him by Mr Collins, on his leaving London in the year 1749:

That it was hastily composed and incorrect; but that he would one day find leisure to look it over with care. Mr Collins and Mr Home had been made acquainted by Mr John Barrow (the *cordial youth* mentioned in the first stanza,) who had been for some time at the University of Edinburgh, had been a volunteer along with Mr Home in the year 1746, had been taken prisoner with him at the battle of Falkirk, and had escaped, together with him and five or six other gentlemen, from the castle of Down. Mr Barrow resided in 1749 at Winchester, where Mr Collins and Mr Home were, for a week or two, together on a visit. Mr Barrow was paymaster in America in the war that commenced in 1756, and died in that country.

I thought no more of the poem till a few years ago, when, on reading Dr Johnson's life of Collins, I conjectured that it might be the very copy of verses which he mentions, which he says was much prized by some of his friends, and for the loss of which he expresses regret. I sought for it among my papers; and perceiving that a stanza and a half were wanting, I made the most diligent search I could for them, but in vain. Whether or not this great chasm was in the poem when it first came into my hands, is more than I can remember at this distance of time.

As a curious and valuable fragment, I thought it could not appear with more advantage than in the Collection of the Royal Society.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

ALEX. CARLYLE.

O D E.

H—, thou return'st from Thames, whose Naiads long
Have seen thee ling'ring, with a fond delay,
Mid those soft friends, whose hearts, some future day,
Shall melt, perhaps, to hear thy tragic song.
Go, not unmindful of that cordial youth*,
Whom, long endear'd, thou leav'st by Lavant's side;

* See the preceding letter from Dr Carlyle.

Together

Together let us wish him lasting truth,
 And joy untainted with his destin'd bride.
 Go ! nor regardless, while these numbers boast
 My short-liv'd bliss, forget my social name ;
 But think far off how, on the southern coast,
 I met thy friendship with an equal name !
 Fresh to that soil thou turn'st, whose ev'ry vale
 Shall prompt the poet, and his song demand :
 To thee thy copious subjects ne'er shall fail ;
 Thou need'st but take the pencil to thy hand,
 And paint what all believe who own thy genial land.

II.

There must thou wake perforce thy Doric quill,
 'Tis Fancy's land to which thou sett'st thy feet ;
 Where still, 'tis said, the fairy people meet
 Beneath each birken shade on mead or hill.
 There each trim lass that skims the milky store
 To the swart tribes their creamy bowl allots ;
 By night they sip it round the cottage-door,
 While airy minstrels warble jocund notes.
 There every herd, by sad experience, knows
 How, wing'd with fate, their elf-shot arrows fly ;
 When the sick ewe her Summer food foregoes,
 Or, stretch'd on earth, the heart-smit heifers lie.
 Such airy beings awe the untutor'd swain :
 Nor thou, though learn'd, his homelier thoughts neglect ;
 Let thy sweeter muse the rural faith sustain :
 These are the themes of simple, sure effect,
 That add new conquests to her boundless reign,
 And fill, with double force, her heart-commanding strain.

III.

Ev'n yet preserv'd, how often may'st thou hear,
 Where to the pole the Boreal mountains run,
 Taught by the father to his list'ning son
 Strange lays, whose power had charm'd a Spencer's ear.
 At ev'ry pause, before thy mind posselt,
 Old Runic bards shall seem to rise around,
 With uncouth lyres, in many-coloured vest,
 Their matted hair with boughs fantastic crown'd :
 Whether thou bid'st the well-taught hind repeat *
 The choral dirge that mourns some chieftain brave,
 When ev'ry shrieking maid her bosom beat,
 And strew'd with choicest herbs his scented grave ;
 Or whether, sitting in the shepherd's shield †,
 Thou hear'st some sounding tale of war's alarms ;
 When, at the bugle's call, with fire and steel,
 The sturdy clans pour'd forth their bony swarms,
 And hostile brothers met to prove each other's arms.

IV.

* First written, *relate*.

† A kind of hut, built for a Summer habitation to the herdsmen, when the cattle are sent to graze in distant pastures.

IV.

'Tis thine to sing, how framing hideous spells
 In Sky's lone isle the gifted wizzard "fits *,"
 "Waiting in" wintry cave "his wayward fits † ;"
 Or in the depth ‡ of Uist's dark forests dwells:
 How they, whose sight such dreary dreams engross,
 With their own visions oft astonish'd § droop,
 When o'er the war'ry strath or quaggy moss
 They see the gliding ghosts unbodied troop.
 Or if in sports, or on the festive green,
 Their "piercing ||" glance some fated youth descry,
 Who, now perhaps in lusty vigour seen
 And rosy health, shall soon lamented die.
 For them the viewless forms of air obey
 Their bidding heed **, and at their beck repair.
 They know what spirit brews the stormful day,
 And heartless, oft-like moody madness stare
 To see the phantom train their secret work prepare.

V.

†† "Or on some bellying rock that shades the deep,
 "They view the lurid signs that cross the sky,
 "Where, in the West, the brooding tempests lie,
 "And hear their first, faint, rustling pennons sweep.
 "Or in the arched cave, where deep and dark
 "The broad, unbroken billows heave and swell,
 "In horrid musings rapt, they sit to mark
 "The labouring moon; or list the nightly yell
 "Of that dread spirit, whose gigantic form
 "The seer's entranced eye can well survey,
 "Through the dim air who guides the driving storm,
 "And points the wretched bark its destin'd prey.
 "Or him who hovers, on his flagging wing,
 "O'er the dire whirlpool, that, in ocean's waste,
 "Draws instant down whate'er devoted thing
 "The sailing breeze within its reach hath plac'd—
 "The distant seaman hears, and flies with trembling haste.

VI.

"Or, if on land the fiend exerts his sway,
 "Silent he broods o'er quicksand, bog, or fen,
 "Far from the shelt'ring roof and haunts of men,
 "When witch'd darkness shuts the eye of day,
 "And shrouds each star that wont to cheer the night;
 "Or, if the drifted snow perplex the way,

"With

* Collins had written, *seer*.

† Collins had written, *Lodg'd in the wintry cave with—* and had left the line imperfect: Altered and the chafin supplied by Dr Carlyle.

‡ First written, *gloom*.

§ First written, *afflicted*.

|| A blank in the manuscript. The word *piercing* supplied by Dr Carlyle.

** First written, *mark*.

†† A leaf of the manuscript, containing the fifth stanza, and one half of the sixth, is here lost. The chafin is supplied by Mr Mackenzie.

“ With treach’rous gleam he lures the fated wight,
 “ And leads him bound’ring on, and quite astray.”
 What though far off, from some dark dell espied
 His glimmin’ring mazes cheer th’ excursive sight,
 Yet turn, ye wand’rers, turn your steps aside,
 Nor trust the guidance of that faithless light;
 For watchful, lurking ’mid th’ unruffling reed,
 At those mirk * hours the wily monster lies,
 And listens oft to hear the passing steed,
 And frequent round him rolls his fullen eyes,
 If chance his savage wrath may some weak wretch surpris.

VII.

Ah, luckless swain, o’er all unblest indeed !
 Whom late bewilder’d in the dank, dark fen,
 Far from his flocks and smoking hamlet then !
 To that sad spot “ his wayward fate shall lead † :”
 On him enrag’d, the fiend, in angry mood,
 Shall never look with pity’s kind concern,
 But instant, furious, raise the whelming flood
 O’er its drown’d bank, forbidding all return.
 Or, if he meditate his wish’d escape
 To some dim hill that seems uprising near,
 To his faint eye the grim and grisly shape,
 In all its terrors clad, shall wild appear.
 Meantime, the wat’ry surge shall round him rise,
 Pour’d sudden forth from ev’ry swelling source.
 What now remains but tears and hopeleß sighs ?
 His fear-shook limbs have lost their youthly force,
 And down the waves he floats, a pale and breathleß corse.

VIII.

For him, in vain, his anxious wife shall wait,
 Or wander forth to meet him on his way ;
 For him, in vain, at to-fall of the day,
 His babes shall linger at th’ unclosing gate ‡.
 Ah ! ne’er shall he return ! Alone, if night
 Her travell’d limbs in broken slumbers steep,
 With dropping willows drest, his mournful sprite
 Shall visit sad, perchance, her silent sleep :
 Then he, perhaps, with moist and wat’ry hand,
 Shall fondly seem to press her shudd’ring cheek §,
 And with his blue swoln face before her stand,
 And, shiv’ring cold, these piteous accents speak :
 Pursue ||, dear wife, thy daily toils pursue
 At dawn or dusk, industrious as before ;
 Nor e’er of me one hapleß thought renew,

While

* First written, *sad*.

† A blank in the manuscript. The line filled up by Dr Carlyle.

‡ First written, *cottage*.

§ First written, *Shall seem to press her cold and shudd’ring cheek*.

|| First written, *proceed*.

While I lie weltring on the ozier'd shore,
Drown'd by the Kaelpie's * wrath, nor e'er shall aid thee more!

IX.

Unbounded is thy range; with varied file
Thy muse may, like whose feath'ry tribes which spring
From their rude rocks, extend her skirting wing
Round the moist marge of each cold Hebrid isle,
To that hoar pile which still its ruin shows †:
In whose small vaults a pigmy-folk is found,
Whose bones the delver with his spade upthrows,
And culls them, wond'ring, from the hallow'd ground!
Or thither where beneath the show'ry West
The mighty kings of three fair realms are laid ‡:
Once foes, perhaps, together now they rest.
No slaves revere them, and no wars invade:
Yet frequent now, at midnight's solemn hour,
The rifted mounds their yawning cells unfold,
And forth the monarchs stalk with sov'reign pow'r
In pageant robes, and wreath'd with sheeny gold,
And on their twilight tombs aerial council hold.

X.

But, O! o'er all, forget not Kilda's race ||,
On whose bleak rocks, which brave the wasting tides,
Fair Nature's daughter, Virtue, yet abides.
Go, just, as they, their blameless manners trace!
Then to my ear transmit some gentle song
Of those whose lives are yet sincere and plain,
Their bounded walks the rugged cliffs along,
And all their prospects but the wintry main.
With sparing temp'rance, at the needful time,
They drain the faintest spring, or, hunger-press'd,
Along th' Atlantic rock undreading climb,
And of its eggs despoil the Solan's nest.
Thus blest in primal innocence they live,
Suffic'd and happy with that frugal fare
Which tasteful toil and hourly danger give.

Hard

* A name given in Scotland to a supposed spirit of the waters.

† On the largest of the *Flannan islands* (isles of the Hebrides) are the ruins of a chapel dedicated to St Flannan. This is reckoned by the inhabitants of the Western Isles a place of uncommon sanctity. One of the Flannan islands is termed the *Isle of Pigmies*; and Martin says, there have been many small bones dug up here, resembling in miniature those of the human body.

‡ The island of *Iona* or *Icolmkill*. See Martin's Description of the Western Islands of Scotland. That author informs us, that forty-eight kings of Scotland, four kings of Ireland, and five of Norway, were interred in the Church of St Ouran in that island. There were two churches and two monasteries founded there by St Columbus about A. D. 565. *Bed. Hist. Eccl.* l. 3. Collins has taken all his information respecting the Western Isles from Martin; from whom he may likewise have derived his knowledge of the popular superstitions of the Highlanders, with which this ode shows so perfect an acquaintance.

|| The character of the inhabitants of St Kilda, as here described, agrees perfectly with the accounts given by Martin and by Macaulay, of the people of that island. It is the most westerly of all the Hebrides, and is above 130 miles distant from the main land of Scotland.

Hard is their shallow foil, and bleak and bare;
Nor ever vernal bee was heard to murmur there!

XI.

Nor need'st thou blush, that such false themes engage
Thy gentle mind, of fairer stores possess;
For not alone they touch the village breast,
But fill'd in elder time th' historic page.
There Shakespeare's self, with ev'ry garland crown'd *,
In musing hour, his wayward sisters found,
And with their terrors dress'd the magic scene.
From them he sung, when mid his bold design,
Before the Scot afflicted and aghast,
The shadowy kings of Banquo's fated line,
Through the dark cave in gleamy pageant past.
Proceed, nor quit the tales which, simply told,
Could once so well my answer'ing bosom pierce;
Proceed, in forceful sounds and colours bold
The native legends of thy land rehearse;
To such adapt thy lyre, and suit thy powerful verse.

XII.

In scenes like these, which, daring to depart
From sober truth, are still to nature true,
And call forth fresh delight to fancy's view,
Th' heroic muse employed her Tasso's art!
How have I trembled, when at Tancred's stroke,
Its gushing blood the gaping cypress pour'd;
When each live plant with mortal accents spoke,
And the wild blast upheav'd the vanish'd sword †!
How have I sat, when pip'd the pensive wind,
To hear his harp, by British Fairfax strung.
Prevailing poet, whose undoubting mind
Believ'd the magic wonders which he sung!
Hence at each sound imagination glows;
Hence his warm lay with softest sweetness flows;
Melting it flows, pure, num'rous, strong and clear,
And fills the impassion'd heart, and wins th' harmonious ear ‡.

XIII.

* This stanza is more incorrect in its structure than any of the foregoing. There is apparently a line wanting between this and the subsequent one, *In musing hour*, &c. The deficient line ought to have rhymed with *scene*.

† These four lines were originally written thus:

"How have I trembled, when, at Tancred's side,
"Like him I stalk'd, and all his passions felt;
"When charm'd by Ismen, through the forest wide,
"Bark'd in each plant a talking spirit dwelt!"

‡ These lines were originally written thus:

"Hence, sure to charm, his early numbers flow,
"Though strong, yet sweet —————
"Though faithful, sweet; though strong, of simple kind.
"Hence, with each theme, he bids the bosom glow,
"While his warm lays an easy passage find,
"Pour'd thro' each inmost nerve, and lull th' harmonious ear."

XIII.

All hail, ye scenes that o'er my soul prevail,
 Ye "spacious*" friths and lakes which, far away,
 Are by smooth Annan fill'd, or past'ral Tay,
 Or Don's romantic springs, at distance, hail !
 The time shall come when I, perhaps, may tread
 Your lowly glens, o'erhung with spreading broom,
 Or o'er your stretching heaths by fancy led :
 Then will I dress once more the faded bow'r,
 Where Johnson sat in Drummond's † "social‡" shade,
 Or crop from Tivior's dale each "classic flower,"
 And mourn on Yarrow's banks "the widow'd maid §."
 Meantime, ye Pow'rs, that on the plains which bore
 The cordial youth, on Lothian's plains attend,
 Where'er he dwell, on hill, or lowly mair,
 To him I lose, your kind protection lend,
 And, touch'd with love like mine, preserve my absent friend.

*Historical and Biographical Anecdotes ||.**Account of the Funeral of William the Conqueror.*

THOUGH the Conqueror had no grave or monument in England, the circumstances that attended his death are remarkable. He had no sooner breathed his last at the Abbey of St. Gervase, on a hill out of Rouen to the West, than all his domestics not only forsook him, but plundered his apartments so completely, that his corpse was left naked, and he would have wanted a grave, had it not been for the more grateful clergy and the Archbishop of Rouen, who ordered the body to be conveyed to Caen, and one Herliun, a gentleman of the place, (*pagenis eques*) from pure goodness of heart (*naturali bonitate*) took upon himself the care of the funeral, pro-

vided the proper persons (*pollinctores & vestitiones*) and hired a carriage to convey it to the river, and thence quite to Caen. There the abbot and convent, attended by crowds of clergy and laity, came out to meet it. But as they were proceeding to pay the proper honours, they were alarmed by a sudden fire which broke out in a house, and destroyed great part of the city. The distracted people went to give the necessary assistance, and left the monks, with a few bishops and abbots, to go on with the service; which being finished, and the *sarcophagus* laid in the ground, the body still lying on the bier, Gilbert, bishop of Evreux, pronounced a long panegyric on the deceased; and, in conclusion, called on the audience to pray for his soul. On a sud-

* A blank in the manuscript. The word *spacious* supplied by Dr Carlyle.

† Ben Johnson undertook a journey to Scotland a-foot in 1619, to visit the poet Drummond, at his seat of Hawthornden, near Edinburgh. Drummond has preserved, in his works, some very curious heads of their conversation.

‡ A blank in the manuscript. *Social* supplied by Dr Carlyle.

§ Both these lines left imperfect; supplied by Dr Carlyle. This last stanza bears more marks of hastiness of composition than any of the rest. Besides the blanks which are supplied by Dr Carlyle, there is apparently an entire line wanting after the seventh line of the stanza. The deficient line ought to have rhymed with *broom*.

|| Mr Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments*, &c. lately published.

a sudden starts up from the croud Ascelin Fitz-Arthur, and demands a compensation for the ground he stood on, which he said William had forcibly taken from his father to found his abbey on it; and in God's name forbids the burying him on his property, or covering him with his turf. The bishops and nobles having satisfied themselves about the truth of his demand, were obliged to pay him immediately sixiv shillings for the grave, and promise an equivalent for the rest of the ground, which they afterwards gave him. They then proceeded to the interment: but, in laying the body in the sarcophagus, it was found to have been made so small, by the ignorance of the mason, that they were forced to press the corpse with such violence, that the fat belly burst, and diffused an intolerable stench, which all the smokes of the censers and other spices could not overcome. The priests were glad to hurry over the service, and make the best of their way home in no small fright.

