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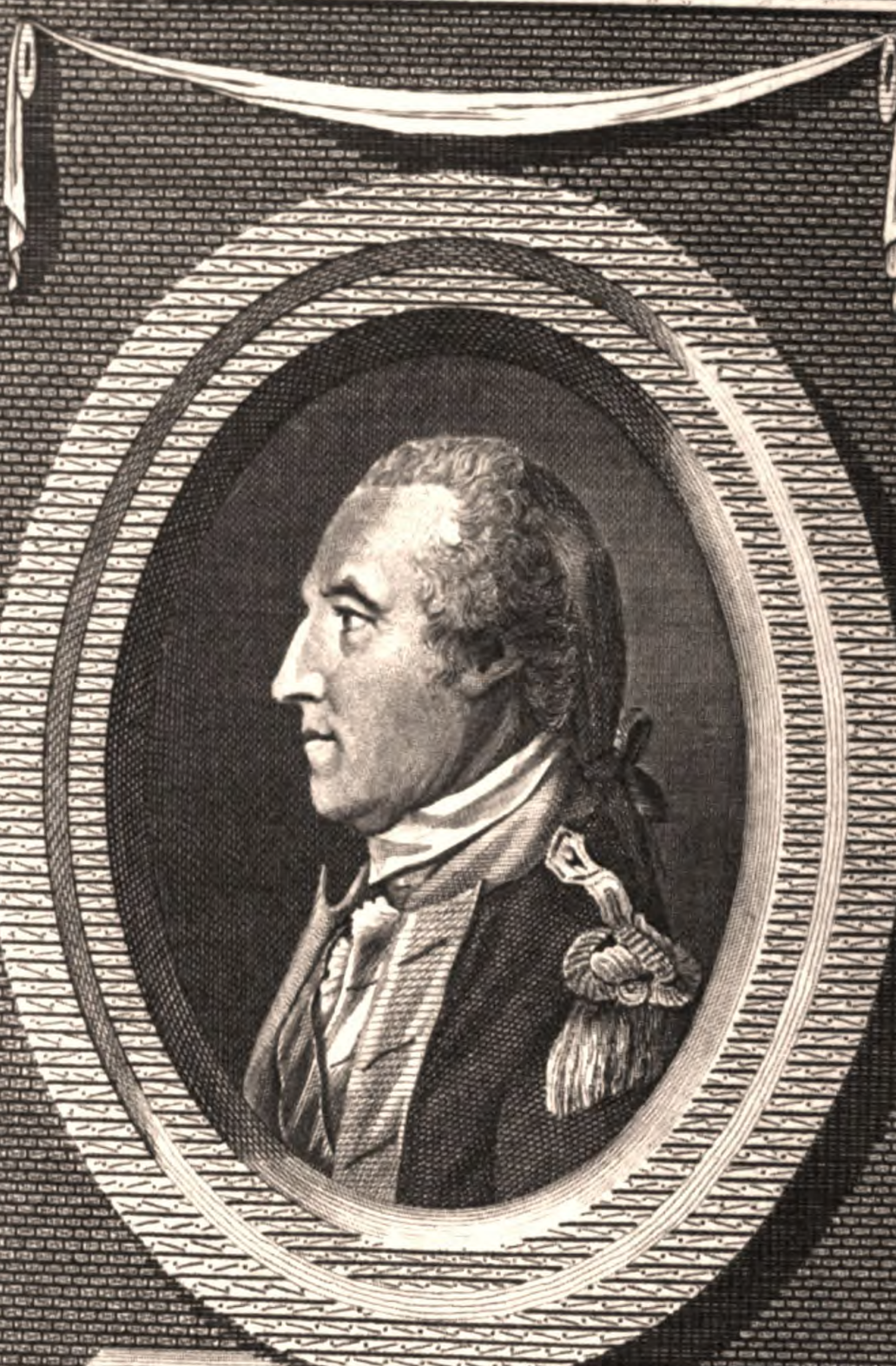
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*The Westminster magazine; or,
The Pantheon of taste: ...*
John Hope, Thomas Holcroft

W. B. No. CXXXIX.

The Westminster Magazine,

For JANUARY 1784.

St. Hall,
Ind. Ho
Whitehall.
James's
Whitehall.
Bailey
of Lords
Common
p. House
Lanc
Garden



Pantheon.
Royal Acad.
Carlisle
House.
Sir Ashton
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Sir Ed. Coke, in Vol. I. Journ. of House of Commons, page 797.





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History	Manners
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of the YEAR 1784

*Eye Nature's Walks shoot folly as it flies,
And catch the Manners living as they rise.*

VOL. XII.

Pope



L O N D O N

Printed for John. Walker, N^o. 44 Paternoster Row.







GEN^L WASHINGTON.

Published Jan^y 31, 1784 by John Walker from an Original Painting.

The Westminster Magazine ;

For J A N U A R Y, 1784.

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P R E F A C E.

IT may not be improper to acquaint our readers, that the present situation of affairs has not obliged us to make any change in the plan of our work. We have made it our constant endeavour to procure as many and as various materials, as was consistent with our desire of keeping our collection chaste, and of preserving the order and method which the public indulgence has lately so much approved.

The great encouragement this work has received, emboldens us to renew our claim of patronage from our numerous readers, and to flatter ourselves, that the succeeding volumes, from the assistance of several gentlemen of reputation in the literary world, will be rendered as worthy of their attention, as any that have hitherto been published.

We are exceedingly happy to find our biographical accounts of distinguished characters, accompanied by the masterly representations of the most eminent engravers, give universal satisfaction—This department shall therefore be particularly attended to—nor shall any other part of our undertaking be neglected, as we well know, that to obtain the approbation of our readers, it will be necessary to deserve it.