William Rufus erected to his father's memory a costly monument, executed by the goldsmith Orho, to whom he caused to be delivered a great quantity of gold, silver, and precious stones; and the following epitaph, composed by Thomas archbishop of York, was put on it in gold letters:

Qui rexit rigidos Northmanos, atque
Britanos

Audacter vicit, fortiter obtinuit,
Et Cenomanenses virtute coercuit enses,
Imperiiq; sui legibus applicuit;

Rex magnus parva jacet hic GULIELMUS
in urna:

Sufficit & magno parva domus domino.
Ter septem gradibus se volverat atque
duobus

Virginis in gremio Phoebus, & hic obiit.

In 1522, Peter de Marigny, bishop of Castries, and abbot of St. Stephen at Caen, at the solicitation of a great cardinal, an archbishop, and an Italian bishop, desirous to see the remains of the Conqueror, opened his tomb, and found the body in the original situa-

tion. The abbot caused a painting to be taken of it in wood just as it appeared. But in 1562, the Hugonots, not content with destroying this painting, demolished the tombs of the Conqueror and his wife, with their effigies in relief to the life, and broke in pieces with their daggers the Conqueror's *bierr*, made of *pierrre de volderil*, and supported on three little white pilasters. They expected to have met with some treasure, but found only his bones, still joined together, and covered with red taffety. Those of the arms and legs were thought longer than those of the tallest men of the present age. One of these sacrilegious wretches, named Francis de Gray de Bourg l'Abbe, gave them to Dom Michael de Comalle, religious and bailiff of the abbey, who kept them in his chamber, till Admiral Coligny and his *reistres* ruined and destroyed every thing there.

Anecdotes of Edward III.

THIS great Prince, who wiped out the stain of his premature accession to the crown of England by the unnatural intrigues of his mother, with equal glory supported the king of Scots in his throne, on which his grandfather had placed him, and his own claim to the crown of France, and after he had in two bloody battles exhausted the blood of its best subjects, dismembered that kingdom of some of its best provinces. The first forty years of his reign were truly glorious. The decline of his life was distressed by the loss of his consort and his gallant son Edward Prince of Wales, and the ambition of his fourth son John of Gaunt; and sinking into dotage, his affections fixt on unworthy objects, he closed a life of sixty-four years, and a reign of fifty-six (the longest of any of our sovereigns since Henry III.) at Shene, June 21. 1377. His body was brought by four of his sons and others of the nobility, through the city of London, with his face uncovered, and buried by his wife in Westminster abbey.

“Dun

"*Dum vixit,*" says Walsingham, "*omnes reges orbis gloria & magnificentia superavit;*" which character in his history he greatly enlarges, contrasting his magnanimity with his affability, discretion, moderation, munificence, and the mildness of his government.

Hic erat (says an old Chronicle in the Cottonian Library, cited by Weever) *flos mundane militie, sub quo militare erat regnare, proficisci proficere, configere, triumphare. Hic vere Edwardus quatuor in hostes terribilis extiterat, in subditos tamen mitissimus fuerat & graciosus, pietate & misericordia omnes pene suos præcellens antecessores.*

Milles says, "It is reported that his Queen made it her dying request, that he would choose none other sepulchre than that wherein her body should be layed." This he had from Froissart, who mentions two other dying requests made by her. "When the good lady knew that she must die, she sent for the king, and when he came she drew her right hand out of the bed, and putting it into his right hand, the good lady said, 'We have lived all our time together in peace, joy, and prosperity, I beg you at this parting to grant me three favours.' The king in tears replied, 'Ask, Madam, and it shall be done and granted. She then requested, 'that he would discharge the money due from her to foreign merchants, that he would pay her legacies to the several churches both at home and abroad, and to her servants, and that he would choose no other place of burial, but lie by her in Westminster Abbey.' All these he promised to fulfil. The good lady then made the sign of the true cross on him, and commended the king and her youngest son Thomas, who stood by him, to God, and presently after she resigned her soul; which, says the honest writer, I firmly believe was received by the holy angels, and conveyed to heavenly bliss! for never in her life did she do or think any thing

which should endanger her salvation." Thus died this Queen at Windsor, on the vigil of our Lady, in the middle of August 1369.

It is remarkable of this Prince, as well as his grandfather, that we hear of no natural children of his, though Walsingham seems to ascribe his death to some amorous indulgences of his dotage with Alice Price.

The pleasures of his youth were the chace and building, in which he passed all the time he could spare from government and conquest.

Directions given by Richard II. about his Funeral.

FROM the will of this unfortunate king (the first who had the permission of Parliament to make a will) it appears that he had erected this monument to himself and his beloved consort in his life-time. His directions about his funeral, the arraying of his body, and the procession, are no less curious. It was to be celebrated *more regie*, with four heres in four separate places; two with five lights in the two principal churches to which his body might happen to be carried; a third in St Paul's Church; and the fourth, in a style of superior magnificence, full of lights, in the church of Westminster. The procession was to travel fourteen, fifteen, or sixteen miles a day, as the stations suited, surrounded by twenty-four wax torches, day and night, to which an hundred more were to be added when it passed thro' London. But if he chanced to die within sixteen, fifteen, ten, or five miles of his palace at Westminster, these heres were to be set out for four days together, in four principal intermediate places; or if there were no places that answered this description, then in four other places, as his executors should determine; and if he died in his palace at Westminster, then one very solemn herse for four days; but on the last day still more honourable exequies. If his corpse should happen

to be lost at sea, or by any other accident, which God forbid! *ab hominum appetibus rapiatur*; or should he die in a part of the world whence it could not easily be brought to England, the same directions touching both the funeral and monument were nevertheless to be observed. His corpse was to be arrayed in velvet or white sattin, *more regio*, with a gilt crown and sceptre, but without any stones, except the precious stone in the ring of his finger, *more regio*, of the value of twenty merks of English money. Every catholic king was to receive on the occasion a present of a gold cup of the value of £.45 English money; and his successor, provided he fulfilled his will, was to have all the crowns, gold, plate, furniture of his chapel, certain beds and hangings; and the rest of his jewels and plate was to be applied towards furnishing the buildings he had begun at the nave of the abbey church at Westminster.

Death of Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester.

SIMON DE MONTFORT, Earl of Leicester, being slain at the battle of Evesham, his head, hands, feet, and privities cut off on the field by Roger Mortimer, and the former sent to Wigmore castle, by leave of the king, the trunk was carried away on a weak old ladder, covered with a torn cloth, to the abbey church of Evesham, and, wrapt in a sheet, committed to the earth, before the lower step of the high altar there, with his eldest son Henry and Hugh Lord Despencer, who fell with him. But shortly after, some of the monks alledging that he died excommunicate and attainted of treason, and therefore did not deserve Christian burial, they took up his corpse, and buried it in a remote place, known to few.

One of his hands being carried into Cheshire by the servant of one of the king's party, was, at the elevation of the host in the parish church, mi-

raculously lifted up higher than the heads of all the assistants, notwithstanding it had been sewed up in a bag, and kept in the bearer's bosom. One of his feet was carried by John de Vesey, the founder, to Alnwic abbey, where continuing several months uncorrupted, the monks made for it a silver shoe. It had a wound between the little and the third toe, made either by a knife or sword in the mangling of the body. The distant sight of this foot wrought instant cures. A canon of Alnwic, who swore the Earl was a traitor, lost first his eyes, and then his life. "Think," cries out the monk of Mailros, who relates this story, "what will be the glory of this foot at its rejunction to Simon's body after the general judgement;" "from the comparison of this foot before that great event, which displayed such healing powers through the silver shoe, out of which went invisible virtue to heal the sick." The other foot was sent, as a mark of contempt, by the victor to Llewellyn Prince of Wales, who had formed an alliance with this Earl, and married his daughter. Though it is not to be doubted that this also was endowed with a power of working miracles, they were not sufficiently authenticated to be recorded. His other hand was preserved with great reverence at Evesham, where it may fairly be presumed to have wrought miracles; "for God, continues my author, does not so justify one part of a man by these powers as to leave another part without the same." This chronicler, in his enthusiasm for the Earl, compares him with his namesake Simon Peter, celebrates his exemplary vigilance and habit of rising at midnight, his abstinence, and his moderation in dress, always wearing haircloth next his skin, and over it at home a *russet* habit; and in public, *blouet*, or *burnet*; and his constant language was, that he would not desert the just defence of England, which he had undertaken for God's sake,

fake, through the love of life, or the fear of death; but would die for it. Justly therefore did the religious prefer his shrine to the Holy Land; and his favourites the friars minor celebrated his life and miracles, and composed a service for him, which, during the life of Edward, could not be generally introduced into the church.

Matthew Paris, and the author of the *Annals of Waverly* pretend, that at the instant of his death there happened extraordinary thunder and lightning, and general darkness. “*Sicque labores finivit suos vir ille magnificus Simon comes, qui non solum sua sed se impendit pro oppressione pauperum, affectione justitiae, & regni jure. Fuerat utique literarum scientia commendabilis, officiis divinis assidue interesse gaudens, frugalitati deditus, cui familiarare fuit in noctibus vigilare amplius quam dormire: constans fuit in verbo, severus in vultu, maxime fidus in orationibus religiosorum, ecclesiasticis magnam semper impendens reverentiam.*” These are the words of Matthew Paris, who adds, that he had a high opinion of bishop Grosseteste. “*Ipsius consilio tractabat ardua, tentabat dubia, finivit inchoata, ea maxime per quæ meritum sibi suerescere aestimabat:*” that the bishop promised him the crown of martyrdom for his defence of the church, and foretold that both he and his son would die the same day in the cause of justice and truth. His professions of religion (for he and all his army received the sacrament before they took the field) and his opposition to the king’s oppressive measures, made him the idol of the monks and the populace. Tyrrel says he had seen at the end of a MS. in the public library at Cambridge, certain prayers directed to him as a saint, with many rhyming verses in his praise, and the Pope was obliged to repress these extravagances. He certainly was possessed of noble qualities; but amid the prejudices of ancient writers in his favour, and the violent

declamations of the moderns against him, it is not easy to decide whether ambition or the public good was the motive of his opposition to his sovereign, who had been his benefactor, and whose sister he had married. The chronicler of Mailros appeals to heaven for the justice of his cause, and the miracles wrought at the tomb of his associate Hugh Despencer, who was chief justice of England; and the chronicler of Waverly scruples not to call his death a glorious martyrdom for his country, and the good of the kingdom and the church; while Carte condemns him as a traitor; and Tyrrel says, he and his family perished, and came to nought in a few years. Knighton says, he reproached his sons for having brought him to his end by their pride and presumption. Mr Philips, owner of the site of Evesham-abbey, digging a foundation for a wall between the church-yard and his garden, found the skeleton of a man in armour, probably one of the heroes that fell in this battle. He scrupulously left it untouched, and built the wall upon it.

Anecdotes of Sir John Maltravers, an Associate in the Murder of Edward II.

THIS man, associate with Sir Thomas Gurney in the cruel murder of Edward II. at Berkeley castle, received his pardon for that atrocious deed on account of his services in Edward III.’s wars in France, and had the government of Guernsey conferred on him. Hollinshed, speaking of him before the death of Edward II. calls him John Lord Matrevers, and is authorised herein by the title of *Baron* on his tomb, though Dugdale says none of the family were Barons before Edward III. Rapin says, Maltravers spent his days in exile in Germany, whither he retired immediately after the fact; for which Gurney was beheaded at sea three years after (1332, Rymer) as they were bringing him into England under arrest from Bayonne. Thomas de la More says of Maltravers,

Maltravers, that *din latu't* in Germany, which is literally translated by Speed, 4 Edward III. he had judgment to be put to death wherever he could be found, for the murder of Edmond Earl of Kent, as the record alleges. It appears in Rymer, that his attainder was reversed by an act dated at Guilford, Dec. 28, 1347, because it was contrary to law, he having never been heard in his defence. He came to the King at Gloucester 12 Edward III. and afterwards at London. But the reversal was only on condition he appeared at court when summoned. Carte says, he lived 26 years in Germany, and finding means to do some services to Edward III. he came and threw himself at the King's feet in Flanders, submitting his life to his disposal, and was pardoned. Dugdale adds from the Parliament Rolls, that he lost all his goods in his services in Flanders, and suffered great oppression; and having obtained licence to return to England, he procured a full pardon in Parliament 25 Edward III. and again had summons to sit there, the first of his family. Next year, upon his son's death, he had the government of Guernsey, Jersey, Sark, and Aurency, and was in the expedition against France 29 Edward III. He founded an hospital for poor men and women at Bowes in Guernsey, and died 16 Feb. 28 Edward III. 1365; so that as he was 30 at the death of his father, 24 Edward I. and was knighted 34 Edward I. he must have been 99 at the time of his death; and had time to reconcile himself to God as well as to his Sovereign;—if any thing but the deepest contrition on his part could expiate so atrocious a crime; for which his epitaph solicits the prayers of its readers, and their salvation for their piety. He begs hard, and offers handsomely, for the pardon of his aggravated sins.

His son, John Maltravers, was concerned in the Earl of Lancaster's re-

bellion, and fled for it. It is not certain whether his lands were seized for this, 5 Edward III. Dugdale confounds his and his father's wife at first, but afterwards distinguishes them; the father having married Agnes widow of John Argentine and John Nerford; and the son Wentliana. Agnes was second wife to John the elder, who had by her another son, who died 9 Richard II. leaving two daughters, of whom the younger married Humphrey Stafford, whose father, Sir Humphrey Stafford, had married her mother. Agnes made her will in the parish of St John Zachary, London, 1374, by which she orders her body to be buried near her husband, if she died in Dorsetshire or Wilts; but if in Hertfordshire or Cambridgehire, at Wimondley priory, to which she gave her plate after her son's death.

The estates of this family were considerable in Dorset; where Dugdale traces them back to the time of Henry III. Lechiot Maltravers seems to have been their mansion-house.

The Peacock a favourite Dish of the 13th Century.

AMONG the delicacies of splendid tables in 1264, one sees the *Peacock*, that noble bird, the *food of lovers* and the *meat of lords**.—Few dishes were in higher fashion in the 13th century, and there was scarce any royal or noble feast without it. They stuffed it with spices and sweet herbs, and covered the head with a cloth, which was kept constantly wetted, to preserve the crown. They roasted it, and served it up whole, covered after dressing with the skin and feathers on, the comb entire, and the tail spread. Some persons covered it with leaf gold instead of its skin, and put a piece of cotton dipt in spirits into its beak, to which they set fire as they put it on the table. The honour of serving it up was reserved for the ladies most distinguished for birth, rank, or beauty,

* Such are the epithets bestowed on it by Romance-writers.

ty, one of whom followed by others, and attended by music, brought it up in the gold or silver dish, and set it before the master of the house, or the guest most distinguished for his courtesy and valour, or after a tournament before the victorious knight, who was to display his skill in carving the favourite fowl, and take an oath of valour and enterprise on its head. The romance of Lancelot, adopting the manners of the age in which it was writ-

ten, represents King Arthur doing this office to the satisfaction of 500 guests. A picture by Stevens, engraved by l'Empereur, represents a peacock-feast. Mons. d'Aussy had seen an old piece of tapestry of the 15th century, representing the same subject, which he could not afterwards recover, to engrave in his curious History of the Private Life of the French. It may flatter the vanity of an English historian to find this desideratum here supplied.

Short Hints, by Dr Robert Drummond, Archbishop of York, to Lord Desford, going to begin his Education at Oxford *.

N. B. Besides the books mentioned in the body of the page, those set down in the Notes may be of use.

I SHOULD be diffident in giving my advice to a young Nobleman where my affections are concerned, for fear of drawing him into a mistaken course of study. But yet as my affections urge me strongly, I will hazard even my judgment, though I may fail, notwithstanding my earnest desire to be of some sort of service to a friend and a relation.

My judgment, as far as it goes with regard to a young Nobleman who is a stranger to public education, to Greek and composition, is this: that his ambition should be carried forward towards the greater lines of public life, by such methods of knowledge that may suit him, and yet enable him to appear with credit to himself and service to his country. All knowledge should be laid in principle; principle is founded on reason and morality. Without tiring a person unused to application, I would shew him a short and yet profitable way, without a great deal of dryness and trouble.

It has always appeared to me, that there can be no profitable application without pleasure in reading, and that

pleasure cannot arise, except the mind feels an ambition to push on to the object which is thus in view, and to enlarge its powers.

A system of morality need not be dry, but it is a necessary foundation. Burslemagui's *Droit Naturel*, Puffendorf's *Devoirs d'Homme et de Citoyen* par Barbeyrac, and the Extracts of the Socratic Philosophy from Xenophon and Plato†, for the use of Westminster school, are short books and pleasurable. In Tully and Socrates you see all that was valuable amongst the Academics, which indeed was the only sect that carried the efforts of reason as far as it would then go. Of the other two sects (for there are but three great ones) the Stoics hurt the cause of their virtue by over-rating its power; and the Epicureans debased it.

To connect the system of natural religion as to theory and practice with Christianity, which is the perfection of morality, and that method of salvation which the Deity revealed to mankind through Christ, that they may be assured of eternal happiness upon their sincere

* *Europ. Mag.*

† *Oeuvres de Platon*, par Dacier, 2 vols. Xenophon's *Memoirs of Socrates*, Epictetus, and Antoninus; Hutchinson's *Moral Philosophy*.

sincere endeavour to fulfil his laws ; to connect these, Grotius de Veritate Religionis Christianæ, Leland on Revelation, vol. II. and Clarke on the Attributes, particularly the Second Part, will be very useful ; and on the knowledge of the Deity, Maclaurin's First Chapter of the View of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophy, and Abernethy on the Attributes, which will be easier than Clarke's First Part. Thus the foundation will be laid in a just sense of the nature of God and man, of creation, providence, and redemption, and the heart and understanding will be formed upon sound and strong principles. Without entering into theology the Bible may be read, and when it is read there should be some Comment at hand. Patrick and Lowth on the Old, and Whitby or Hammond on the New Testament, seem to me the best to be consulted occasionally, though there is no commentator without his faults.