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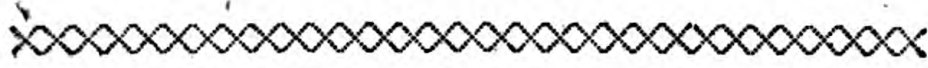


T H E

WESTMINSTER MAGAZINE,

F O R

J A N U A R Y 1784.



For the WESTMINSTER MAGAZINE.

A S K E T C H *of the* L I F E and C H A R A C T E R *of*
G E N E R A L W A S H I N G T O N .

[Illustrated with a STRIKING LIKENESS of that distinguished Officer,
engraved from an original Portrait.]

Written by J O H N B E L L, Esq. of Maryland, in an Epistle to a Friend in
London.

G E O R G E W A S H I N G T O N ,
is the third son of Mr. Au-
gustine Washington, a man
of large property and distin-
guished reputation in the state
of Virginia: an ancestor of this gentle-
man, about the period of the Revolution,
sold his property, near Cave, in the East
Riding of Yorkshire, and came over to
Virginia, where he purchased lands in
King George's County; and it was here
that our hero was born on the 22d of
February in the year 1733. In this
county he has at this time three brothers,
Samuel, John and Charles, all gentlemen
of considerable landed property, and a
sister who is married to Colonel Fielding
Lewis.

His elder brother Lawrence, who went
out a Captain of the American troops,
raised for the Carthage expedition, mar-
ried the daughter of the Honourable Wil-

liam Fairfax of Belvoir, in Virginia, by
whom he left one daughter, who dying
young, and his second brother also dying
without issue, the General succeeded to the
family seat, which, in compliment to the
gallant Admiral of that name, is called
Mount Vernon, and is delightfully situ-
ated on the Potomack River, a few miles
below Alexandria.

General Washington is the eldest son
by a second marriage; and having never
been out of America, was educated (as
youths of fortune in this country gene-
rally are) under the eye of his father by
a private tutorage: a slight tincture of
the Latin language, a grammatical
knowledge of his mother tongue, and
the elements of the mathematics, were
the chief objects he was taught to pursue.
For a few years after he quitted his tutor,
he applied himself to the practical part of
surveying (a knowledge of which is es-
sentially

essentially requisite to men of landed property in this country) and was appointed surveyor to a certain district in Virginia; an employment rather creditable than lucrative; though it afforded him an opportunity of chusing some valuable tracts of land, and made him thoroughly acquainted with the frontier country.

On the Governor and Council of Virginia receiving orders from England, in October, 1753, to repel by force the encroachments of the French on the western frontiers, along the rivers Ohio and de Boeuf, Mr. Washington, then a Major in the provincial service, and an Adjutant General of their forces, was dispatched by General Dinwiddie, with a letter to the commander in chief of the French on the Ohio, complaining of the inroads they were making in direct violation of the treaties then subsisting between the two crowns; he had also instructions to treat with the six nations and other western tribes of Indians, and to engage them to continue firm in their attachment to England.

He set out on this perilous embassy, with about fifteen attendants, late in October 1753; and so far succeeded, that on his return with *Mons. de St. Pierre's* answer, and his good success in the Indian negotiations, he was complimented with the thanks and approbation of his country. His journal of this whole transaction was published in Virginia, and does great credit to his industry, attention, and judgment; and it has since proved of infinite service to those who have been doomed to traverse the same inhospitable tracts.

Soon after this, the designs of the French becoming more manifest, and their movements and conduct more daring, orders were issued out by administration for the colonies to arm, and unite in one confederacy. The assembly of Virginia took the lead by voting a sum of money for the public service, and raising a regiment of four hundred men for the protection of the frontiers of the colony.

Major Washington, then about twenty-three years of age, was appointed to the command of this regiment, and before the end of May, in the ensuing year, came up with a strong party of the French and Indians, at a place called Redstone, which he effectually routed, after having taken and killed fifty men. Among the prisoners were the celebrated woods-man *Mons. De La Force* and two other offi-

cers, from whom Colonel Washington had undoubted intelligence, that the French force on the Ohio consisted of upwards of one thousand regulars, and some hundreds of Indians.

Upon this intelligence, although his little army was somewhat reduced, and entirely insufficient to act offensively against the French and Indians, yet he pushed on towards his enemy to a good post; where in order to wait the arrival of some expected succour from New York and Pennsylvania, he entrenched himself, and built a small fort called *Fort Necessity*. At this post he remained unmolested, and without any succour until the July following; when his small force, reduced now to less than three hundred men, was attacked by an army of French and Indians of about eleven hundred and upwards, under the command of the *Sieur de Villiers*.

The Virginians sustained the attack of the enemy's whole force for several hours, and laid near two hundred of them dead in the field, when the French Commander, discouraged by such determined resolution, proposed the less dangerous method of dislodging his enemy by a parley, which ended in an honourable capitulation. It was stipulated that Colonel Washington should march away with all the honours of war, and be allowed to carry off all his military stores, effects, and baggage.

This capitulation was violated from the ungovernable disposition of the savages, whom the French commander could not restrain from plundering the provincials on the onset of their march, and from making a considerable slaughter of men, cattle, and horses.

This breach of the capitulation was strongly remonstrated against by the British Ambassador at the Court of Versailles, and may be looked upon as the zero when the French Court began to unmask, and to avow (though in a clandestine manner) the conduct of their governors and officers in America; they redoubled their activity and diligence on the Ohio, and in other places during the winter 1754, and the following spring. Virginia had determined to send out a larger force; the forts Cumberland and Loudon were built and a camp was formed at *Wills Creek*, from thence to annoy the enemy on the Ohio.

In these several services (particularly in the construction of the forts) Colonel Washington was principally employed, when

when he was summoned to attend General Braddock, who with his army arrived at Alexandria, in Virginia, in May 1755. The design of sending out that army, was to penetrate through the country to Fort Du Quesne (now Fort Pitt) by the route of Wills Creek; and as no person was better acquainted with the frontier country than Colonel Washington, and no one in the colony enjoyed so well established a military character, he was judged highly serviceable to General Braddock, and cheerfully quitted his command to act as a volunteer and aid du camp under that unfortunate General.

The particulars of the defeat, and almost total ruin of Braddock's army, consisting of two thousand regular British forces, and near eight hundred provincials are too well known to need a repetition; it is allowed on all sides that the haughty positive behaviour of the General, his high contempt of the provincial officers and soldiers, and his disdainful obstinacy in rejecting their advice, were the genuine causes of this fatal disaster. With what resolution and steadiness the provincials and their gallant commander behaved on this trying occasion, and in covering the confused retreat of the army,* let every British officer and soldier confess, who were rescued from slaughter on that calamitous day by their valour and conduct.

After General Braddock's disaster, the colony of Virginia found it necessary to establish her militia, raise more men, strengthen her forts, undertake expeditions to check the incursions of the enemy, &c. &c. &c. In all which important services Colonel Washington bore a principal share, and acquitted himself to the utmost satisfaction of his country, by displaying, on every occasion, the most persevering industry, personal courage, and military abilities. He was again appointed to the command of the Virginia troops, and held it with signal credit till his resignation in 1759, when he married the young widow of Mr. Custis, his present lady; with whom he had a fortune of twenty thousand pounds sterling in her own right, besides her dower in one of the principal estates in Virginia.

From this period he became as assiduous to serve the state as a senator, as he had hitherto been active to defend it as a soldier. For several years he represented Frederick County, and had a seat for

Fairfax County; at the time he was appointed by the assembly, in conformity with the universal wish of the people, to be one of their four delegates at the first general Congress. It was with no small reluctance that he engaged again in the active scenes of life; and I sincerely believe that no motives but such as spring from a most disinterested patriotism, could have ever prevailed upon him to relinquish the most refined domestic pleasures, which it was ever in his power to command, and the great delight he took in farming and the improvement of his estate.

You well know that General Washington is, perhaps, the greatest landholder in America (the proprietors of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and the Northern Neck excepted) for besides his lady's fortune, and ten thousand pounds falling to him by the death of her only daughter, he has large tracts of land taken up by himself early in life, some considerable purchases made from officers who had lands allotted them for their services; and has, moreover, made great additions to his estate at Mount Vernon.

It is impossible in this country, as in England, to rate the value of estates by their annual rent or income, because they are universally tilled by negroes, and in the hands of landholders. There are many estates in the middle colonies, which never produced a clear income to their owners of five hundred a year, that may be easily sold for forty thousand pounds. General Washington's, however, will not be over-rated, if set down at a good four thousand pounds English per annum, and his whole property could not be bought for forty years purchase.

When it was determined at length in Congress, after every step towards an accommodation had failed, and every petition from America had been rejected, to repel by force the invasion from Great Britain, the eyes of the whole Continent were immediately turned upon Mr. Washington. With one common voice he was called forth to the defence of his country; and it is, perhaps, his peculiar glory, that there was not a single inhabitant of these states, except himself, who did not approve the choice, and place the firmest confidence in his integrity and abilities.

He arrived at Cambridge in New England, in July 1775, and there took the supreme command of the armies of America

rica

* See Captain Orme's Letter to Governor Dinwiddie, and also the other Accounts of that Day.

rica. He was received at the camp with that heart felt exultation which superior merit can alone inspire, after having in his progress through the several states received every mark of affection and esteem, which they conceived were due to the man, whom the whole continent looked up to for safety and freedom.

As he always refused to accept of any pecuniary appointment for his public services, no salary has been annexed by Congress to his important command, and he only drew weekly for the expences of his public table and other necessary demands. General Washington having never been in Europe, could not possibly have seen much military service when the armies of Britain were sent to subdue them; yet still, for a variety of reasons, he was by much the most proper man on this continent, and probably any where else, to be placed at the head of an American army. The very high estimation he stood in for integrity and honour, his engaging in the cause of his country from sentiment and a conviction of her wrongs, his moderation in politics, his extensive property, and his approved abilities as a commander, were motives which necessarily obliged the choice of America to fall upon him.

That nature has given him extraordinary military talents will hardly be controverted by his most bitter enemies; and having been early actuated with a warm passion to serve his country in the military line, he has greatly improved them by unwearied industry, and a close application to the best writers upon tactics, and by a more than common method and exactness: and, in reality, when it comes to be considered that at first he only headed a body of men intirely unacquainted with military discipline or operations, somewhat ungovernable in temper, and who at best could only be stiled an alert and good militia, acting under very short enlistments, unclothed, unaccounted, and at all times very ill supplied with ammunition and artillery; and that with such an army he withstood the ravages and progress of near forty thousand veteran troops, plentifully provided with every necessary article, commanded by the bravest officers in Europe, and supported by a very powerful navy, which effectually prevented all movements by water; when, I say, all this comes to be impartially considered, I think I may venture to pronounce, that General Washington will be regarded by mankind as one

of the greatest military ornaments of the present age, and that his name will command the veneration of the latest posterity.