In reading the Scriptures a young man may start at difficulties ; how they may arise you will see in Bishop Atterbury's, and Bishop Conybeare's Sermons on that subject.

Lowth's short Tract shews you the profitable reading of Scripture ; for one principle ought to be laid down, and kept in your mind throughout all reading relative to religion ; that is, that the gracious designs of God towards mankind are all conditional, never superseding, but always exciting and co-operating with the endeavours of men as free and rational agents *.

The study of mathematics and natural philosophy is useful, but the pur-

suit must depend upon the turn of genius and disposition.

With regard to composition and style, the best poets are entertainment for taste and imagination ; and the elegant Orations of Tully pro Arch. 2 Ligari. Mar. Marcello, and others, may be read and translated : and also particular parts ; as the end of the First Book de Legibus ; Catiline's Character in the Oration pro M. Cælio ; Preface to the Orator ; some of the Epistles ; but the Orator and de Oratore should be read through. English style is better gotten by a few books than by variety, as the changes of our language have been great, and may deceive one who is unexperienced. Sherlock's Sermons, as well as others that have a great deal of oratory as well as matter ; some of the prose writings of Addison and Dryden ; and the nervous letters and speeches of Statesmen since Henry the First's time (excepting the pedantic writers) will introduce right language †.

But the real formation of style (which is to express with method, propriety, and strength, what you understand clearly and correctly) will be best made by writing frequently compositions on historical and popular subjects. This will be your own style ; and if it is attended to, whenever occasion calls, with a sensible elocution adapted to the subject and the audience, your public appearances will be honourable and successful. This should be your ambition. The largest line of ambition in political knowledge belongs to History. Bosquet's Universal History, and ‡ Sleidan

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* Beattie on Truth ; Wilkins on Natural Religion ; Whole Duty of Man ; Scot's Christian Life ; Pearson on the Creed ; Rotherham on Faith ; Nicholson on the Liturgy.

† Homer, Hesiod, Theocritus, Sophocles, Euripides, Horace, Virgil, Lucretius, Ovid, Terence, Juvenal, &c. Boileau, Corneille, Racine, Moliere, &c. Shakespeare, Spencer, Milton, Waller, Cowley, Prior, &c. Barrow, Tillotson, Sharp, Clarke, Castrell, Rogers, Addison, Dryden, Middleton's Life of Tully, Original Letters, Parliamentary History.

‡ Vide the French translation by Ablancourt ; Stillingfleet's Origines Sacræ ; Prideaux's Connection of Old and New Testament ; Potter's Gr. Antiquities ; Kennet's Roman History ; Vertot's Revolutions.

dan de Quatuor Monarchiis will shew the great outlines. The Grecian history is best found by reading the whole, and selecting and translating the striking parts of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon; but for want of the Greek language, it may be learned from parts of Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the World, Rollin, and the late History of Greece printed at Edinburgh, which is the abridgement of Rollin. The Roman History may be found in Rollin; but Livy, Sallust, and Tacitus should not be omitted, and others should be read occasionally. The Connection of Ancient and Modern History, from the dissolution of the Roman Empire to the rise of the Modern Monarchies, may be seen in the first volume of Robertson's History of Charles V. which is more succinct than that able performance of Giannoni's History of Naples, and more faithful and useful than Voltaire. The History of Britain will be interesting, but not of consequence, as to particulars, till the time of Henry VII. Rapin's Abridgement, with his Dissertation on the Laws of the Anglo-Saxons, Lord Littleton's Henry II. and Blackstone's Commentaries, will shew all that is necessary till Henry VII*.

Then persons and things may be more accurately considered, and the state of the Constitution may be explored. Foreign History is also necessary, and those parts which engage the attention will be more fully pursued in every part of History, and indeed in every part of reading whatever. This method of reading History will shew the general events, changes, and

systems of Government, with their property and force at the respective times. In this course the motives of Legislation will appear, and the study of the different parts of the Roman, Civil, or Feudal Laws, will be more useful, by seeing their origin, their progress, and the different tinges and colours that they gave to the municipal laws of the different countries of Europe, under the present system. These laws and studies may be pursued in their proper course, as time, views, and imaginations may serve. That mind is the most happily formed, that is free from all narrow, contracted, and partial views; and thinks of men and things in a benevolent, impartial, and great light; and after such a pursuit of study with this extensive contemplation and reflection, the causes and effects of the different sorts of policy; the powers and manners of different nations in different ages; the check, progress, and revival of liberty; the state of Arts, Science, Commerce, Population, Colonies, &c. will be deduced in the different aras.

The memory will be methodised by the help of plain Chronology and Geography; the imagination will be fired with persons and actions; and the mind will be empowered to see through the whole system of ages and nations, and to judge upon great lines. Candour, modesty, and caution, will be the result of fair inquiry, if attended with fair temper; and after a due insight into the present scene, a proper ambition will be animated, and directed with penetration, coolness, and vigour; and the man will be brought into action

* Mably on the Rise and Fall of the Romans, Caesar, Paternulus, Suetonius, Cornelius Nepos, Plutarch, Polybius, Hortus R. Hist. Puffendorf's Introduction a l'Histoire d'Europe, Campbell's View of the Powers of Europe, Rapin's History and Continuation, Buchanan Chron. Hist. France Mezerai, Henault's Abridgement, Abridgement of Spain, Portugal, and Italy, Necker sur le Corps Germaniques, Sir W. Temple, Burnet, Woodaston and Locke, Bacon, Puffendorf, Montesquieu, Grotius, Duck de Jure Civili, Gravin. de Ortu et Progressu, Institutes, Pandects, Vinnius, Heineccius, Huber, Hoppius, Voet, Zauk, &c. Erskine's Institutes of Scottish Law, Craig on the Feudal Law, Geographical Charts, Talent's Tables of Chronology, Maps ancient and modern, with a System of Geography.

tion fully cultivated by knowledge and powers for the real service of his experience of men and things, and country. will be enabled to make use of his

An Argument used by some Writers in Defence of the Legality of the Slave-Trade, viz. the Mixture of an Owrang-Outang with a Female African, by which they think a Race of Animals may be produced, partaking of the Nature of each, refuted.*

AT this time, when there appears a general endeavour among the free-born inhabitants of Great Britain to abolish that infernal commerce carried on betwixt the West-Indies and the coast of Africa, which sets a price on the head of Man, and converts him into a beast of burthen; permit me, through the medium of your publication, to throw my mite into the treasury of Humanity. My intention is to set in a proper point of view a circumstance on which some writers in defence of the Slave-trade have founded much of its legality †, (viz.) the mixture of an Owrang-Outang with a female African; by which they think a race of animals may be produced, partaking of the nature of each. One of these writers says, "May it not be fairly conjectured, that the female negroes who live wandering in the wilds of Africa, are, there, frequently surprized and deflowered by the Owrang-Outang, or other such brutes; that from thence they become reconciled, as other women who are more civilized easily are, to similar attacks, and continue to cohabit with them? If this be granted, the colonists of the West-Indies are instrumental in 'humanizing the descendants of the offspring of brutes' (for a generation or two will change their nature, as much as a negro is changed to a mulatto, mulatee, or quadroon, by the intercourse of blacks

'and whites) to the honour of the human species, and to the glory of the Divine Being."

So many able naturalists are of opinion that such an intercourse with brutes sometimes takes place, that I cannot but believe it: I likewise believe, that the female may be impregnated by such a prostitution; but the production of such an unnatural commerce will be, as in the case of a mare and ass, a mule, an animal incapable of propagation. If the writer above quoted had allowed himself a moment's reflection on the subject, he would have seen, that if a creature had been produced by the connection of the African woman with the Owrang-Outang, and *vice versa*, capable of procreation, the harmony of the animal system must have been ruined. The new animal, neither brute nor human, might possibly again mix with an animal not of its own species; the consequence of which would be, the production of another new creature, partaking of the nature of both its parents, but differing essentially from one and the other; and so on *ad infinitum*. Thus might this promiscuous intercourse proceed, till the whole order of animals would be in the utmost confusion. But the all-wise Creator of the Universe, foreseeing that such unnatural propensities would sometimes take place, has guarded against their effects by raising an insurmountable barrier,

* *Eurob Mag.*

† By the legality of the Slave-trade I mean that power delegated to man, of enslaving the animals lower in the scale than himself, and which those writers would extend to the native of Africa, from an idea that he has a mixture of brute-blood in his body.

barrier, which is no other than rendering the offspring of such an intercourse *sterile*. So that it is impossible a new race of animals should be produced by the mixture of a male and female of different species, as in the female African and Owran-Outang.

From this, I presume, it appears that no such change can be effected in the animal descended from the human and brute species, if any are brought to the West-Indies, as these writers speak of. That a generation or two will change their nature as much as the negro is changed to a mulatto, &c. by the intercourse of the whites and blacks, cannot be. The negro of Africa is a branch of the same stock with the European, whether English or French, a Spaniard or a Portuguese: the difference in the colour of his skin, perhaps, is the effect of climate; the poorness of his intellectual faculties may rise from the same cause; but still he is as much a human creature as the most refined European. And the strongest argument to prove this assertion is, that the product of an European and an African is an animal fruitful as its parents. The animals these writers speak of (if such there are) as being humanized in a few generations, exist but in themselves; and if my reasoning is admitted, they have no procreative powers; so that the species, if I may be allowed to give it that appellation, begins and ends in the same individual animal; and the prospect of a change taking place in such monsters, for monsters they certainly are, similar to that effected by a mixture of European and African blood, is merely ideal.

But lest it may be supposed that the affinity between the negro and the Owran-Outang is nearer than I imagine, I shall endeavour to bring some authorities to prove that the chasm betwixt the two is so large as to render them of distinct species. Owran-Outang is the name by which this animal is known in the East-Indies.

Monf. de Buffon describes two kinds of them, which he looks upon as a variety in the same species; the largest he calls *Pongo*, and the small one *Jocko*. Linnæus is supposed to describe one of them under the name of *Nocturnal Man*. But the size of the animal he describes does not agree with the *Pongo*; and the *Jocko*, tho' it is of the same size as the *Nocturnal Man*, differs from it, says Buffon, in every other character. I can affirm adds the same author, from having several times seen it, that it not only does not express itself by speaking or whistling, but even that it did not do a single thing but what a well-instructed dog could do. This celebrated naturalist (Buffon) even doubts the existence of the *Nocturnal Man*, an animal which in description comes very near human nature. Those, therefore, who have formed their notions of the Owran-Outang from Linnæus's description, it should seem have been misled; the travellers from whom he has his authorities having in all probability imperfectly described a white Negro, or Chacrelas.

The *Pongo*, or, as it is called in Guinea, the *Barris*, is probably the creature which is supposed sometimes to cohabit with the women of the country. He is described by Battel, as being of a gigantic stature, and of astonishing strength; his body, externally, scarce differing from that of man, except that he has no calves to his legs. He lives upon fruits, and is no ways carnivorous. The want of the muscles which form the calves of the legs, constitutes an essential difference from the human species; as well as his living only on vegetables: for man is by nature a carnivorous animal, as may be demonstrated by the structure of his *teeth* and *digestive organs*. The *Pongo*, from this writer's account of him, does not appear to have any thing like a language, as in the animal described by Linnæus, but is to all intents a *brute*, endowed with somewhat

somewhat a greater degree of instinct than his fellow-brutes. Tyfon, who has given an accurate anatomical description of the *Pigme* (Jocko), demonstrates a great difference between the internal structure of that animal and man, sufficient, I think, to prove them of distinct species. And Professor Camper, by a dissection of the larynx, &c. of the Owran-Outang, and several other species of monkeys, has clearly demonstrated the impossibility of their speaking.

If we take the observations I have cited collectively, they amount to a positive proof of the Owran-Outang being very far removed from the human species. In the first place, Buffon asserts that it is not capable of doing more than a well-taught dog; secondly, it universally wants the *gastrocnemii* muscles, a striking character in the human frame; and its teeth and organs of digestion are such as the granivorous animals are known alone to possess; and, thirdly, the demonstrations of Camper (a competent judge),

which prove, that the organs in the human frame destined to the purposes of articulation, are in this brute so formed as to render it totally incapable of speech: I repeat, if these observations are taken collectively, they abundantly prove this animal nearer allied to brutes than to man. Though the Owran-Outang is not in my opinion sufficiently allied to man to produce an intermediate species, yet I believe he may be the link which connects the rational creature to the brute. From the united authority of able naturalists, there is not a doubt but man and the Owran-Outang are of distinct and widely-separated species. Therefore, the few solitary animals produced by this unnatural mixture, said to have been brought to the West-Indies, and which I believe are incapable of procreation, afford no argument in favour of a commerce fraught with the blackest acts of treachery, and teeming with practices the bare relation of which makes human nature shudder.

Three autographical Letters. The first from the Wife of Dryden, the other two from that great Poet himself; addressed to the famous Dr Busby.

Ascension-day [1682].

HONNOURED SIR,

I HOPE I need use noe other argument to you in excuse of my sonn for not coming to church to Westminster then this, that he now lies at home, and therefore cannot easily goe soe far backwards and forwards. His father and I will take care that he shall duly goe to church heare, both on holydayes and Sundays, till he comes to be more nearly under your care in the college. In the mean time, will you pleas to give me leave to accuse you of forgetting your promis concerning my eldest sonn, who, as you once assured me, was to have one night in a weeke allowed him to lie at home,

in considiration both of his health and cleanliness: you know, Sir, that promises mayd to women, and especially mothers, will never fail to be cald upon; and thearfore I will add noe more but that I am, at this time, your remembrancer, and allwayes,

Honnard Sir, your humble servant,

E. DRYDEN.

Wednesday Morning.

HONNOURED SIR, [1682.]

WE have, with much ado, recovered my younger sonn, who came home extreemly sick of a violent cold, and, as he thinks himselfe, a chine cough. The truth is, his constitution is very tender; yet his desire of learning,

ing, I hope, will inable him to brush through the college. He is all-ways gratefully acknowledging your fatherly kindnesse to him; and very willing, to his poore power, to do all things which may continue it. I have no more to add, but only with the eldest may also deserve some part of your good opinion, for I believe him to be of vertuous and pious inclinations; and for both, I dare assure you, that they can promise to themselves no farther share of my indulgence then while they carry themselves with that reverence to you, and that honesty to all others, as becomes them. I am, honourd Sir, your most obedient servant and scholar, JOHN DRYDEN.

SIR,

[1683.]

IF I could have found in my selfe a sitting temper to have waited upon you, I had done it the day you dismissed my sonn from the college; for he did the message, and, by what I find from Mr Meredith, as it was delivered by you to him; namely, that you desired to see me, and had somewhat to say to me concerning him. I observed likewise somewhat of kindnesse in it, that you sent him away that you might not have occasion to correct him. I examin'd the business, and found it concern'd his having been Custos foure or five dayes together. But if he admonished, and was not believed because other boyes combined to discredit him with false witnessing, and to save themselves: perhaps his crime is not so great. Another fault it seems he made, which was going into one Hawkes his house, with some others; which you hapning to see, sent your servant to know who they were, and he only returned you my sonn's name: so the rest escaped. I have no fault to find with my sonn's

punishment, for that is, and ought to be, reserved to any master, much more to you who have been his father's *. But your man was certainly to blame to name him onely; and 'tis onely my respect to you that I do not take notice of it to him. My first rash resolutions were, to have brought things past any compofure, by immediately sending for my sonn's things out of the college; but upon recollection, I find I have a double tye upon me not to do it: one, my obligations to you for my education; another, my great tenderneffe of doing any thing offensive to my Lord Bishop of Rochester†, as cheife governour of the college. It does not consist with the honour I beare him and you to go so precipitately to worke; no, not so much as to have any difference with you, if it can possibly be avoyded. Yet, as my sonn stands now, I cannot see with what credit he can be elected; for, being but sixth, and (as you are pleased to judge) not deserving that neither, I know not whether he may not go immediately to Cambridge, as well as one of his own election went to Oxford this yeare by your consent. I will say nothing of my second sonn, but that, after you had been pleased to advise me to waite on my Lord Bishop for his favour, I found he might have had the first place if you had not opposed it; and I likewise found at the election, that, by the pains you had taken with him, he in some sort deserved it. I hope, Sir, when you have given your selfe the trouble to read thus farr, you, who are a prudent man, will consider, that none complaine, but they desire to be reconciled at the same time; there is no mild expostulation at least, which does not intimate a kindness and respect in him who makes it. Be pleased,

* Our Poet, John, was elected from Westminster-school to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1630; his cousin, Jonathan, in 1636. Of the "two sons" mentioned in this letter, Charles, admitted to the school in 1630, went off to Christ Church in 1683; John, admitted in 1682, to Trin. Coll. in 1685. J. N.

† Dr John Dolben.

fed, if there be no merit on my side, to make it your own. act of grace to be what you were formerly to my sonn. I have done something, so farr to conquer my own spirit as to ask it; and, indeed, I know not with what face to go to my Lord Bishop, and to tell him I am taking away both my sonns; for though I shall tell him no occasion, it will look like a disrespect to my old Master, of which I will not

be guilty if it be possible. I shall add no more, but hope I shall be so satisfied with a favourable answer from you, which I promise to myselfe from your goodnesse and moderation, that I shall still have occasion to continue,

S I R,

Your most obliged humble servant,

JOHN DRYDEN.