I would not mention to you the person of this distinguished man, were I not convinced that it bears great analogy to the qualifications of his mind. General Washington is a tall well-made man, rather large boned, and has a tolerably genteel address: his features are manly and bold, his eyes of a blueish cast and very lively; his hair a deep brown, his face rather long and marked with the small pox; his complexion sunburnt and without much colour, and his countenance sensible, composed, and thoughtful; there is a remarkable air of dignity about him, with a striking degree of gracefulness: he has an excellent understanding without much quickness; is strictly just, vigilant, and generous; an affectionate husband, a faithful friend, a father to the deserving soldier; gentle in his manners, in temper rather reserved; a total stranger to religious prejudices, which have so often excited Christians of one denomination to cut the throats of those of another; in his morals irreproachable; he was never known to exceed the bounds of the most rigid temperance: in a word, all his friends and acquaintances univerversally allow, that no man ever united in his own person a more perfect alliance of the virtues of a philosopher with the talents of a general. Candour, sincerity, affability, and simplicity, seem to be the striking features of his character, till an occasion offers of displaying the most determined bravery and independence of spirit.

Such, my good friend, is the man to whom America intrusted her important cause. Hitherto she has had every reason to be satisfied with her choice; and most ungrateful would she be to the great Disposer of human events, were she not to render him unremitting thanks for having provided her with such a citizen at such a crisis.

Most nations have been favoured with some patriotic deliverer: the Israelites had their Moses; Rome had her Camillus; Greece her Leonidas; Sweden her Gustavus; and England her Hamdens, her Russels, and her Sydneys; but these illustrious heroes, though successful in preserving and defending, did not like WASHINGTON, form or establish empires, which will, in all probability, be the refuge or asylum of liberty banished from Europe by luxury and corruption.

I. B.

For the WESTMINSTER MAGAZINE.

An ADDRESS on the NEW YEAR.

THERE are certain occasions, when the most wicked man living cannot banish serious reflection; when he cannot help meditating on the folly of his actions, on the importance of wisdom, and on the merits of goodness in procuring a happy life. The prospect of death is not a serious one to the good only; indeed, perhaps to them it is a happy prospect; it is not a serious prospect only to the philosopher, or man of learning, but it is an irresistible call even to the most abandoned to bethink themselves of their ways, and be wise in time. Of all other deaths, sudden death conveys most horror; few there are, be they ever so regular in their lives, who do not feel on such an occasion, that all their worldly caution and interest are very vain and unprofitable, compared with the better assurance which an unspotted conscience gives. All gaiety, all grandeur, even the pomp of sophistry, and the proud reasoning of infidels and of the unprincipled rake are then at an end. On such an occasion men seem what they are.

But death, in any shape, is not the only occasion which excites the general meditations of mankind. This season opens a wide field for the most serious reflection. The commencement of the new year is, to the young a cause of merriment, but their ignorance prevents either forethought or retrospect. They are acquainted with no past events which can embitter the present moment, and they foresee no happiness superior to that which they now enjoy, and no miseries superior to the little playful disappointments which arise from their thoughtlessness. It is not so with the man of reflection. He cannot enter on the actions of a new year, without taking a review of that which is now at an end. He cannot trace any action without seeing how much better it might have been done, and he cannot trace any events of his life without being conscious, that he himself was the cause of his failure, and that what happiness he has reaped, was rather accidental than merited or laboured for. At the same time too, he is apt to reflect on the many happy days and hours he formerly spent during this season of the year, and that never without sorrow, that he

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must no more see such days. He thinks with pain on that age, when his happiness was consciousness of innocence, and when he had neither wishes nor wants, which in innocence and moderation could not be supplied. He contrasts his present situation with the days of his childhood, and he finds himself now situated on an eminence in the world. He who formerly looked up to others, is now looked up to himself. Dependent only on his own industry, he recollects the many painful doubts which the success of that industry has cost him; placed at the head of a family, or as the principal of a set of loved connections, he feels a thousand anxieties concerning himself, and at the beginning of a new year, looks back with humiliating sorrow on the little he has done. The common gaiety of the time prevents his being sunk in distress, but neither a review of the past, nor the most favourable conjectures concerning what may happen hereafter, add to his pleasures, or contribute to his happiness.

The situations of men in life, whatever those may be, whether military, civil political, or literary, are objects of the first magnitude. It is on our conduct in them, that not only our character but our peace and satisfaction depend. Yet often do we find, that when reflection comes, we are miserable on account of those situations, and like the discontented men (in Horace) wish to change situations with our neighbours. An impatience to be happy, and an ignorance of the source of happiness, produce the common discontents. A contempt for what is solid, a neglect of what is good, and a love of the frivolous, are the common errors, and men, in the height of their folly, pretend to be in search of happiness while their *footsteps go down to death*.

Let all then begin, from the commencement of this year, to think for themselves with as great independence of mind as they act for themselves in the independence of trade. There is but one standard of acting, which is justice, and there is but one standard of thinking, which is religion. The one teaches us to be just to others, the second to be just to ourselves. By the one, our character here is promot-

B

ed to the highest estimation of the worthiest and the best of men, and by the other, our happiness is set above the vicissitudes of time, or the malice of enemies.

Let the scoffer enjoy his laugh, and the profligate consume his time, and complete his life of evil and unprofitableness, yet still this truth remains unimpeached, that there is no comfort which religion does not give and allow, and there is no happiness which vice does not destroy and abuse. However we may have wasted our time, our strength, or our substance in riotous living, and useless employments, the new year is an æra from whence we may begin a better life.

In these days of political dissensions, when even the common language of the country scarce remains unpolluted by the sophisms of corrupted statesmen, when no goodness of character can stand in competition with the industry of ambition and avarice, when a desire to enjoy the emoluments of office, and a contempt for the discharge of the duties of office, militate against the prosperity of the nation, it is time for the individual to seek his stores of peace within himself; it is time for him to turn his eyes toward his own soul, and see whether there be not in it, a fund of enjoyment, far superior to what prostitution of talents, or the splendour of wealth and place can give. Public virtue and integrity is no longer an object in view; we look in vain for those virtues in our days, and disappointed by flatterers, and deceived by the artful, we begin to lose confidence in one another. The bonds which connect men in friendship, are exchanged for the temporary bindings of interest; and as the example of high life is invariably followed by the lower ranks, we have the misery of that part of the empire which remains superadded to our disappointment in that which was left. Such views, such

prospects, and such considerations are particularly necessary at this season, when people are very apt to usher in the new year, with the worst dissipations which the old year afforded.