Marriage of the Duke of Guise.—A true Story.

IT is unnecessary here to enter into the history of the family of the Duke of Guise, the particulars of which are so well known. Charles de Lorraine, the eldest son of Henry the celebrated Duke of Guise, who was assassinated in the castle of Blois, by the order of Henry the Third of France, was made prisoner on the same day, and confined in the castle of Tours; from whence he escaped in August 1591, and rejoined the faction called the League, whose violence had so long desolated France; and who, after the death of Henry the Third, opposed that excellent monarch and amiable man Henry the Fourth. When this league was broken, by his having become "the conqueror of his own," he generously forgave, and even took into his favour the Duke of Maine, who had been its leader; whose nephew, the young Duke of Guise, was received at court at the same time, and entrusted with the government of Provence. After the assassination of Henry the Great, the Duke of Guise still held some places of trust under his son Louis the Thirteenth; but the house of Guise was so much the object of envy and suspicion, on account of its former power, and the illustrious men it had produced, that care was taken not to raise it again too high by honours and emoluments: and at length, Cardinal Richelieu grew so dissatisfied with the Duke of Guise, that he obliged him to quit France. He retired to Florence, and died in the Sienois in 1640, leaving several children by his wife Henrietta Catharine de Joyeuse, only daughter of Henry de Joyeuse, Marechal of France, and widow of Henry de Bourbon, Duke de Montpensier. His son, Henry de Lorraine, born in 1514, became (by the death of his el-

dest brother) Duke of Guise. He seemed to inherit the spirit, as well as the personal perfections of his grandfather, the celebrated Duke of Guise. His figure and his exploits, which were those of an hero of romance, made him very acceptable to the ladies; while his inconstancy and perfidy punished many of them for their partiality. He had been originally designed for the church, and possessed, by a sort of ecclesiastical succession peculiar to the house of Guise, the archbishopric of Rheims, and some of the richest abbies in the kingdom; though he had never taken any degree or vow, to qualify himself for those dignities. His first attachment was to Anne d'Mantoue, who was his relation, and who was afterwards married to the Palatine of the Rhine. Cardinal de Richelieu, who foresaw that a marriage between this lady and the Duke of Guise would be prejudicial to the interests of France, divided them, by putting her into a convent, from whence, however, she escaped, and when the Duke of Guise joined the party of the Count de Soissons (which party, under pretence of delivering the kingdom from the administration of the Cardinal, covered more dangerous projects) she found means to follow him, in man's apparel, and overtook him at Cologne. But the Duke, either really apprehensive for her safety, or perhaps cured of his love by the rash fondness of his mistress, refused to let her continue with him, and insisted on her returning to Paris; under pretence that his tenderness would not allow him to let her hazard her person among the dangers and inconveniences to which the service he was upon exposed him.

The Duke now entered with his usual impetuosity into the conspiracy, which took

took a very alarming form, and was sanctioned by the specious name of "The League formed to preserve the peace of Christendom." As Archbishop of Rheims, he was the first spiritual peer, and as Duke of Guise, the most ancient temporal peer of France; but these ties he broke through, and was declared General of the armies of the League.

The King prosecuted him for rebellion; and by an arrest he was declared guilty of treason, sentenced to be beheaded, and his effects confiscated; which sentence was executed on him in effigy a few days afterwards, and all his property seized by the Crown.

The Duke went to Brussels, where he took upon him the command of the troops, which were sent thither by the Emperor and the King of Spain. There he found his aunt, the Dutchess of Chevreuse, who had been obliged to quit France for her intrigues against Cardinal Richelieu; and at her house he became acquainted with the Countess de Bossu, a young and beautiful widow, whose vivacity and personal attractions were more than sufficient to inflame a heart so susceptible of the power of beauty as was that of the Duke of Guise.

The anecdotes of that time give an account of their acquaintance and its consequence; which is perhaps somewhat heightened by the lively imagination of the writers, who, to bring truth nearer to romance, have embellished it with their own colouring. However, as there are no other accounts of the commencement of this connection, it must be related in their manner.

The Duke of Guise having often seen the Countess de Bossu at the house of the Dutchess of Chevreuse, was equally charmed by her beauty, and amused with her vivacity. The lady, on her part, thought such a conquest as that of the handsomest and most accomplished man in Europe, deserved all her attention, and that she might forgive herself even some unusual advances to secure it. These, however, she conducted with so much art, that the Duke grew every day more in love; and when Madame de Bossu thought he was enough so to refuse her nothing, she spoke to him of marriage; to which the Duke answered, that he desired nothing so much as to unite his destiny with hers:—but if Madame de Bossu had known more of his real character, she might have perceived, that he would not thus readily have entered into engagements, had he thought them

binding; and that he only wished to amuse himself during his exile. She knew enough to doubt the performance of his promise; but, flattered by the hope of seeing in her fetters him for whom so many vainly sighed, she pretended to be the dupe of his ready profession, while she in fact meditated how to make him hers. With this view, as it was now the finest part of the year, she made a party to go to a beautiful seat she had, a league from Brussels, where she contrived to amuse the Duke for some days, with every thing she thought agreeable to him. The Duke, flattered by her attention, spoke to her more passionately than he had yet done; to which the Countess answered, that if he was sincere in his professions, if his love was as great as he pretended, he would hasten the completion of their marriage. The Duke protested that there was nothing he so ardently desired as to be united for ever with so amiable a person. Madame de Bossu, who was in hopes she should bring him to that declaration, then told him, he might immediately convince her of his veracity, and secure the happiness he seemed so much to desire, for that she had a priest and a notary ready, who would instantly perform the ceremonies. The Duke, who certainly did not believe a marriage under such circumstances would be binding to him, consented with as much apparent satisfaction as if he had been sincere. Manselle, the almoner of the army, was called in, who gave them a dispensation, for want of the proper banns, and then the nuptial benediction. The next day the Duke returned to Brussels, leaving the Countess de Bossu extremely happy, at being, as she imagined, Dutchess of Guise, and wife to the most charming man of the age.

Whatever care had been taken to keep this transaction secret, it became in a few weeks the conversation of Brussels; the Duke d'Elbeuf, and the Dutchess de Chevreuse, both spoke to the Duke upon it in a style of severity he was by no means disposed to bear. His respect for his aunt, Madame d'Chevreuse, made him listen to her reproaches with some appearance of patience; but his fiery temper could ill brook the remonstrances of the Duke d'Elbeuf, whom he answered in terms so full of rage and indignation, that a challenge passed between them; and they were prevented fighting only by the interposition of the Archduke.

Extremely irritated to think that any one should dare to pry into and blame his

his actions, he determined to shew how little he considered their disapprobation, by bringing Madame de Bossu home to his house, and owning her as his wife; which at first he meant not to do, and had even prevailed on her to conceal their marriage, by representing to her that it would be necessary for him to try to reconcile his family to the match, before he acknowledged it. The author of the life of Sylvia de Moliere, relates the means by which the marriage first became publicly known; but there seems to be much of fiction in the account, and it was probably fabricated by the romance-writers of the day. It asserts, that the Duke of Guise and the Countess of Bossu felt towards each other that kind of sympathy, which informed each of the presence or approach of the other, when they had no other means of knowing it; and that this singular presentiment betrayed their connection, on the following occasion.—The Count de **** had long been in love with Madame de Bossu, and pursued her wherever she went, with an ardour which her coldness and even rudeness to him could not diminish. The Duke of Guise, whose superior merit did not preserve him from jealousy, saw these assiduities continued towards his wife with uneasiness; and he determined to know whether his absence would make any change in the behaviour of Madame de Bossu towards her importunate admirer. Great rejoicings were about this time made at Brussels, for the birth of a prince of Spain; and, among other entertainments, there was to be a grand ball at the Countess of Santacroix's: several noblemen purposed to go thither masked, and dressed in fantastic habits; but the Duke of Guise, affecting great concern that he could not be of the party, took leave of his friends, and of Madame de Bossu, and went out of town, saying, he had affairs which would detain him three or four days. As soon, however, as night came he returned, and, having with great secrecy provided himself with an Indian habit, he mingled, without being remarked, with the party in masks, and entered the ball-room; he there beheld Madame de Bossu, with the Count sitting by her, as usual; but he had no time to make any remarks on her behaviour, for he had not been many minutes near her, before Madame de Bossu felt the emotion she always experienced on the approach of her husband, and trusting rather to a sensation that had never deceived her, than to all he had told her

of his journey, she arose to seek him among the disguised noblemen, and immediately knew him, though he had taken the utmost pains to alter his appearance: the transports they mutually discovered, and which they found it impossible to stifle, divulged the secret of their marriage.—“I have seen,” says the author of this narration, “an original letter of the Duke of Guise, upon this extraordinary instance of the sympathy between him and his wife; it was one of the most charming and interesting letters I ever read: he even complained of the excess of his happiness,” foreseeing, perhaps, that it was too great to last. In fact, a very few months afterwards he made his peace with the King, and returned to France; and tho’ he for some time continued to write to Madame de Bossu, he engaged in other attachments; and at length thought of her no more, unless it was to contrive means to break the ties which bound them to each other.

At first, the unfortunate Madame de Bossu flattered herself, from the frequency and tenor of the letters she received from the Duke, that she should share with him in his prosperity, as she had done his adversity; during which she had advanced many sums of money for him, and extremely distressed herself. The Dutchess Dowager of Guise, who had other views for her son, used every artifice to prevent her being received in France. But Madame de Bossu, fearless of the danger she incurred, determined at all events to see her husband, trusting that all his former tenderness would return when he beheld her: she was particularly induced to hope this from a letter she had received, in which he protested to her, that he was incapable of infidelity; that his honour and his conscience, as well as his inclination, attached him to her; and he only lamented, that the contagion of his misfortunes had reached her, whom he loved more than life; but she might assure herself, death only should separate them. Her courage was strengthened by a letter so flattering to her hopes: she determined to disguise herself, and set out for France; and, travelling with equal expedition and secrecy, she threw herself into his arms, before he knew she was on her journey. He received her with kindness; but his mother was no sooner apprised of her arrival, than she went to the Queen, from whom she obtained an order for Madame de Bossu to quit the dominions of France instantly. This order was sig-

nified to her, and enforced by the remonstrance of the Duke of Guise; who told her, that all his endeavours and intreaties would be ineffectual to preserve her from insult, and even from personal danger, if she did not comply with it. Under such circumstances the unfortunate Countess was obliged to submit, and returned broken-hearted to her mother. The Duke, giving himself up to intrigue, and to the warmth of his ungovernable temper, soon after got into a quarrel with the Count de Coligni: they fought in the midst of the Court, and the Duke of Guise dangerously wounded and disarmed his antagonist. His mother was perpetually apprehensive for his safety, which he continually hazarded; she dreaded lest the old animosity should be renewed between him and the house of Condé, with whom the house of Guise had long been at variance; a renewal of which, she foresaw, would be attended with the most fatal events: she was, therefore, very desirous that the Duke should marry Mademoiselle de Longueville, niece to the great Condé. But the Duke had fallen in love with Mademoiselle de Pons; and as this new attachment was, if possible, more violent than any he had yet felt, he positively refused to listen to any overtures in regard to Mademoiselle de Longueville. As he determined to marry Mademoiselle de Pons, it became necessary for him to inquire how far his marriage with the Countess de Bossu might prevent the completion of his wishes; and he found, that it would raise such impediments to his designs, as he should find it extremely difficult to obviate: this consideration, and the trouble he received from the Attorney-general (who prosecuted him for his offence against law and order, by fighting publicly with the Count de Coligni), determined him to go himself to Rome; where he hoped to obtain the dissolution of his engagements with Madame de Bossu. At this time the civil war of Naples, occasioned by the heavy imposts laid on the people, broke out; Mazziniello, who was the leader of the tumult, being destroyed, the rebels had recourse to the Duke of Guise, who, by his descent, had a sort of claim to the kingdom of Naples. The Duke no sooner received the proposal of becoming their General, than with his usual impetuosity he accepted it; and, making his way through the fleet commanded by Don John of Austria, he arrived at Naples, and became Generalissimo of the rebel

army. It is unnecessary here to relate the various events that occurred while he continued on this command. The charms of Mademoiselle de Pons, which had induced him to go to Rome, in hopes of being allowed to marry her, were soon forgotten, amid the attractions of the Neapolitan beauties: but his general gallantries among the lowest of the people, and his attachment to the daughter of a tailor in particular, disgusted those who had at first beheld him with admiration and respect; and at length his usual rashness made him commit an indiscretion, which put the town into the hands of the Spaniards. He had then recourse to flight; but was pursued, taken, and sent prisoner to Spain.

While this was passing, the unfortunate Countess de Bossu was sued by the Duke's creditors; and her effects, as well as the dower she possessed from her first husband, seized to satisfy their demands. Notwithstanding which, and all his neglect and cruelty, she no sooner heard of his imprisonment, than she quitted the house of her mother, with whom she was obliged to reside, and went into France, meaning to pass from thence into Spain, to solicit his release, or share his confinement. Her friends, however, represented to her, that her journey would be absolutely fruitless; and prevailed upon her to return into Flanders. By the interposition of the great Condé, who then served the King of Spain against his native country, the Duke was soon after released: the Spanish court, indeed, gave him his liberty the more willingly, as they hoped that his turbulent and restless spirit would create new troubles in France. He was no sooner at liberty, than he disclaimed all obligations to the Prince of Condé, and complained loudly of the treatment he had received at Madrid. The rashness of his character seemed to have gained strength by his confinement; his politics and his love assumed a more violent cast; the passion he had felt for Mademoiselle de Pons, seemed to return with more ardour than ever; and he determined to make her his, at whatever price. But when he learned, too certainly, that during his absence she had received as a favoured lover Monsieur de Malicorne, a private gentleman, rage and indignation stifled all the emotions of tenderness he had felt for her; he treated her with rudeness and insult, and insisted on her returning a pair of ear-rings, valued at a thousand crowns, which he had

had given her: he even sued her to oblige her to restore them; but had the mortification of losing his suit; which circumstance depriving him of all patience and temper, he threatened personal vengeance against the object of his former attachment; who, to avoid it, was driven to quit the kingdom.

Being then without any pursuit, and his capricious and violent temper making it impossible for him to remain long quiet, he sailed on another expedition to Naples, which did not answer his expectation; and, on his return, a new passion, more violent than any he had yet felt, attached him to Mademoiselle de Gorce.

In 1664 he died, leaving no posterity. All his brothers died before him; as did his sisters afterwards, unmarried. Thus ended the illustrious house of Guise; the

enterprising ambition of which had so long disturbed the tranquillity of France.

Madame de Bossu, ruined by the very means which she hoped would have made her the happiest woman in Europe, endeavoured to recover, from the heirs of the Duke of Guise, a jointure, as his wife. The process lasted many years, and she died before its termination, leaving her nearest relation, the Prince of Berghes, her heir; who endeavoured to recover, from the successors of the Duke of Guise, some part of the money that had been paid for the Duke. At the court of Rome, the department called the Rote*, allowed the validity of her marriage; but the courts of law in France, through all of which the cause was carried, decided, that, as the marriage was celebrated without the usual forms, it was absolutely null, and of no effect.

P O E T R Y.

VERSES.

*Occasioned by hearing Dr Moyle's Lectures.
By a Lady.*

O! Cou'd I snatch from heav'n seraphic fire,
Which high-exalted numbers might inspire,
And tune to sacred harmony my lays,
Whilst God's distinguish'd chosen work I praise!

Yet I the lofty theme with fear survey,
As human eyes avoid the fervent ray
Of the meridian sun's resplendent light,
Whose radiant beams obscure the dazzled sight.

Wou'd inspiration once my breast inflame,
I'd reach the tow'ring height of envy'd fame:
Sublimest lays should tell the wond'ring throng,

What praise, what admiration must belong
To him whose soaring, comprehensive mind,
From ev'ry science knowledge has combin'd,
Retain'd by mem'ry to instruct mankind!

False error flies his penetrating glance,
As vapours, when the morning rays advance;
Or, on some tow'ring mountain's airy height,
Where Phoebus' beams emit a radiant light;
Shadows and mists no more obscure the air,
But to their murky cave with speed repair.

Say, wond'rous Mortal, whence hast thou been fir'd?
Are those surprising pow'rs by Heav'n inspir'd?

From cloudless realms of uncreated light,
Truth's sacred beams illum'd thy mental sight:

Internal vision, from God's boundless store,
Impell'd thee Nature's sources to explore
On Resolution's daring wings upborn:
Themes most abstruse seem bright as smiling morn.

Thy reflex pow'rs, by harmony refin'd,
In polish'd language captivate the mind:
Such clear ideas, with such ease convey'd,
Such moving Eloquence, with taste display'd—

Th' astonish'd audience gaze with vast surprise,
Nor can believe thee born beneath the skies;

But some æthereal being, sent to trace
The laws of Heav'n, and free the human race

From warping prejudice that dims the sight,
As dark eclipses turn the day to night.

The British Fair with grateful feelings glow,

And well-deserved praise on thee bestow;
Whose lib'ral mind the tyranny disclos'd
Which barb'rous policy so long impos'd;
Like some celestial minister of grace,
By Heav'n design'd to charm the human race;

Whose manners lend to wisdom sov'reign pow'rs,

Which fall as soft as Heav'n's refreshing show'rs;

Display

* Chief jurisdiction of the Court of Rome.

Display the excellence of female mind,
By taste and purest sentiments refin'd;
Bid them ascend beyond ignoble schemes,
And glow with rapture at poetic themes.

Exalted mortal! how shall feeble lays
Declare thy merit, or attempt thy praise!
Thy path of glory, unobscur'd and bright,
Glow with a radiant, useful, lambent light.

When some illustrious seraphim above
In due progression from his place shall move,
In being's scale more glory to obtain,
Which blest immortals without envy gain;
To fill that vacuum, heav'n, supremely wise,
Shall snatch thee to a height beyond the

scies,

Command thy matchless spirit to its flight,
To rove pre-eminent thro' fields of light;
Admiring angels shall with joy behold
So much perfection, freed from earthly mould,

Such knowledge of thy great Creator's ways,
And join thee in a rapt'rous peal of praise!

EPISTLE,

*Written from a small Town, to a Friend
in the Country.*

DEAR SIR,

Surprise may make you whistle,
To see this rhyming, strange epistle,
And make you swear, with deadly might,
My brain must be in no good plight;
And justly; for, a dang'rous badness,
I know, you'll call *poetic madness*,
Attack'd me, Monday last; so strong
The paroxysm, it lasted long,
Three hours, at least—if I'm not wrong }
The fit returns, with equal rage,
At various times: a bad prelude!
All night, I dream of buxom lasses,
Of Pegasus, and mount Parnassus,
Castalian springs, Arcadian plains,
Horatian odes, Pindaric strains;
Of Dryden, Pope, Arbuthnot, Gay,
Swift, Addison, *et cætera*.

Now, judge how dang'rous is my case; }
No learned doctor in this place,
P——, e'er shall see my face:
For, quack no more we call physician
Than fiddle-scraper base—musician;
Or him who only tags a rhyme,
Vile poetaster—bard sublime.

I know, you love sometimes to pore }
On doctors' books, as heretofore,
From which may be acquir'd great lore.
I, therefore, crave your good advice,
For which, believe, I'll grudge no price:

If thanks be the reward you chuse,
Ask all you will; I won't refuse;
If cash with you has greater charms,
Set narrow limits to your terms;
The muses, those capricious b——s,
Don't bless their votaries with riches.

You may advise (I may suppose)
A purging, or emetic dose,
Or bleeding, blist'ring; or, far rather,
For more effect, these all together.
But what you think best to prescribe,
Do soon.—For God's sake do not gibe;
When such my case in winter's age is,
What won't it be when dog-star rages!

I'm glad to hear your health's restor'd,
Which shews what med'cine can afford,
But, now your health is out of danger,
To C——d why such a stranger!
You'll say, your mind from journey flinches,
When days are short, and sharp frost pinches;
And truly, for the self-same reason,
I stay at home in Winter season;
My head would be as light's a feather,
To visit B——s in such weather,

I have no more to say herewith,
But compliments to Mrs S——.
And now, dear Sir, believe me, really,
Yours always— A. R. B. B.

*On the Assertion of a POET,
That it is a Point of Duty, and the Will of
Providence, to cultivate Poetry, Paint-
ing, &c.*

PROUD artist, say! by what command
Does Heaven awake the Poets lyre?
Or bid the canvass'd form expand,
With touch of Promethean fire?

Did Heav'n ordain each lofty dome?
Those monuments of Art's display,
That swell'd with pride imperial Rome,
That totter now in sad decay.

Or say, by what divine command,
Has Music all her charms combin'd?
Since David took the harp in hand,
That drove the Demon from his mind.

From Sinai's top the sacred code,
Points out unerring rules to man,
Directs him to the blest'd abode,
And short and simple is the plan.

The bright Exemplar, he that deign'd
Immortal tenets to disclose;
The voice of reason still maintain'd,
In humblest stile of purest prose.

David, who Psalms of fittest praise
Devoutly ardent as St Peter,

Could

Could sing—his matchless song to raise,
Not Heav'n, but Sternhold lent the metre.

Pope, who thy genius far excells,
With views of loftier flight elate,
Confess'd his rhimes were glingling bells,
And gave to Virtue only weight.

The female boast is modest worth :
The rising blush of diffidence
Shall call more sterling merit forth,
Than volumes fraught with rhiming sense.

Soft manners that endear the soul,
The neat attire, the artless grace,
Heav'n has ordain'd with fit controul,
To keep sweet woman in her place.

Should Science force the sacred bound,
Or Art, proud Art, the charm discover;
Both Art and Science may be found,
But lovely woman's gone for ever,

Perhaps King Solomon, who knew
The dangers that from knowledge rise ;
The distaff, and the spindle too,
To prudent housewives did advise.

And hence the man of prudence, who
Much science finds there's little good in ;
Tormented by some learned shrew,
Sighs for a wife that makes a pudding.

For know, proud Dames, of learning know,
'Tho' what I state may seem a riddle ;
There's scarce one female takes the bow,
But mars the scientific fiddle.

*Lines written by Mr GRAY,
Upon Mr Fox's Father's retiring to his
Seat at Kingsland, in Kent.*

OLD and abandon'd by his venal friends,
Here Holland form'd the pious resolution,
To smuggle some few years, and strive to mend
A broken character and constitution.

On this congenial spot he fix'd his choice,
Earl Goodwin trembled for his neighbour's land.

Here Sea-Gulls scream, and Cormorants rejoice,
And Mariners, tho' ship-wreck'd, dread to land.

Here reign the blust'ring North, and blighting East.

No tree is heard to whisper, bird to sing ;
Yet Nature cannot furnish out the feast ;
Art he invokes, new horrors still to bring.
Now mould'ring fanes and battlements arise,
Arches and turrets nodding to their fall ;
Unpeopled palaces delude his eyes,
And mimic Desolation covers all.

Ah! said the sighing Peer, had Bute been true,
Nor Rigby's, Bedford's, Gower's, friendship vain ;

Far other scenes than these had crown'd our view,
And realiz'd the ruins that we feign :

Purg'd by the sword, and purify'd by fire,
'Then had we seen proud London's hated walls ;

Owls might have hooted in St Peter's choir,
And foxes stunk and litter'd in St Paul's.

To the Publisher.

SIR,

The Verses ascribed to Mary Queen of Scots, p. 147. do not appear to have been written in pure French, even if proper allowance be made for the lapse of time, and the errors of printing. Yet, in spite of all grammatical deficiencies, they seem to express the ideas of sorrow in so natural a language, that they gave birth to the following stanzas, which may, perhaps, be allowed the merit of a paraphrase, if they cannot claim the praise of a translation. Yours, &c. R. E. C.

SONNET, by MARY Queen of Scots,
on the Death of her Husband Francis I.

From the French.

WHAT was once a source of pleasure
Now becomes the cause of pain ;
Day no more displays its treasure,
Endless night o'er spreads the plain ;
Powers of nature, powers of art,
Cease to charm a wounded heart.

Though by Fate compell'd to range,
Oft from place to place I roam,
Vain, alas! the promis'd change ;
Grief is still my dreary home—
Much of evil, nought of good,
Springs from pining solitude.

If in some retreat I stray,
Through the grove, or near the stream ;
Whether at the dawn of day,
Or when Ev'ning slopes his beam ;
There my heart incessant finds
All the pain of absent minds.

If perchance I turn my sight
Toward the cloudy mantled sky,
There, in mild reflected light,
Still I view his radiant eye—
Fleeting glance! the watery gloom
Seems his emblematic tomb.

Should I court delusive ease
On the dreaming couch of wo,
Then his form my fancy sees,
Then it hears his accents flow :

Rack'd

Rack'd with business, sunk in rest,
He's my ever constant guest.

Cease, my lyre, thy plaintive measure!
Why in varied rhymes complain?
Nought can tune thy chords to pleasure,
Still recurs the sorrowing strain.—
Fate may rob the hour of peace,
Love will mourn,—but ne'er decrease.

Ode to MELANCHOLY.

SISTER of soft-ey'd Pity, hail!
Say, in what deep-sequester'd vale,
Thy head upon thy hand reclin'd,
Sitt'st thou to watch the last faint gleams
of light;
To mark the grey mists sail along the wind,
And shadows dim that veil the brow of
night!
Or 'neath some rock abrupt and steep,
Hear'st thou the hoarse-resounding deep,
While from many a murky cloud,
Blue light'nings flash by fits, and pealing loud
The solemn thunder shakes th' aerial hall?
Or, lonely loit'ring o'er the plain,
See'st thou the glim'ring landscape fade,
And bidd'st the soul-commanding lyre
Some such magic numbers chide
As love and tenderness inspire,
And Heav'n's own calm around diffuse,
Till the sorrow-soothing strain
On the rapt ear with nectar'd sweetness fall,
Lift'ning; and held in mute Attention's
chain,
And all the soul dissolv'd and fainting lie
In Rapture's holy trance, and heav'nly ecstasy?

II.

O teach me, Nymph, retir'd and coy,
That lasting and substantial joy
From peace of mind and sweet content that
springs;
And cast thy milder tints o'er all
That may my wilder'd feet besail,
While thro' this vale of tears I go!—
But never may my soul those sorrows know,
Which shook from bleak Misfortune's
wings,
Elast all the bloom of life, and wide diffuse
Their cold ungenial damps on fancy and
the Muse.
Nor yet permit my steps to stray
Where on the river's marge sits wild Despair
Wistfully gazing on the fearful deep;
Whose looks the dark resolve declare,
Whose horrid thoughts have murder'd
sleep;
Hence too that other fiend, whose eye-balls
glare
Madness, who loudly laughs when others weep,
And fiercely stalks around, and shakes his
chain;

Hence, far away, ye hideous train;
Go, join the shrieking Stygian crew,
Or there, where Furies in their bow'r
Watch the dreadful midnight-hour,
Hung o'er the taper dim and furnace blue;
But ne'er with madd'ning steps invade
The Muses' consecrated shade,
Or bid her soothing Numbers cease
To bless the tranquil hour of Peace;
Where Love and Joy their sabbath keep,
Whom Rapture only taught to weep,

III.

Come then, with Fancy by thy side,
In all thy robes of flowing state,
To Genius evermore ally'd,
On whom the pensive Pleasures wait;
Teach me to build the lofty rhyme,
And lift my daring song sublime
To that unequal'd pitch of thought,
Which once the seraph, Milton, caught,
When rapt in his immortal theme,
Hemus'd, by Siloa's hallow'd stream;
But since this boon must be deny'd,
Be mine that solemn dirge of woe
Breath'd from the tender lyre of Gray,
Who oft' at ev'ning's fall would go
To pour 'midst rustic tombs his polish'd lay;
Th' historic draught shall never fade,
And many a youth, to fame unknown,
Shall bend beneath the yew tree's shade,
To trace the line that marks his stone;
There shall the village maids be seen
Where the forefathers of the hamlet
sleep;
And while the muse records the scene,
Hang o'er their turf-clad graves and
weep;
Oblivion's rude and wastful hand
Shall ne'er this little group efface;
For Time shall bid the colours stand,
And lend their charms a finish'd grace.

IV.

Nor yet where Auburn crowns the smil-
ing vale,
Pass, thou lorn maid, unheeding by;
Where yon poor matron tells her tale,
And points to the inquiring eye,
Where once her little mansion stood,
Shelter'd by a neighb'ring wood;
Recording in her homely phrase
The simple joys of former days:
Thus then, O Melancholy! o'er my lays
Thy faintly veil of sadness throw;
And give my numbers, void of art,
To touch the thought, to reach the heart.
And bid the tear of Pity flow;
For if the muse may e'er unblam'd design,
Or if her hand can colour ought;
'Tis when thy spirit prompts the line,
'Gives manliness to verse, and energy to
thought.

Monthly Register

FOR MARCH 1788.

GERMANY.

THE Flanders mail, Feb. 25. brought an authentic copy of the Emperor's declaration, or manifesto, against the Ottoman Porte. It is dated at Vienna, on the 13th; and after enumerating the many reasons which his ally, the Empress of Russia, has for going to war with the Porte, the Emperor declares, in consequence of being her ally, he has given orders to the Baron de Herbert, his Intermuncio at Constantinople, to make a formal declaration of his determination to support her claims with all his powers; of which he thinks proper to inform all his loving subjects, &c. &c.

By private letters from Vienna, the following intelligence is received.—An unhappy event has taken place with respect to the regiment of Belligrin; that fine corps, composed of 2500 of the best troops in the imperial service, having advanced too prematurely and unguardedly on the right side of the Danube, were surprised and totally destroyed by a numerous body of Turkish cavalry. They were mostly cut to pieces in the conflict, and those made prisoners were beheaded, and their heads sent to Constantinople. This unwarrantable exercise of cruelty in the troops of the Porte, may perhaps excite a spirit of retaliation in the Imperialists, which will lead to that vindictive and barbarous mode of conducting the war, that has not of late years disgraced the arms of civilized nations.

Letters from Gratz, in Styria, advise, that the Emperor arrived there in the forenoon of Saturday last, and that, after having taken a view of the new public works carrying on there, his Imperial Majesty set out for Laubach on Sunday morning.

The skirmishes between the Turks and Russians on the Danube have been very frequent, but are almost constantly decided in favour of the latter. It is astonishing to think how barbarously the war is conducted on both sides; a more savage ferocity than could be thought to prevail even among tygers.

Vienna, March 6. According to advices from Bosnia, the Austrian troops arrived before Banjaluka, a fortress in

the above province, on the 17th of February, and the same day began to bombard the place.

By the same letters we learn, that the fort of Dubitz was reduced on the 11th of February; and that the fortress Wilhoaz, situated on the Unna, surrendered the 13th of the same month, after an obstinate defence, in which two hundred women signalized themselves, by fighting, like Amazons, sword in hand. This conquest was obtained with the loss of thirty of our men.

Vienna, Feb. 29. We have authentic accounts that the Turks defend themselves with much more courage and obstinacy than they were used to do; as a proof of which, 12,000 cannon balls have been fired against Gradisca, and yet the enterprize is obliged to be given up by the advice of the General who commands our troops in those parts, and who says we must lose many of our best men in attacking the Turkish fortresses on the frontiers, and that it will be best to wait till the season is further advanced, when the main army may rush into Bosnia, and encamp there at once.

The commencement of our operations against the Turks seems to presage, that if we obtain any advantage over them in this campaign, it will be owing to our great superiority in numbers and tactics, whilst the infidels defend themselves with a courage which we cannot help praising. We may be assured that this campaign will prove one of the bloodiest there ever was.

ITALY.

The following is the copy of the protest, taken by Cardinal York, previous to the death of his brother, Prince Charles:

Copia simplex Instrumenti apertionis folii Declarationis, Rogat. per acla Cataldi, Curia Capitolina notarii, die trigesima prima Januarii, 1788.

"WE Henry-Mary Benoit Clement, Cardinal Duke of York, younger son of James III. King of England: Whereas, by advice received from Florence, of date the 23d January current, we are on the point of losing the most serene Charles-

D

Edward,

Edward, our very dear brother-german, lawful successor of James III. to the kingdoms of England, France, Scotland, and Ireland, &c. We declare and protest, in the most legal form, with all the solemnities possible, and in every other way that may be of utility and advantage, as in duty bound to our Royal person, and to our country, to reclaim to ourselves the right of succession belonging to us to the kingdoms of England, &c. &c. in case our most serene brother (which God forbid) should be no more; against which cannot be opposed, neither before God, or before men, the sacred episcopal character with which we are clothed.

"And whereas, in consideration of the critical circumstances of our Royal family, we wish to obviate every difficulty that might give us trouble, we mean still to retain the title (which in that event no longer belongs to us) of Duke of York, with all the rights thereto annexed, as we have hitherto been in use to do, and that as a title of *incognito*. For this purpose, we renew every necessary protestation and declaration, in the manner foresaid; and with all possible solemnities, That, in retaining (as we do of our own will, and by way of *incognito*) the title of Cardinal Duke of York in similar deeds, either public or private, which we have passed, or shall pass, after having obtained the foresaid right of succession, we do not prejudice, much less ever renounce our right, and that which we have, and mean to have and retain always to the foresaid kingdoms more especially, which belong to us as the true, last, and lawful heir of our Royal family, notwithstanding the foresaid title, which we are pleased to retain as a simple *incognito*. Lastly, We expressly declare by the present protest, our will is, that, as soon as Providence shall have disposed of our person, the rights of succession to the crown of England, &c. shall remain in their full force and strength, with the Prince to whom the right shall belong by proximity of blood.

"Such being our will, &c. *From the palace of our residence, Jan. 27, 1784.*

"HENRY, Cardinal," &c.

They have begun already to erect a magnificent tomb at Rome, for the lately deceased Pretender; the epitaph is in Italian, of which the following is a literal translation:

All of Charles that now remains
This small urn's embrace contains,
Son of James, once nam'd the Third,
England's King, and rightful Lord,

Should you ask with due surprise,
Why far from England's coast he lies?
The nation's *beresy* will tell,
And the *pure faith* he lov'd so well.

FRANCE.

According to a statement of the present naval force of France, as given in to the French Minister, the number of their enrolled seamen is 84,000; the licenced seamen in the merchants service and fisheries is 60,000. The number of the inhabitants in the whole kingdom amounts to 18,000,000; of these, 4,000,000 are calculated to be children, and 3,000,000 women.—It appears, upon the whole, (when the great number of Ecclesiastics, valets, and other servants are considered) that there are not six millions of French subjects employed in useful industry.