Libertinism, whether public or private, may continue uninterrupted for a time. It may, for a time, constitute the happiness of man, and place him as an object of envy in the eyes of the ignorant and unthinking. It may, for a time, seem the ultimate end of his nature, and the essence of all his gratifications. But that time cannot be of long duration. Health, even when temperance is carried to the extreme, or where prudence guides all the actions, is but a precarious tenure; and the happiness depending on dissipation is even more precarious than health itself, for it is disturbed by the petulance of temper, and the ungovernable nature of foolish youth. It is but a short time that the strongest can boast of his strength, or the most pleasurable man of his pleasure.

Though the days of our life were as numerous as the hairs on our head, their duration could not satisfy a mind capable of comprehending eternity, or inspired with the hopes of futurity. And profligacy, with all its pleasures, creates disease in the most horrible shapes, and brings on death when there is mostly a desire to live. The study of religion, and as much of the practice as the frailty of our nature will allow, can only confirm our actions, direct to our happiness, or pluck the sting from death. Religion adds even to those comforts, which they who are ignorant of it suppose it destroys; for an age of the mirth of drunkards, the sensuality of libertines, or the cool and deliberate villainy of infidels, cannot be compared with one hour of conscious rectitude, far less with their felicity, who, at their last moments, have witnessed *in what peace a christian can die.*

For the WESTMINSTER MAGAZINE.

THOUGHTS on CHARACTERISTICAL PARTIALITIES.

PARTIALITIES may be arranged according to the characters of the men in whom they are discovered. They are unequal when they lead to selfishness, and beget pride and ignorance.

Men of learning have many unequal partialities. Some are so immoderately

fond of one particular science, as not only to neglect every other, but even look with contempt on those who pursue others. I know a Naturalist, deservedly esteemed for his great professional knowledge, who has not for twenty years past read one book which did not directly, or indirectly,

indirectly, treat of the objects of Natural History; and he laughs at the opinion that a man's life may be well spent in studying the history of nations, or the philosophy of the mind. This I call an unequal partiality. Another is so much pleased with the study of history, as to hold the Naturalist and the Poet in derision. Milton and Shakespear are read as part of the task imposed on a general scholar; while the writings of a Hume, Gibbon, Lyttleton, and other historians, occupy the whole attention, and give fund to every conversation. Others employ all their time, and often expend their whole fortune, on experiments of Natural Philosophy; their libraries are small, but their chemical machinery fills the whole house, and interrupts the cleanliness and œconomy of the family.

Others exist only in the liberty of reading, and in the hopes of succeeding Pope, Thomson, or a Shenstone in public esteem. The English Poets, the French Poets, and Poets of all countries, are with them the most important objects of attention. Their genius is employed and employed until it be exhausted, in composing verses in every shape. History is to them tiresome and uninteresting, and philosophy is dull and unprofitable. Others bestow their leisure hours upon fictitious writings, and prefer the works of Novellists, however trifling, dull, and pernicious, to all the branches of history and philosophy. And others, for it were endless to mention more varieties, are so warmly attached to the stage, as to read nothing but plays, to see no amusements but plays, to write nothing but scraps of scenes of dramatic criticism, and to speak of nothing but performers and performances.

When they, who entertain partialities so confining to the judgment, take up the pen, we are sure to discover in their prefaces the true bias of their minds. The Naturalist informs the world, that nothing conduces so much to morality, nothing whatsoever, as a knowledge of beasts and birds, insects, fishes, shells, petrefactions and vegetables. The celebrated Dr. Hill raised in his own mind an uncommon degree of enthusiasm, with regard to the minutæ of natural history, thinking that a knowledge of natural phenomena was the only source and support of morality, which gave occasion to the wags of his time to say, that if ever the Doctor went to Heaven, it must be on the back of a beetle.

The Historian retorts with equal con-

tempt for the Naturalist, thinks him an useless member of society, and an impertinent disturber of the peace of insects, and prefers the affairs of kingdoms and states, the rise and fall of monarchies, the great darings by which kingdoms have grown great, and the rapid luxury by which they have been overturned; in a word, he prefers the knowledge of immortal man to that of the beasts, which perish.

The experimental Philosopher deduces all knowledge that is useful, or can be useful, from experiments, and by a subtlety of argument, very convincing to them who may have a predilection for the science, attempts to prove the great moral effects of experimental philosophy. The poet appeals to our feelings, and is certain that virtue in verse is far more persuasive and strengthening to the heart, than when in plain prose, and wonders what good or knowledge men can reap from distorted spiders, lying annualists, and dead cats in air pumps. The Novellist, in plain terms, and without hesitation, affirms, that a novel is beyond all other works eminent in instruction; nay, in a late novel, the author has not scrupled to compare his hero to the Messiah! This is an instance of bold impiety, not easily to be paralleled, and I hope never will be imitated. The dramatic writer defies religion or philosophy to produce a mode of mental culture better adapted for every purpose of morality, than the theatre. Other writers act in the same manner, each preferring his favourite study, and wondering at the obstinacy and low state of public taste.

In a pamphlet, published in 1756, on the immorality of the times, the author lays down several self-evident facts, as he calls them, which are conducive to public depravity; and asserts, that men, creeping into alleys for certain urgent purposes, is a circumstance which requires the attention of the Legislature more than any object that ever engaged the wisdom of the nation.

Politicians have their partialities in a higher degree, and they adhere to them more obstinately than men of learning to theirs. But partiality in a politician is called party, a word familiar to the ear of a Briton, and so familiar as to breed contempt. Formerly the distinction was Whig and Tory; these, now, like the more ancient diversities of religion, are split into many branches, transient on the root from

which they rise. Thus we hear of a Northite, a Shelburnite, a Rockinghamite, a Foxite, &c. I do not mean, however, to enter here upon the question of the propriety or impropriety of party in the government of this nation. The arguments are tedious and questionable. In the most flourishing as well as most depressed state of old England, party has appeared with nearly the same strength. All that comes to be observed in this place is, that politicians are unequally partial when they give a ready and blind assent to whatever proceeds out of the mouth of their chief. This they have been said to do from mercenary motives. I know not if there be always truth in this assertion; but I am sure they are unequally and absurdly partial when they exercise malignity of tongue; and behave with brutal rudeness to those who, from motives as honourable, or more so than their own, differ from them in opinion.

Divines have wounded religion in her dearest interests, by many unequal partialities introduced into the church, and which are subversive of that harmony and meekness which ought to mark the christian and the man. The gay and loose part of the world from a view of the many diversities of religious opinion, which create diversities of sect and interest, have entertained prejudices against religion itself. The partialities of religious men, are unequal when they prompt them to establish such enmity between sect and sect, as for ever to prevent them from coming to a good understanding. If some of the sects into which the church of England is divided, were to meet together in a calm manner, and with minds open to conviction, there might ensue such a communication of sentiment as to produce, if not re-union, at least meekness and forbearance one towards another. Let it not be thought, however, that I wish to bring together men of opinions totally different, such as papists and protestants; or that it would give me any pleasure to see protestant and presbyterian clergymen walking behind a crucifix in a procession, or assisting at high mass.

The partialities of philosophers and statesmen are of the utmost consequence to mankind, and I have placed them be-

fore those which are of an important nature as to the great duties of life.

Philosophers and politicians are uncommonly tenacious of their partialities, but from different causes; the former often exclude themselves from communication with society; they acquire habits of thinking upon one subject, until it has become as it were, a part of the unalterable constitution of their minds; the latter are actuated by the strongest passions incident to busy life, interest and ambition, passions almost irresistible, and in an unprincipled mind, to be restrained only by the fear of punishment.

As the satisfaction and pleasure of others ought to give a direction to our behaviour, and as no man who knows wherein happiness consists, can be ignorant, that it is as well promoted by doing good to others, as to ourselves; it is much the interest of every individual, to prevent his partialities from becoming unequal, and from excluding attention to other pursuits, whose importance nothing but want of understanding, or habitual infatuation, can conceal from his eyes, and banish from his thoughts.

But some men affect to despise the opinion of the world; it is an affectation, however, so often connected with a weak head and a bad heart, that when a good man is inclined to indulge it, he ought to do it in secret. It has one pernicious effect, which cannot fail to deter all good men: it destroys the hopes of our doing good by superior abilities, or exemplary character.

When we are regardless of the opinion of the world, we become disgustful to many to whom we might have been serviceable. Our partialities, when very violent, are termed prejudices; a severe word, because it implies, that we are so forgetful of reason and justice, as to give judgment before we examine into merits. The character of a prejudiced man is inconsistent with that of a wise man; and when we find unaccountable literary, political, or national prejudices lessening the character of a man reputed for wisdom and learning, we ought to pity the frailty of our natures, and keep such an example before our eyes in youth, while the mind is open to conviction.

C.

For

For the WESTMINSTER MAGAZINE.

The AMERICAN FARMER.

GOOD and evil are to be found in all societies, and it is in vain to seek for any spot where those ingredients are not mixed. I therefore rest satisfied, and thank God that my lot is to be an American farmer, instead of a Russian boor or an Hungarian peasant.

It is strange that misery, when viewed in others, should become to us a sort of real good; though I am far from rejoicing to hear that there are in the world men so thoroughly wretched. They are no doubt as harmless, industrious, and willing to work as we are. Hard is their fate to be thus condemned to a slavery worse than that of our negroes. Yet, when young, I entertained some thoughts of selling my farm. I thought it afforded but a dull repetition of the same labours and pleasures. I thought the former tedious and heavy; the latter few and insipid. But, when I came to consider myself as divested of my farm, I then found the world so wide, and every place so full, that I began to fear lest there would be no room for me. My farm, my house, my barn, presented to my imagination, objects from which I adduced quite new ideas: they were more forcible than before. Why should not I find myself happy, said I, where my father was before? He left me no good books it is true; he gave me no other education than the art of reading and writing; but he left me a good farm and his experience: he left me free from debts, and no kind of difficulties to struggle with. I married, and this perfectly reconciled me to my situation. My wife rendered my house all at once cheerful and pleasing; it no longer appeared gloomy and solitary as before. When I went to work in my fields, I worked with more alacrity and sprightliness. I felt that I did not work for myself alone, and this encouraged me much. My wife would often come with her knitting in her hand, and sit under the shady tree, praising the straightness of my furrows and the docility of my horses.