Lord Mazareen, an Irish Peer, who has been for a long time confined in the *Hotel de la Force* at Paris, for debts he would not pay, &c. attempted a few nights ago to make his escape. For this purpose he made use of a curious mechanical ladder, that with the assistance of eight more prisoners, was to have lifted him to the top of the hotel; from thence he was to throw a rope-ladder into the street to his friends, who were waiting at the gate with a post-chaise and four. To prevent all possibility of discovery, he had had the address of assembling all the turnkeys into one room by a joyous and hearty supper he had generously ordered for them. Proper precautions likewise had been taken to poison a stout dog who went about loose in the prisoners yard during the night; an omelet had been thrown to her filled with arsenic; but the poor creature, agitated by the powerful effects of the baneful drug, vented through the air such dreadful howlings, that the turnkeys, though in the midst of mirth and jollity, could not help listening to them, and, willing to know the cause, got into the yard, and saw the prisoners making their escape. Lord M. and his accomplices were immediately secured, and loaded with irons, sent to a stronger prison, the *Chatelet*, where, in all probability they will remain till the day of trial. The prosecution is carried on by the Attorney General. His Lordship will be carefully watched for the future, and no more will any indulgence be shewn to him. The Duke of Dorset has presented a memorial on this occasion at Versailles.

SPAIN.

Madrid. Government has sent fresh orders

orders to the three maritime departments to accelerate the armaments. To this end, a great quantity of timber for ship-building, anchors, cordage, warlike ammunition and provisions, are sent to Cadiz, Ferrol, and Carthage. At Cadiz six ships are ready to sail, and of this number is the *El Astuto* of 80 guns, under Admiral Don Philip Galvez, who will command a fleet of observation in the Mediterranean next spring. The rest of the ships to compose this fleet are equipping at Malaga and Barcelona, and at the latter port the fleet will assemble about the middle of April.

We are assured that the number of ships of the line, which will be soon ready for sea, exceed twenty; besides which six frigates are ready to sail, one of which is destined to transport the Turkish Ambassador to Constantinople, and another is to convey the King of Morocco's Ambassador to Tangiers. Though we are yet ignorant as to the intentions of ministry, these armaments sufficiently prove, that at all events we shall not be attacked by surprise, and that we shall have at sea a fleet capable of insuring respect to our flag, and of protecting our commerce.

EAST INDIES.

Extract of a letter from Calcutta. "I have lately been an eye-witness of a most melancholy transaction, the sad consequence of the ignorance and superstition that reign in Indostan. I saw an aged man throw himself into a pit ten feet deep, and half full of combustibles, which had been set on fire. This man had made himself a voluntary victim, to preserve, as he thought, the lives of his children, who were at the time attacked by a dangerous and epidemical distemper.

"When this distemper breaks out among the Hindoos, they believe most religiously, that one of them must die to save the rest. This poor old man was thoroughly persuaded, that the lives of his children could not be preserved, if he did not offer himself up as a sacrifice for them. I used every argument with himself, his wife, his brothers, and his sisters, to convince him and them of the absurdity of such an opinion, and the guilt of suicide; but all in vain: they were deaf to my reasons; and thinking at last that I intended to prevent by force this horrible sacrifice, they threw themselves at my feet, and begged, with tears in their eyes, that I would not oppose the resolution of the old man!

"The self-devoted victim being seat-

ed on the brink of the pit, raised his hands to heaven, and prayed with great fervour. After he had remained half an hour in that posture, four of his nearest relations helped him on his legs, and walked with him five times round the pit, all of them called upon Mam and Setaram, two of their saints. During this ceremony, the women were tearing their hair, beating their breasts, and roaring in a most horrible manner. The four relations at last let go their hold of the old man, who immediately threw himself into the pit, and not a groan was heard from him. The bystanders had each a spade in his hand, and immediately began to fill up the pit with earth, so that the old man might be said to be burnt and buried alive. Two of his children were present, the one seven the other eight years old, and they alone, of all the spectators, appeared to be affected. As to the women, they returned home with the greatest *sang froid*. Such an event being an object of glory to the relations; the day on which a wretched victim to superstition is thus self-devoted, is a day of triumph to his whole family."

AMERICA AND WEST INDIES.

By accounts from America, we learn, Rhode-Island Assembly, Nov. 3, by a vote rejected a motion made by a member to appoint a convention to consider the new federal constitution.

Great opposition is expected in some States.

The New York people are much divided. Virginia has delayed their convention for considering the constitution till May, and Maryland till April. Delaware has unanimously ratified the convention. Pennsylvania has also ratified it, after great opposition. The minority having withdrawn, there was not a quorum, but two of the minority members, Jacob Milley and James M'Calmont, had their lodgings broke open, and were dragged through the streets of Philadelphia, with their clothes torn, to the Assembly House, and kept there by force till the convention was signed. This is *American liberty*.

Address of his Excellency Benjamin Franklin, Esq; to the President of the late Continental Convention, before his signing the proposed Constitution for the United States.

"MR PRESIDENT,

"I confess that I do not entirely approve of this Constitution at present, but, Sir, I am not sure *I shall never approve it*; for having lived long, I have experienced

experienced many instances of being obliged, by better information or fuller consideration, to change opinions even on important subjects, which I once thought right, but found to be otherwise. It is therefore that the older I grow, the more apt I am to doubt my own judgment, and to pay more respect to the judgment of others. Most men, indeed, as well as most sects in religion, think themselves in possession of all truth, and that wherever others differ from them, it is so far error. Steele, a Protestant, in a dedication, tells the Pope, that the only difference between our two churches, in their opinions of the certainty of their doctrine is, the Romish Church is infallible, and the Church of England is never in the wrong. But though many private persons think almost as highly of their own infallibility, as that of their sect, few express it so naturally as a certain French lady, who, in a little dispute with her sister, said, "I don't know how it happens, sister, but I meet with nobody but myself that is always in the right."

"In these sentiments, Sir, I agree to this Constitution, with all its faults, if they are such; because I think a general government necessary for us, and there is no form of government but what may be a blessing to the people, if well administered: and I believe farther, that this is likely to be well administered for a course of years, and can only end in despotism, as other forms have done before it, when the people shall become so corrupted as to need despotic government, being incapable of any other.

"I doubt, too, whether any other Convention we can obtain, may be able to make a better Constitution. For when you assemble a number of men to have the advantage of their joint wisdom, you inevitably assemble with those men all their prejudices, their passions, their errors of opinion, their local interests and their selfish views. From such an assembly can a perfect production be expected? It therefore astonishes me, Sir, to find this system approaching so near to perfection as it does. And I think it will astonish our enemies, who are waiting with confidence to hear that our councils are confounded like those of the builders of Babel, and that our States are on the point of separation, only to meet hereafter for the purpose of cutting one another's throats. Thus I consent, Sir, to this Constitution, *because I am not sure that it is not the best.*

"On the whole, Sir, I cannot help

expressing a wish, that every member of the Convention who may still have objections to it, would, with me on this occasion, doubt a little of his own infallibility, and to make manifest our unanimity put his name to this instrument."

IRELAND.

The bill for reducing the rate of interest in Ireland, from six to five per cent. after passing the House of Commons, has been thrown out in the House of Lords. The bill was very ably debated. On the one part it was contended, that Ireland was on a much worse footing than Great Britain, as it never could compete with her in trade and manufactures, when it paid one per cent. more for money.—On the other part it was argued, that the greatest part of the trade and manufactures in Ireland, were carried on with English money, which would be withdrawn as well as the mortgages on land, if the interest was reduced, and the manufactures would thereby be ruined for want of capitals to carry them on—that from the present aspect of Europe, it was not unlikely that a general war would soon take place, in which event, still more money would be drawn to England—that there was no occasion for acts of Parliament to reduce the interest, as when money was too plenty, it would reduce itself, and find its level, as had been ably shown by the celebrated Dr Adam Smith, in his *Wealth of Nations*, and by other writers, and that this measure would be a great injury and injustice to many individuals and public charities which subsisted on the interest of money, and could not afford to have their incomes retrenched.

ENGLAND.

Feb. 25. *H. of C.* The Chancellor of the Exchequer rose and said, that unfortunate divisions having taken place upon the principle of construction on the India bill, and particularly as to the right of sending four regiments to India, which the ministry, in October last, came to a resolution of sending; this resolution arose from the solicitation of the Company, and at their express desire, since which time they have resisted the receiving those regiments, upon the grounds of ministry having refused to allow them the nomination of officers. Mr Pitt observed, there existed in his mind no doubt upon the construction of the act of Parliament; but as several learned gentlemen had been consulted on the construction

tion of the act passed in the year 1784, and which created the Board of Control, some of whom expressed some doubts upon the subject, particularly one, who certainly was eminent, and possessed once a seat in that House, and he would have been glad to see him there now, (this allusion was to Mr Erskine,) Mr Pitt observed, that as this gentleman's opinion might influence the opinion of others, it would be necessary to remove all possible doubt by an explanatory bill; he should therefore move, "That leave be given to bring in a bill, for removing any doubt respecting the power of the Commissioners for the affairs of India, to direct the expence of raising, transporting, and maintaining such troops as may be judged necessary for the security of the British territories and possessions in the East Indies, to be defrayed out of the revenues arising from the said territories and possessions."

On the question being put, leave was given to bring in the bill, which was read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time on Monday.

20. The following Petition, from the *Chamber of Commerce and Manufactures at Edinburgh*, was presented to the House of Commons, by Sir A. Fergusson, Bart. member for the city. The Chamber wave the point of expediency, or mode of abolishing slavery, leaving this to the wisdom of Parliament, but join with the other respectable Societies and Incorporations who have petitioned Parliament for abolishing that trade, on the plea of humanity.

To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, the humble Petition of the Chamber of Commerce and Manufactures at Edinburgh;

Sheweth,

THAT amidst the objects of trade and manufactures on which this Chamber, from the nature of its institution, is led to deliberate, its attention has lately been drawn by the united voice of many most respectable communities, to the consideration of the AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE, which appears to the members of this Chamber to involve such consequences of distress and wretchedness to a number of their fellow-creatures, as to call for the humane interposition of Parliament, to remedy and restrain them.

That the evil effects of this traffic are not only felt by the negro slaves, who suffer under the rigour of too many of

their masters, but extend themselves widely in those unhappy regions from which the slaves are brought;—regions almost desolate by wars and ravages, which this traffic has excited, and covered with that blood which Christians and Britons have not been ashamed to purchase!

This Chamber is of opinion, that even on the grounds of commercial advantage, the trade in slaves is less necessary, and less profitable than it has generally been represented. But even were this not so much the case as the Chamber is inclined to believe it, the feelings of your petitioners as men, would overbear their opinion as merchants, and lead them to sacrifice somewhat of the conveniency and profit of commerce to the rights and principles of humanity.

Subjects of a free State, they humbly address the Parliament of a free people, persuaded that the legislature of Britain will listen to every measure proposed, consistent with the great national interest committed to its care, to extend the blessings of freedom, and to redress or alleviate the sufferings of so considerable a portion of mankind.

May it therefore please this Honourable House to take the premises into consideration, and to take such measures therein, as to their wisdom and benignity shall seem meet.

And your petitioners shall ever pray, &c.
WILLIAM FORBES, *Chairm.*
(Signed) WILLIAM CREECH, *Sec.*

In the House of Lords, after the resolution on the important question, that the Managers on the part of the House of Commons should be directed to state their arguments, and adduce their evidence on all the charges against Mr Hastings, before he should be called on for his defence, the following very strong and argumentative protest has been entered:

Dissentient, 1st, Because we hold it to be primarily essential to the due administration of justice, that they who are to judge have a full, clear, and distinct knowledge of every part of the question on which they are ultimately to decide; and in a cause of such magnitude, extent, and variety, as the present, where issue is joined on acts done at times and places so distant, and with relation to persons so different, as well as on crimes so discriminated from each other by their nature and tendency, we conceive that such knowledge cannot, but with extreme difficulty, be obtained without a separate consideration of the several articles exhibited.

2d, Because we cannot with equal facility, accuracy, and confidence, apply and compare the evidence adduced, and more especially the arguments urged by the prosecutors on one side, and the defendant on the other, if the whole charges be made one cause, as if the several articles be heard in the nature of separate causes.

3d, Because, admitting it to be a clear and acknowledged principle of justice, that the defendant against a criminal accusation should be at liberty to make his defence in such form and manner as he shall deem most to his advantage; we are of opinion that such principle is only true so far as the use and operation thereof shall not be extended to defeat the ends of justice, or to create difficulties and delays equivalent to a direct defeat thereof: and, because we are of opinion that the proposition made by the Managers of the House of Commons, if it had been agreed to, would not have deprived the defendant, in this prosecution, of the fair and allowable benefit of such principle taken in its true sense; in as much as it tended only to oblige him to apply his defence specially and distinctly to each of the distinct and separate articles of the impeachment, in the only mode in which the respective merits of the charge and of the defence can be accurately compared and determined, or even retained in the memory, and not to limit or restrain him in the form and manner of constructing, explaining, or establishing his defence.

4th, Because, in the case of the Earl of Middlesex, and that of the Earl of Strafford, and other cases of much less magnitude, extent, and variety, than the present, this House has directed the proceedings to be according to the mode now proposed by the Managers on the part of the Commons.

5th, Because, even if no precedent has existed, yet, from the new and distinguishing circumstances of the present case, it would have been the duty of this House to adopt the only mode of proceeding, which, founded on simplicity, can ensure perspicuity, and obviate confusion.

6th, Because we conceive that the accepting the proposal made by the Managers would have been no less consonant to good policy than to substantial justice, since by the possessing the acknowledged right of preferring their articles as so many successive impeachments, the Commons have an undoubted power of compelling this House in future virtually to adopt that mode which they now recom-

mend; and if they ever be driven to stand on this extreme right, jealousies must unavoidably ensue between the two Houses, whose harmony is the vital principle of national prosperity; public justice must be delayed, if not defeated; the innocent might be harassed, and the guilty might escape.

7th, Because many of the reasons upon which a different mode of conducting their prosecution has been imposed upon the Commons, appear to us of a still more dangerous and alarming tendency than the measure itself, so far as we cannot hear but with the utmost astonishment and apprehension, that this Supreme Court of Judicature is to be concluded by the instituted rules of the practice of inferior courts, and that the law of Parliament, which we have ever considered as recognized and revered by all who respected and understood the laws and the constitution of this country, has neither form, authority, nor even existence; a doctrine which we conceive to strike directly at the root of all Parliamentary proceedings by impeachment, and to be equally destructive of the established rights of the Commons, and of the criminal jurisdiction of the Peers, and consequently to tend to the degradation of both Houses of Parliament, to diminish the vigour of public justice, and to subvert the fundamental principles of the constitution.

*Portland, Devonshire,
Bedford, Cardiff,
Derby, Wentworth Fitzwilliam,
Stamford, Loughborough,
Craven,*

For the 1st, 2d, and 7th reas. *Manchester,*
For the 1st and 2d reasons { *Townsend,
only, { Harcourt,
Leicester.*

Trial of Mr Hastings.—Among the witnesses examined on the Benares charge, a Mr Ben was produced to prove, that the country of Benares was, in two or three years after the expulsion of Cheyt Sing, in a wretched state of cultivation, the population decreased, and the people dissatisfied and disgusted with their new government; but he *proved the reverse of all this*. This surprising the Managers, they asked him if he had not given a different account of some of these matters when he was examined before the House of Commons. The question produced a dispute between the Managers and counsel for Mr Hastings; the latter of whom contended, that the former had no right to discredit their own witness, because

because he did not give evidence favourable to their cause. The Managers insisted that they had a right to force the truth from an unwilling witness. Both sides applying to the Court for opinion, their Lordships, at half past six, adjourned to their own House; and referred the question to the Judges present for their opinion: They differed; the Lord Chief Baron supported the objection of Mr Hastings' counsel; the other Judges were against it.—It was resolved at last, that their Lordships should not decide upon it, until they could have the opinions of all the twelve Judges after their return from the circuit; they therefore adjourned the trial till Friday the 10th of April next.

Feb. 26. A General Court of Proprietors was held at the East-India House, for the purpose of balloting on the question relative to sending out the four regiments to India.

The glasses were closed exactly at six, when they were delivered to the scrutineers, who, at half past eight o'clock, made their report, that the question had passed on the ballot in the following manner:

For the question 371—Against it 371, which being equal, the clause in the act of Parliament was read, which states, that, in cases where there is an equality of votes on any question, the same shall be decided by a lot, to be drawn by the Treasurer.

The lot was prepared, the Treasurer took it out of the hat, and it was in the affirmative, for the question, by which the Court of Proprietors have negatived the minister's motion of sending the troops to India.—This is the first question Mr Pitt has lost at the India House.

The number of important questions that have been decided by the majority of a single voice, is not a little extraordinary. General Washington owes the seat he at present fills in America to that majority; Ireland preserved her Parliament by that majority; it is well known what the house of Brunswick owes to that majority; the fortifications in 1786 were overthrown by that majority.

In the House of Commons a motion was made, that there be laid before that House, an account of the unexhausted balance, which is subject to the disposition of Parliament, directed by an act of the 24th of his present Majesty, to be paid into the Court of Exchequer in Scotland, by the persons to whom the forfeited estates were granted. Also, an

account of all the engagements which the late Board of Trustees in Scotland came under, and which were confirmed by Royal warrant before passing the said act of the 24th of his present Majesty. Both these accounts were ordered.

A dividend of the remains of the Havannah prize-money has been lately advertised to be made to the claimants. It is nearly *six and twenty* years since the capture of the Havannah. Had this money been then distributed to our gallant soldiers and seamen in the usual proportions, it would have amounted to full two hundred pounds per man; but now, what with the expences of civil litigation, the sweatings of agents, &c. it is reduced to less than *three-and-twenty* pounds a share!