This swelled my heart and made every thing light and pleasant, and I regretted that I had not married before. I felt myself happy in my new situation, and where is that station which can confer a more substantial system of felicity than that of an

American farmer, possessing freedom of action and thoughts, ruled by a mode of government which requires but little from us? I owe nothing but a pepper corn to my country, a small tribute to my king, with loyalty and due respect. I know no other landlord than the Lord of all land, to whom I owe the most sincere gratitude. My father left me three hundred and seventy-one acres of land, forty-seven of which are good timothy meadow, an excellent orchard, a good house, and a substantial barn. It is my duty to think how happy I am that he lived to build and to pay for all these improvements. What are the labours which I have to undergo? What are my fatigues when compared to his, who had every thing to do, from the first tree he felled to the finishing of his house? Every year I kill from 1500 to 2000 weight of pork, 1200 of beef, half a dozen of good wethers in harvest; of fowls my wife has always a great stock; what can I wish more? My negroes are tolerably faithful and healthy. By a long series of industry and honest dealings, my father left behind him the name of a good man. I have but to tread his paths to be happy and a good man like him. I know enough of the law to regulate my little concerns with propriety, nor do I dread its power. These are the grand outlines of my situation; but as I can feel much more than I am able to express, I hardly know how to proceed.

When my first son was born, the whole train of my ideas were suddenly altered. Never was there a charm that acted so quickly and powerfully. I ceased to ramble in imagination through the wide world. My excursions, since, have not exceeded the bounds of my farm; and all my principal pleasures are now centered within its scanty limits; but, at the same time, there is not an operation belonging to it in which I do not find some food for useful reflections. Yet how rude must the feelings of the farmer be who daily holds the ax or the plough! How much more refined, on the contrary, those of the European, whose mind is improved by education, example, books, and by every acquired advantage! Those feelings however, I will delineate as well as I can.

When

When I contemplate my wife, by my fire side, while she either spins, knits, darns, or suckles our child, I cannot describe the various emotions of love, of gratitude, of conscious pride, which thrill in my heart, and often overflow in involuntary tears. I feel the necessity, the sweet pleasure, of acting my part, the part of a husband and father, with an attention and propriety which may entitle me to my good fortune.

It is true, these pleasing images vanish with the smoke of my pipe, but, though they disappear from my mind, the impression they have made on my heart is indelible. When I play with the infant, my warm imagination runs forward, and eagerly anticipates his future temper and constitution. I would willingly open the book of fate, and know in which page his destiny is delineated. Alas! where is the father, who, in those moments of paternal extacy can delineate one half of the thoughts which dilate his heart? I am sure I cannot. Then again I fear for the health of those who are become so dear to me; and in their sicknesses, I severely pay for the joys I experienced while they were well. Whenever I go abroad it is always involuntary. I never return home without feeling some pleasing emotion,

which I often suppress as useless and foolish. The instant I enter on my land, the bright idea of property, of exclusive right, of independence, exalt my mind. Precious soil, I say to myself, by what singular custom of law is it that thou wast made to constitute the riches of the freeholder? What should we American farmers be without the distinct possession of that soil? It feeds, it clothes us! from it we draw even a great exuberancy, our best meat, our richest drink; the very honey of our bees comes from this privileged spot. No wonder we should thus cherish its possession; no wonder that so many Europeans, who have never been able to say that such portion of land was theirs, cross the Atlantic to realize that happiness! This formerly rude soil has been converted by my father into a pleasant farm, and, in return, it has established all our rights. On it is founded our rank, our freedom, our power, as citizens; our importance, as inhabitants of such a district. These images, I must confess, I always behold with pleasure, and extend them as far as my imagination can reach; for this is what may be called the true and the only philosophy of an American farmer.

For the WESTMINSTER MAGAZINE.

ELEMENTS of POLICY and GOVERNMENT.

Introductory to the PRESENT STATE of EUROPE.

THE earliest states fell very short of their present perfection. They who first united into large civil societies, had no other view than security against foreign and domestic violence; which, indeed, was sufficient for their original simplicity and rudeness; but the gradual invention of arts and sciences introducing a more refined manner of living, and at the same time more wants, they enlarged their first simple plan; and not contented with bare safety, affected conveniency, elegance, and pleasure; the combination of which constitutes what we call public welfare. Thus it was that states, in process of time, attained to that perfection which they at present enjoy, especially in our part of the world; so that a state, considered according to its present nature and constitution, consists of a large society of men, united under one government, for the maintenance

and advancement of their common security and welfare.

II. Thus the end of a state is the security and welfare of all its members; the prospect of this happy situation having been the principal motive for uniting into one body: a natural consequence of which is, that they must live together, and be possessed of a certain part of the earth. This is called the state's territory, and the body of the inhabitants are the people. The land is the property of the people, if constantly inhabited by them; for the roving savages of the northern parts of Asia and America, cannot be said to have any certain property; as they stay only for a time, their property necessarily ceases on their removing from the country.

III. The right of ordaining and transacting whatever is necessary for the safety and

and welfare of the state, is called the sovereignty. The exercise of this sovereignty is the administration; and the person who exercises it is distinguished by the title of Sovereign. He has, consequently, a power of directing the conduct of all the other members of the state, in a manner correspondent to that end of society; or, which is the same thing, of prescribing laws to them; and they being obliged to pay obedience to such laws, are named subjects.

IV. The form of government is the stated manner according to which the sovereignty is to be exercised. This is various; either by one single person, or by a select number of the better sort, or, in fine, by the body of the people. A state under the first form is a Monarchy; under the second, an Aristocracy; under the third, a Democracy. When one of these three forms obtains alone, the government is called simple; and when two, or all three are united, it is denominated a mixed government. The question which of these three several forms is the best, has been concisely and energetically decided by Mr. Pope.

For forms of government let fools contest,

Whatever is best administer'd is best.

V. Those states in which aristocracy and democracy obtain, are generally called free states, or republics; the former, very improperly; for, in an aristocracy, the nobility are just what the monarch is in a monarchy; and as little liberty is left to the other members of the state as in the latter.

The name of a free state properly belongs only to a democracy, the whole body of the people having then a share of the government, and consequently a public freedom.