March 10. H. of C. Sir George Yonge said, that conformable to the notice he gave when he laid the estimates for the employment of troops and garrisons before the House, he then came forward to state what had taken place with respect to the reduction of his Majesty's household troops. In the first place, he stated, that his Majesty had thought proper to reduce two troops of horse-grenadiers, and to reduce two regiments of horse guards into a different establishment. He should move on the present estimate for the continuance of the pay of these troops another quarter, up to the 24th June next, when the new establishment would take place. It would be also necessary for him to move for a compensation to those officers and privates who were to be reduced. The reduction he stated to be a considerable saving to the public, but would for the present year occasion an increase on the estimate of 22,574l. 3s. It would next year occasion a saving to the public of 11,000l. or 12,000l. which would be increased to a saving of 24,000l. when the officers reduced were provided for, till which time colonels were to receive 1200l. compensation per annum for their reduction, and the other officers in proportion. A late death (General Carpenter's, a colonel of dragoons) had occasioned a vacancy, which would be a saving to the nation of 1200l. per annum, as it was intended to give his post to one of the reduced colonels: and the noble generosity of another, whose ardour for the service was known, whose virtues and patriotism were known, and whose consideration was not money (Duke of Northumberland,) had refused his compensation for reduction, and occasioned another saving of 1200l. per ann. to the public.

The

The Hon. Baronet then made a few observations on the reduction, which, he said, went in direct contradiction to the assertions of some gentlemen, that patronage was the intention of the Crown; had such been the intention, it is not likely that his Majesty would have reduced four regiments.

The Hon. Baronet then moved the several estimates, and for compensation to the reduced officers and privates, all which were unanimously agreed to, and the report ordered.

Mar. 11. H. of L. Counsel were called to the bar to be heard on the petitions of the Earl of Dumfries, Lord Cathcart, and a petition presented by the Earl of Selkirk on Monday last, relative to the late election for one of the Sixteen Peers for Scotland, on the 10th day of January last. The counsel who appeared at the bar were, the Lord Advocate, the Solicitor General, Mr Douglas, Mr Anstruther, Mr Scott, Mr Grant, and Mr Campbell, when, after hearing Mr Grant and Mr Anstruther for the petition on behalf of Lord Dumfries, the further consideration was adjourned till the 13th.

A Mr Durie, a descendant of David Durie, who formerly claimed the title of Lord Rutherford, proved that the person who voted as Lord Rutherford at the late election of a Peer in the room of the Earl of Dalhousie, was generally known by the name of John Anderson; that till the late election he never assumed the honours and dignity of the Peerage; but that he has since been generally called Lord Rutherford by the country people ironically. That John Anderson and a relation of the witness's were the executors of David Durie, whose whole effects did not exceed in value 300l.; and that if Anderson had any claim to the title, it was in right of David Durie. The witness further stated, that he himself had a better right to the title, as his mother's name was Durie.

13. *Lady Wallace* read her comedy, entitled, *The Ton; or, The Follies of Fashion*, in the Green-room at Covent-Garden Theatre. Her Ladyship was attended by his Grace of Gordon, the Marquis of Carmarthen, and some other friends, who bestowed the highest encomiums on the comedy.

15. *H. of C.* Mr Fox rose to make his promised motion for the repeal of the shop tax; a tax that by experience proved, beyond the possibility of a doubt, the complaints of the shopkeepers to be

justly founded.—Experience proved the impossibility of shopkeepers being able to levy the tax on the consumers. Whatever discontent the bill formerly occasioned, it was not now lessened, but considerably increased; experience had confirmed every theory of its impropriety, and the warmth with which it had been opposed when first brought in, was considerably augmented at the present time. He had, on a former day, stated the injustice of the bill in a fuller manner than he had now done; it was sufficient barely to state, that the evils then complained of existed in the most oppressive manner, and, without further troubling the House, he would move for leave to repeal the act of his Majesty raising a duty from shops.

Mr *Jervoise* seconded the motion.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* observed, that it was particularly hurtful to his feelings to be under the necessity of persisting in any measure that might give uneasiness to any; but conceiving it his duty to protect the revenue, he could not agree with the motion of the Right Hon. gentleman. Considering it his duty to establish the revenue upon the most respectable footing for the purpose of defraying every exigence, he could not think of giving up any thing that was not likely to be attended with great mischiefs. The finances of the country were, he thanked God, in a very flourishing situation; but he could not agree to abandon any of the existing taxes, at a time when the nation was under such a load of debt, much less did he think it at all proper for the House to be employed in speculation which should be the first tax given up when the happy hour should arrive that they might discuss such a subject with effect.

Sir *John Miller*, Mr *Whitbread*, Mr *Drake*, Sir *Edward Ashley*, Sir *George Howard*, Mr *Alderman le Mesurier*, Sir *Watkin Lewis*, Mr *Alderman Watson*, and Mr *Martin*, spoke strongly for the repeal.

Mr *Fox* concluded the debate with answering Mr Pitt's arguments. He said, if the House voted against the repeal, they must say to the shopkeepers, that they were reimbursed by the consumers—the House must believe that the shopkeepers are reimbursed, and know nothing about it—the House must believe that they, as the consumers, pay the tax out of their pockets, and know nothing of such payment—the House must believe that the parties complaining know

not whether they are injured or benefited by the tax; all these absurdities must the House fully believe to warrant them in rejecting the motion to repeal the act.

The question having been loudly called for, the House divided,

Ayes 98—Noes 141.

Majority against the repeal 43.

March 5. The order of the day, for going into a committee on the declaratory bill being moved, and a motion made for the Speaker to leave the chair, Sir Grey Cooper rose to oppose the motion. He contended, that the *principle* of the bill was objectionable in many important respects, and that it led to the most dangerous consequences. Intending to keep close to the question, he would not step aside to consider what ought to be law, or whether the powers to which the Commissioners of the Board of Controll lay claim might not be of advantage to our possessions in India: The single point he proposed to argue was, that it is not the law at present, that the Board has not these powers under the act 1784, which the bill professes to explain; and that the House cannot declare that they have these powers, without an usurpation of judicial, instead of legislative authority. He regretted, that among the maxims of law, laid down by the learned counsel at the bar, they had omitted to mention some which seemed to him very important in the consideration of this question. One of these was, that acts *quibusc give new powers and new remedies should not have a liberal construction, but be pursued strictly*. He then proceeded to shew, that in the act 1784 there were specific provinces assigned to the Directors, and to the Board of Controll: that all dispatches to India, and all orders to the servants of the Company relating to the civil or military government, or revenues of their territorial possessions there, were to originate with the Directors, only subject to revision and controul on the part of the Commissioners before they be actually sent off. He admitted, that by subsequent clauses in the act 1784, the Board of Controll was empowered to originate dispatches to presidencies in India, in matters requiring secrecy, touching the levying of war or making peace, or negotiating with the native princes of the country.

But this exception only tended to confirm the rule in all matters not excepted. If the sweeping clause, at the end of the eleventh section, on which so much is founded, invests the Board with the whole

superintendency and controul, and if the Directors are bound to pay implicit obedience to them in all cases. Why is it *made lawful for them* to send orders and instructions to the servants of the Company in India only in certain specific cases, and under certain specific conditions?

Pursuing the same line of argument with respect to the strict interpretation of the act 1784, he next adverted to the act prolonging the charter of the Company in 1781. This, he contended, was a subsisting law, unrepealed by the act 1784, excepting where such partial repeal is specifically declared. It was, besides, a solemn compact between the Company and Parliament for a valuable consideration, no part of which could be repealed or broken, but by express words founded on previous consent. It was part of this compact, that the Company were to pay a stipulated sum for regiments to be sent to India on their requisition: But how was this compatible with the declaratory bill now proposed to be enacted? Nothing could be plainer, than that the condition of requisition would in this case be merged and extinguished.

Another and more serious evil which he apprehended from this bill, was a breach of the constitution, by giving the Crown a right of raising and keeping a standing army in the kingdom in time of peace. It had been maintained, indeed, that the declaration in the bill of rights that this is unlawful, did not extend to the raising and keeping an army out of the kingdom in any of the dominions of the Crown. But the wisdom of Parliament had extended, in former times, the same maxim to Ireland; and a just jealousy on this head would always extend it to wherever there was a revenue at the disposal of the King's ministers, for raising and paying an army without consent of Parliament, which was notoriously the case in India. The last ground on which he condemned the bill was, as a pernicious precedent in legislation, having no basis for the doubt expressed in the preamble but the clashing opinion of lawyers, suddenly given upon cases imperfectly drawn. A Minister who wanted an enlargement of power in any department where he has influence, would have nothing to do but to propose and bring in such a bill.

Mr John Scott rose after Sir Grey Cooper. He admitted, that the House, in passing declaratory laws such as the present, did act in a judicial capacity, but contended, that the necessity of the

case required and justified it. Such a measure was far speedier than that of waiting the slow process of a judicial decision. He ridiculed the objection to the bill, as giving the Crown a right to raise and maintain a standing army in time of peace. The bill did not authorise the Crown to send any troops not recognised by Parliament to India or elsewhere. He endeavoured to mark the distinction between Mr Fox's India bill and that which passed into a law in 1784. The one he had always considered as a murder, the other as merely putting the patient under a mild regimen. He then proceeded to shew, that the declaratory bill did contain a sound and true exposition of the act 1784, by a particular examination of all its clauses, and a variety of reasonings upon their respective analogy and bearings.

Mr Scott was followed by the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*. Upon the first view of the bill, he observed two questions naturally presented themselves. 1st, Whether there existed a necessity for expounding the act of the 24th of his present Majesty? and, next, Whether the bill then before the House contained a true and sound exposition of that act?

His Majesty had judged it expedient that four regiments should be added to the military establishment in India. The Court of Directors entertained the same opinion as to the expediency, but differed about the mode. The Board of Control thought it had sufficient powers, under the act 1784, to send out the troops at the expence, and without the consent of the Company; The Court of Directors denied the existence of any such powers. Here was evidently a doubt upon the construction of the act. What then could be more proper, than for the Board of Control to apply to Legislature for an explanation of one of its own acts, rather than hazard the loss of empire by waiting the tedious decision of a court of law? The inordinate expence of sending out the four regiments to India in transports, in case of the refusal of the Court of Directors to send them in their own ships, was of itself a sufficient reason for the interposition of Legislature in expounding the true construction of a bill that had occasioned some disputes. As to the complaints with regard to the nomination of the officers for those regiments, due regard had been shewn to the Company's officers, as far as was consistent with justice to the half-pay officers of the King's

troops. Although Royal regiments, his Majesty had relinquished nearly one half of the patronage of them to the Company. He expressed his sense of the inconvenience that arose from having two armies in one service, and his hopes to see the time when there should be but one, and that a Royal one. He acknowledged that this might appear a formidable accession of patronage to the Crown, but declared his willingness to adopt any plan for putting such guards and restrictions on the disposal of it as should prevent any danger from arising to the constitution. Upon the whole, he maintained, that the Board of Control, as erected in 1784, being responsible to the public for the political government of India, and for the prosperity, defence, and security of the provinces, must by necessary implication be understood to have the entire disposal and management of the revenue, subject only to the judgment of Parliament: The present bill went to declare explicitly what was thus implied by necessary inference, a point, however, upon which doubts had arisen among the Directors, which, unless speedily removed, might be highly prejudicial to our empire in India.

Colonel Barre attacked the bill as a part of a settled system to usurp all the patronage of the East-India Company, civil and military. He condemned it also as improvident in the very point of economy which it professed to study. The same number of the Company's troops might be maintained at incomparably less expence. The Company's officers too, he contended, were, generally speaking, more fit for the service in India than those of the Royal army. He expressed the utmost alarm at the idea suggested by the Chancellor of the Exchequer of making all the military in India Royal, and foreboded the degradation of Parliament, and the ruin of the constitution, from so enormous an accession of influence to the Crown.

Colonel Bullarton rested his argument against the bill, chiefly on the merits of the officers in the East-India service.

Mr *Grenville* defended the Board of Control from the imputation of having attempted to assume the patronage of the East-India Company.

Mr *Sheridan* drew a contrast between the India bill of Mr Fox and that of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; explained the true features of the former, and endeavoured to prove that they were such as no person of a manly character, and honest

honest mind, need be ashamed to own. Of Mr Pitt's bill he said, that it seizes nothing, but assumes the power of seizing every thing. He charged the Board of Controll with attempts to assume the patronage of the East-India Company for the purposes of corruption and influence. He enumerated the heads of several of the facts to which he alluded, as samples of more that remained behind, and pledged himself to prove them at a fit opportunity. He concluded with an affecting appeal to the justice and humanity of the House in behalf of the reduced Company's officers.

Mr Dundas, in a speech of three hours and a half, took up singly all the charges laid against the Board of Controll by Colonel Barre and Mr Sheridan. He defied them to prove, that in any instance their conduct collectively, or his own conduct individually, had deserved censure. He went into a variety of arguments to prove that the right of the Board of Controll to apply the revenues of the territorial possessions of India to their general security had never been questioned, from the first passing of the bill in 1784 to that hour. He also entered largely into the detail of the several transactions with respect to the four regiments proposed to be sent to India, and stated many reasons, proving that it was a measure preferable to that of suffering the Company to fill up the deficiencies of the regiments on their own establishment in India.

Mr Powis, Sir James Johnston, Mr Pultney, and Mr Bastard, severally declared their disapprobation of the bill.

This important and very interesting debate was concluded by Mr Fox, who began with accusing Mr Dundas of having spoken three hours and an half without having said any thing to the question. He exposed his mode of defending the proceedings of the Board of Controll, and declared, that what the Right Hon. Gentleman had said rather proved the charges. He followed Mr Sheridan in drawing a parallel between his own bill and that of Mr Pitt; avowing that his design had been openly stated to be that of suspending the rights, functions, privileges, and patronage of the Court of Directors for four years, and to lodge them in a Board of Commissioners; thinking it more safe experimentally to place the influence arising from the exercise of these powers where there was no other influence, than to add it to the Crown, where so much influ-

ence was already placed. All the proceedings of this Board were to be open, that the publicity of their measures might serve as a check to the influence they were necessarily to possess. The grounds of his bill, as stated in the preamble, were gross abuse of power, and incapacity to retrieve the affairs of the Company. Both these were now fully admitted. The professed ground of Mr Pitt's bill was the consent of the Directors. That consent, originally obtained on false pretences, was now completely done away by the conduct and avowal of the Directors themselves. This day had wiped away much of the odium from his bill; and he trusted the period would soon arrive when the prejudice of the public would be cleared completely, and it would be regarded in its true light as a strong, but a just and necessary measure. He reprobated the declaratory bill as an insidious attempt to assume the same powers that his bill would have given to his Board of Commissioners, but in a manner less open, and much more dangerous to the constitution. He would oppose it in every stage. The *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, being indisposed, waved the privilege of a reply.

At SEVEN o'clock on Thursday morning the House divided:

Ayes, for the Speaker leaving the chair, 182—Noes, 125. Majority 57.

At the third reading of the bill, March 14th, it was again opposed and supported by much the same arguments as on the former days. In the end, it passed without a division, and the Chancellor was ordered to carry it to the House of Lords for their concurrence.

March 18. *H. of C.* Sir John Sinclair rose to make his promised motion relative to the election for representatives to serve for Scots counties. He stated to the House, that having considered the business to be of the greatest national importance, and thinking himself inadequate to suggest any motion to do away the mischiefs then existing, he had taken the advice of some gentlemen, and had called a meeting of members of both Houses, and other gentlemen of importance, to consider of the best mode to be adopted; a most respectable meeting attended, whose general opinion was, that Parliament should be applied to on the subject. In consequence of such determination, and the numerous litigations occasioned by the present laws, which had occasioned various and contradictory decisions in the courts, Sir John said, he

he meant to propose to the House a mode against which he conceived no objection would lie, viz. that a committee might be appointed to examine into the laws now existing relative to the election for representatives to serve for Scots counties, and that they make a report to the House. On the receipt of that report, Sir John Sinclair said, he should move for leave to bring in a bill, and have it printed, and by that means give gentlemen an opportunity of considering its merits during the prorogation of the present session, conceiving it impossible that he should be enabled to bring the bill forward enough, in the present session, for the House to give their decision upon it. He concluded by moving,

"That a committee be appointed to take into consideration the laws now in being for regulating the election of members to serve in Parliament for that part of Great Britain called Scotland, and to report the same, with their opinions thereupon, to the House."

Sir William Cunningham said, that if the motion had been, that the House should adopt any particular and specific proposition for altering the laws of election, he might possibly have opposed it; but as it went merely to institute an inquiry, he was willing to give it his support.

The motion passed without opposition; and a committee was named, consisting chiefly of members for North Britain.

19. H. of L. The order of the day having been moved by Lord Sydney, for going into the third reading of the declaratory bill,

Lord Loughborough rose to move a clause as a rider to the bill, limiting the existence of the act to the duration of the present charter.

The clause was, after a short debate, rejected without a division.

The Lord Chancellor then moved, that this bill do pass.

Lord Sturmont rose to make his final objections to the principle, and to the whole operation of the bill. He vindicated Mr Fox's bill, and said, that the calumnies and misrepresentations of it had been the means of deluding the people, but that the delusion, like all others, was too palpable to be lasting. He inveighed severely against the deception of Mr Pitt's bill. If, when so young, and so "unhackneyed in the ways of men," he was capable of such duplicity, what might not be expected of him in the fulness of time! if the bud and blossom shot forth in so promising a manner, what

might not be the produce of fruit, when ripened by the foistering rays of the sun in its meridian!

Lord Cambden entered into a close and argumentative investigation of the several clauses of the act of 1784, to prove from them that it could bear no other exposition than that put upon it by the present bill. Having gone through his arguments, his Lordship observed, that the general aim of those who opposed the bill, seemed to be to declare the bill of 1784 as bad as the bill of 1783. If he thought it one-half as bad a bill, he said, he would not only not have said a word in favour of the present bill, but would have instantly resigned his place. He proceeded to an investigation of the bill of 1783, (Mr Fox's) and condemned it in the severest terms, and especially the Board of Commissioners it instituted.

Lord Loughborough, in a most able and animated speech, treated the whole subject in a style of such superior skill and oratory, that excited the admiration of all who heard it. His Lordship began with stating the declaratory laws, and said, a bill of that description always brought some evil behind it. This he illustrated by mentioning the case of the declaratory bill respecting Ireland, that of the declaratory bill about America, and that solitary case of the declaratory bill of the 4th of George II. noticed by Lord Cambden. He, after this, went through the whole bill of 1784, arguing it closely and logically as a lawyer, and contending that its true inference was directly the reverse of that drawn from it by Lord Cambden. He next considered it as connected with the history of its introduction into the House of Commons, and all those anecdotes, which notwithstanding the degree of contempt they had been treated with by the Lord President of the Council, he maintained every noble Lord, as a Peer of Parliament, had a right to draw into his discussion of the subject, as illustrative and pertinent. He then thundered out a warning to ministers not to dare to act so unconstitutionally, as to keep the fourth regiment in England in the pay of the India Company. He bid them either bring in a bill of indemnity, if they meant to do so, or another declaratory bill. He retorted on Lord Cambden for every remark that the noble Earl had made on the bill of 1783, and its patrons; and with infinite vigour of argument, and success of satire, not only defended both from the odium that had been cast upon them, but continued

to make them the grounds of some very elegant and beautiful papegyrics on Mr Fox and Lord North, and their friends; and of a variety of most pointed sarcasms on the Board of Control, and its leader, the Treasurer of the Navy.

The Lord Chancellor left the woolsack, and argued with his wonted weight of reasoning in support of the present bill, observing that the noble and learned Lord, who had spoken with so much force of argument against it, had not ventured to deny that the declaratory bill did not give the true exposition of the act of 1784. On that ground, in his mind, the whole argument turned, and to that he should solely confine himself, laying out of the case all comparison of the bill of 1783 and the bill of 1784, for the whole of which, and all that could be said about it, he declared he did not care one farthing, and had no mind to make an election speech with a view to obtain the vote of either this or that borough, or in favour of this or that character: they were considerations extraneous to the present question.

The Marquis of Lansdowne contended, that the bill was a bill affecting private rights, and it had nevertheless been conducted through the House with the most unprecedented and most shameful hurry and precipitation, which the noble and learned Lord must give him leave to say, it was in a peculiar degree his particular duty to have guarded against, and to have seen, that if the parties were intercepted in their way to the Courts below, and deprived of the advantage of a judicial decision, that they met with substantial justice in that House. He denied that any thing like justice had been done the East India Company. They had not been allowed to be heard in defence of their rights, nor had noble Lords themselves been allowed time for deliberation. What had been the treatment the bill had received? It had been decided in three days. His Lordship praised Lord Loughborough's speech of that day, not only as one of the finest that ever was written, but as the finest perhaps ever heard by man. He declared his perfect concurrence in the noble and learned Lord's arguments throughout, and said, that the clauses called *checks* in the bill, were not checks, but covers, which as a pursuance of abuse of power, and shelter for it, he ever should reprobate. After a variety of severe animadversions, delivered in very empasioned language, he concluded with condemning the bill as

disgraceful to Parliament, and in the highest degree unjust to the East India Company.

The Duke of Richmond denied that the clauses were meant as covers, and indignantly repelled the imputation of their having been moved with that intention. The Duke said, he wished parties would forbear running at each other, and would look directly and seriously to the greater consideration, viz. to what ought ultimately to be done with India. We had the territories there in possession, and we must either protect and defend, or abandon them altogether. Something decisive must soon be determined.

The Marquis of Lansdowne rose to explain respecting the word *covers*. He said, he had charged no man with *intentionally* moving the clauses as covers. No person could know a man's *intentions*, they were known to God Almighty only.

At half after ONE in the morning, the question was put, and the House divided,

Contents 71—Non-Contents 28.

Majority for passing the bill 43.

DISSENTIENT.

1st, Because we object altogether to the very stile and form of the present bill, in as much as it purports to be a declaratory bill of a kind as dangerous in its application as it is certainly unusual, if not new, in its principle. If the act of the 24th of his Majesty be clearly expressed, any declaration of its sense is evidently unnecessary; if it be worded, whether from accident or design, in dark and equivocal terms, we conceive, that in order to do away every ambiguity, the mode most open and candid in itself, as well as most regular and conformable to the usage of Parliament, would have been by a bill to explain and amend, and not to declare—And we cannot but behold this extraordinary bill with yet greater alarm, when it has been avowed that it is intended to operate as an act of indemnity for past measures not explicitly stated. Surely it is a proposition absurd and monstrous on the very face of it, to call upon this House to declare what was and is law subject to provisions which shall be. A declaration so qualified is a new species of a bill of indemnity, which, unlike all others, does not content itself with holding forth terms of protection against the penal consequences of an illegal act committed, but retrospectively alters and reverses the nature and essence of the action itself from its very origin, if certain prospective

pective conditions be subsequently observed.

2dly, Because the preamble of the present bill, which must be presumed to set forth the legal grounds of the proposed declaration, does not appear to us in reality to contain any such grounds. It offers nothing more than partial and pieced extracts from various sections of the 24th of his present Majesty, two of which evidently convey only general powers to be exercised "in such manner as in the said act is directed," that is, subject to limitations and modifications not recited in the preamble; and the third of these extracts, which is taken from the conclusion of the 11th section of the act above-mentioned, is in truth part of a clause *imperative* on the Directors, not enabling to the Commissioners: binding the former to obey the orders of the latter, (that is, all such orders as they may lawfully issue under other parts of the act) but not conferring on the latter any portion of distinct power. Their powers, whatever they may be, must be sought in the enabling clauses of the act, by which alone this imperative clause can be construed, but of which not a trace is to be discovered in the preamble.

3dly, Because the limitations and restraints on the power of the Commissioners, which are now imposed for the first time in this bill, carry with them an intimation highly derogatory to the honour and wisdom of this House: in as much as they imply, that in the very moment when this House felt the most tender apprehensions for the safety of chartered rights, and when they were most anxiously alarmed for the consequences of transferring the power and patronage of the Company even for a time, they consciously and deliberately passed an act, by which those rights were to be superseded, and that power and patronage in effect vested in the Board of Control for ever, without sufficient checks and guards to protect the one, or to prevent the corrupt use of the other. The authors of these limiting and restraining clauses have left to the majority of this House, no other refuge from the imputation of this inconsistency, but in an ignorance of that meaning, which we are now called upon to declare.

4thly, Because if any such limitations and restraints be indeed necessary, the provisions of this bill, we are persuaded, must prove nugatory and inefficient.

5thly, Because, coupling the act of the 24th of his Majesty with all its accumulated explanations and amendments, and

understanding the powers there conferred on the Commissioners to the extent implied in the preamble and limiting clauses of the present bill, the system established by that act in truth realizes all the dangers which were ever attributed to another measure then recently rejected by this House, and is certainly fruitful of formidable mischiefs proper to itself, friendly to corrupt intrigue and cabal, hostile to all good government, and especially abhorrent from the principles of our popular constitution.

The patronage of the Company (and this seems to be the most serious terror to the people of England) the Commissioners enjoy in the worst mode, without that responsibility, which is the natural security against malversation and abuse. They cannot immediately appoint, but they have that weight of recommendation and influence, which must ever inseparably attend on substantial power, and which in the present case has not any where been attempted to be denied.

Should this fail them in the first instance, they can intimidate and encourage; they can suppress the approbation and the censure of the Directors on their own servants; they can substitute blame for praise, and praise for blame, or they may instantly recall whomsoever the Directors may appoint against their will; and this they may repeat, till they ultimately compel the Directors, harried and over-awed, to nominate the man whom the Commissioners may wish to favour. Nor is this disposal of patronage without responsibility, the only evil that characterizes the system; all the high powers and prerogatives with which the Commissioners are vested, they may exercise invisibly, and thus for a period at least invade, perhaps in a great measure finally baffle, all political responsibility; for they have a power of administering to their clerks and other officers an oath of secrecy framed for the occasion by themselves; and they possess in the India House the suspicious instrument of a secret committee, consisting only of the Chairman, the Deputy-chairman, and one other Director, all bound to them by an oath. Through these they have sent an arrangement for paying the debts of the Nabob of Arcot, beneficial to individuals, injurious to the Company, and fundamentally contradicting the plain principle of an express clause in that very act by which their own Board was instituted; and through these they have concurred to transmit a dispatch, altered too

by themselves, on a subject of mere trade, over which they profess to disclaim all right of management. After such examples, we must confess that our imaginations cannot figure to us any description of business, which may not be sheltered behind the thick veil of the secret committee; and from our past experience relative to the first of these transactions, we are so justly sensible of the great advantages with which the servants of the Crown must argue on such topics before an assembly constitutionally disposed to a general confidence in them, that we should be sanguine indeed, did we but expect any considerable check to be given to the possible misconduct of the Board of Control, by the fears of a Parliamentary inquiry.

6thly, Because the operation of this bill, and of the act, the meaning of which it is to declare, ought to have been limited to the duration of the existing charter. Whatever may be the right of the legislature to subject the trade and the general revenues of the Company to the inspection and controul of a Board of Commissioners, nominated by the Crown, so long as the Company continue in the enjoyment of an exclusive trade, and in the management of great territorial revenues; we must, however, maintain, that to perpetuate such inspection, and to render the signatures of that Board necessary to all the Company's dispatches of every kind, when they may carry on their trade merely as a Commercial Corporation, without any monopoly, and when they may remain in the management only of their own proper estates, is a measure of injustice wholly unprecedented, and an example liable to much reasonable jealousy in a commercial country like Great Britain.

On all these grounds of objection; to the stile and form of the bill, as a declaratory bill; to the incongruities, absurdities, and deficiencies of the bill itself; to much of the principle, and to all the distinguishing characters of the system which it is meant to declare, as well as to the perpetual operation which it gives to that system, we think it incumbent upon us, here solemnly on the Journals of Parliament, to record our hearty dissent for the satisfaction of our consciences, and for our justification to our fellow-citizens, and to posterity.

<i>Portland,</i>	<i>Devonshire,</i>
<i>Carlisle,</i>	<i>Cholmondeley,</i>
<i>Wentworth Fitz-</i>	<i>Powis,</i>
<i>william,</i>	<i>Cardiff,</i>

<i>Craven,</i>	<i>Bedford,</i>
<i>Sandwich,</i>	<i>Loughborough,</i>
<i>Portchester,</i>	<i>Buckinghamshire,</i>
<i>Darby,</i>	<i>Hay (Earl of Kinnoul.)</i>

SCOTLAND.

March 7. The Court of Session determined an important question, respecting a freehold qualification.

The case was, that at the election of a member of Parliament for Fife, in July last, Mr Henry Lindsay claimed to be inrolled as a freeholder upon a charter of the barony of Wormiston, belonging to his brother Mr Bethune of Kilconquhar, and upon a conveyance of that charter, and of a part of the said barony of the proper valuation, granted by Mr Bethune to him in life-rent, upon which he stood in feist.

Mr Drysdale objected to Mr Lindsay's being inrolled, on the ground that the property of the barony of Wormiston having been feued out by Mr Bethune to a friend (recently before expediting the charter) under condition of its being re-disposed, it was plain it was done on purpose to separate the property from the superiority, in order that the life-rent of a bare superiority, divested of every beneficial interest, might be given to Mr Lindsay, with the view of increasing Mr Bethune's political influence: that such qualifications were nominal and fictitious, and that the Court of Session had lately rejected claims founded on similarities.

It was said on the one hand, that though the lands for which Mr Lindsay claimed his vote, were worth 100*l.* per annum, yet Mr Lindsay's interest in them were only 2*s.* 6*d.*—that it was a fictitious conveyance to elude the law, that the expence of making the titles and the expence of this process was defrayed by Mr Bethune, and that it was clearly a nominal vote, as Mr Lindsay would reckon himself bound in honour to vote as his brother should direct. On the other hand it was said, that there was no law depriving those acquiring estates gratuitously, of the right of voting—that Mr Lindsay considered the estate in the same light as if he had purchased it or received it by descent, and found himself at perfect liberty to vote as he thought proper.

In this shape the precise question of the validity of a voter on life-rent-right of a bare superiority, divested of every speciality, came to be judged of by the Court, when, after a very full discussion, they found that Mr Lindsay's titles were sufficient,

ficient, and he was accordingly appointed to be admitted on the roll. It was the opinion of a majority of their Lordships, that as titles such as those claimed on, had met with support, both in the Court of Session and the House of Peers, the public had been led to give reliance on the law, as explained by these decisions: that though a rectification of the election laws might be desirable, it was not their Lordships province to make new laws; that if the decisions given, in multitudes of similar cases, which had been tried on former occasions, were to be altered, it would leave the country in such a state of confusion and uncertainty, as might have very fatal effects.

MARRIAGES.

The Rev. Mr John Campbell, minister at Kippen, to Miss Christian Innes.

At the Countess of Erroll's, the Earl of Glasgow to the Right Hon. Lady Augusta Hay, daugh. to the late Earl of Er.

By special license, at Lord Macdonald's house in George's Street, Hanover Square, by the Bishop of Llandaff, Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster, Bart. M. P. to the Hon. Miss Macdonald.

At Leguinea, near Kingston (Jamaica), Alexander Robertson, Esq; Naval Officer there, to Miss Sinclair of Durran; from Scotland.

BIRTHS.

Feb. 24. At London the Lady of Sir William Augustus Cunyngham, Bt. of Livingstone, of a son,

26. The Right Hon. Lady Kinnaid of a son, at his Lordship's house, London.

March 4. The Lady of Sir James Colquhoun of Lufs, Bart. of a daughter at his house St Andrew's Square.

23. The Marchioness of Tweeddale of a son.

Mrs Admiral Duncan, George's Square of a daughter.

Mrs Rudyerd, wife of Captain Rudyerd of the Royal Engineers, of a son, at her house, Antigua Street.

DEATHS.

Mrs M. Turnbull, spouse of Mr Al. Laing architect.

At Dumfries, Mrs Jean Robertson, relict of the late Rev. Mr R. Wight, minister of the gospel in that place.

At Dumfries, Mr Eb. Wilson booksel.

At Aberdeen, Miss Jean Allardes, daugh. of the late Mr Ja. Allardes, merch.

At Chaleville, in Champagne, Mrs Stuart Menzies of Culdairs, who in life was generally beloved, and in death is universally regretted.

Miss Lillias Melvill, eldest daughter

of Major John Melvill of Cairnie.

At Biggar, Mr Geo. Bertram merchant.

At Whiteriggs James Leith of White-riggs, Esq.

At Brunston, William Millwrath of Kirkland, Esq.

At Rouen in Normandy, David Lord Roxhill.

Miss M. Sophia Grant, youngest daughter of Sir James Grant of Grant, Bart.

At Dunfermline, Mrs Lillias Ferguson.

At Edinburgh, Miss Je. Cosman, daughter of the deceased John Cosman, Esq;

At Glasgow, Miss Sus. McLean, daughter of the deceased Mr Jo. McLean, furg.

At Dumfries, Mr Da. Robertson, late Deacon of the incorporation of Skinners.

At Edinburgh, Dr G. Rolland, second son of Jo. Rolland Esq; of Auchmathie.

At Edinb. Mr Jo. Robertson writer.

At his house of Jordinstoun, Perthshire, Admiral John Knight.

At London, Colonel Guy Johnson, his Majesty's Superintendent of the Indian Nations in North America.

At the Manse of Lyne, in the county of Peebles, the Reverend Alexander Johnston, Minister of that parish.

At Edinburgh, Miss Marg. Aytoun, daugh. of the late Mr W. Aytoun, golds.

At Dundee, James Guthrie of Craigie, Esq; aged 90.

At Mauchline, Mrs Christian Wallace, daughter of the deceased Thomas Wallace Esq; of Cairnhill.

At Dumfries, Mrs M. Ferguson of Isle.

At Edinb. Tho. Cuming, Esq; banker.

At San Lucar, Mr Alexander Tait.

At Guernsey, Mr William Stark, surgeon to the 44th regiment of foot.

At Perth, Mr Alexander Hunter, late merchant in London.

At the manse of St Andrews, in Orkney, the Rev. Mr John Scully, minister of the united parishes of St Andrew's and Dearnies.

At Whitebank, Alexander Hay of Mordington, Esq;

At Dumfries, James Ramsay of Drungans, Esq; Collector of Excise there.

At Glasgow Miss Margaret Finlay, daughter of Mr John Finlay, writer.

Mrs Campbell of Blythwood.

At Perth Mrs Helen Ker, spouse to Mr J. Rutherford, writer in Perth.

At Marseilles Mr Robert Milne, writer in Edinburgh.

At his house in Portman Square, London, Lieutenant-Colonel George Clerk.

Mr Blair Newall, third son to J. Newall, Esq; of Barskeoch, at Rammercales.

John Morrice Esq; of Craig, at Irvine.