VI. The monarchical form is indisputably the most ancient, being derived from that of the father of a family, who was in some measure sovereign of his own house; and as they had such a government daily before their eyes, it was perfectly natural that, at the first institution of states, one person should be invested with the supreme power. But the free states, or republics, are mostly derived from monarchies; the abuse of which form of government stimulated the oppressed people to shake off the yoke; and this, as sufficiently appears from the history of all ages, gave rise to most republics, both ancient and modern.

VII. Several states have in support

of their common safety, entered into a perpetual alliance. These are called United States, signal instances of which we find in ancient and modern history; as in the Greek and the Achaian Republics; in the Swiss Cantons, and the States of the United Provinces. The nature of such united states renders certain assemblies necessary for deliberating on the public concerns, and resolving on the measures suitable to critical conjunctures.

VIII. In the general consideration of a state, we meet with four essential objects. 1. The territory or country. 2. The inhabitants or people. 3. The government. 4. The end of government, or state-interest. But in the consideration of any single state, these objects have their particular contingencies, which distinguish it from every other sovereignty. These contingencies form what we call the state or condition of a country.

IX. The knowledge of the state or condition of countries is, in a general sense, called politics; but when limited to Europe and the present time, no more is understood by it than an authentic account of the present condition of the European states.

X. As the particular contingencies of a country, relatively to its territory, its people, its government, and its interest, constitute its state or condition; so are these four capital objects to be treated of, and illustrated in the description of each particular country.

XI. The present state of a country arises from the past, and a true knowledge of the former requires a thorough acquaintance with the latter. This we draw from history, which informs us of the origin of states with their great events and revolutions. These relate either to the territory of the state, as having either enlarged or curtailed it; or to the form of government; or to the reigning family. All these varieties and revolutions have their particular consequences, and thus are objects of politics.

XII. The first object to be considered in a state is its territory; and in this, 1. Situation. 2. Extent. 3. Natural quality. And 4. Political quality.

XIII. The situation of a country either relates to the degree of longitude and latitude between which it is included, or more particularly to the contiguous countries, or sea, with which it is either wholly, or partly surrounded. The situation is found in maps, and these were known to antiquity; but in modern times

times have received very great improvements.

XIV. The extent of a country consists in its length and breadth, but these can scarce be precisely determined; most countries being of such an irregular figure as to cause a great disparity between its dimensions in different parts. To this must likewise be added, that miles are far from being equal in all countries. In order to come at the most exact dimensions of a state, recourse must be had to a good map, and then bring the country into one or more squares, measuring it by geographical miles; and thus giving the whole superficial contents in square miles. The boundaries of a state are either placed by nature itself, as mountains, rivers, and sea; or are settled between neighbouring states by express, or tacit conventions; the former are called natural, the latter political limits.

XV. In the natural quality of a country are to be considered its good and bad natural properties; as its air and weather; whether it be level or hilly, well watered or dry, fruitful or sterile.

The air and temperature is very different on some parts of the earth; and the latter, sometimes, is partly owing to the climate: for the nearer the equator, the greater generally is the heat; and consequently, the farther from it, and the nearer to the poles, the more intense the cold. The situation, however, does not absolutely determine the heat and cold, it being manifest from undoubted experience, that the most eastern and western countries are much colder than those which lie between those extremities. In mountainous places, likewise, the air is colder than in flat countries, but on that account the purest; along the sea coast it is foul, and very variable.

Hills are computed by some to take up the tenth part of the continent; the highest are under the equator, and towards the south pole. Hills, in some respects, as on account of the woods with which they are covered, the waters issuing from them, and the minerals in their bowels, are of an advantage to a country; not to mention the salubrity of air.

Lofly and steep hills, however, and especially of a considerable extent, are great inconveniences. They deprive the country of too much ground, as being fit neither for tillage nor habitation; likewise, volcanos are often found among the vast chains of mountains; and what terrible neighbours these are, the histories of all

ages afford deplorable instances; for not to mention their eruptions, the adjacent countries are subject to earthquakes, by which whole cities have been destroyed and swallowed up. Thus flat countries, being secure from such dangers, have great advantages over the mountainous; and as they are fitter for agriculture, they can maintain more inhabitants.

Lands destitute of water must necessarily lie waste, as neither men nor cattle can live in them; whereas rivers and waters not only promote fertility, but likewise, when navigable, are a great conveniency to inland trade; and for the last purpose, where there is a want of them, art assists nature with canals.

A country is fruitful when it brings forth plentifully whatever the support, the wants, and the conveniency of the inhabitants require; and when deficient in these, it may be said to be barren. Fertility includes the several productions of the animal, vegetable, and fofsil kingdoms. The former contains the quadrupeds, the birds, insects, and fishes; but of all these, such species only come within the verge of politics, as are of domestic or commercial use. This is likewise applicable to the productions of the vegetable kingdom, to which belong all trees, shrubs, grain, plants, and fruits. The fofsil kingdom contains the greatest treasures of the earth; those noble metals gold and silver, by which the value of all things is regulated; copper, iron, tin, lead, and the semi-metals; likewise gems, and other valuable or useful stones; besides those used by the statuaries and architects. To the fofsil kingdom, likewise belong clays, dyes, coals, salts, and mineral waters.

XVI. Next to the natural is to be considered the political state of a country; this comprises the improvements it has received from the government. All states had not originally their present extent, having gradually acquired more lands, partly by inheritance and escheats, and partly by conquests. This aggrandizement produced the division into provinces or districts, with their cities, towns, and villages, which owe their being to the several occupations and ways of living of the inhabitants; according to the rules of good policy, cities should be appropriated to trades, manufactures, arts, and handicrafts; towns only to such shops and handicrafts as are of absolute necessity, with a little farming; and the villages intirely to agriculture, grafiery, and farming.

XVII. When

XVII. When lands are acquired, whether by arms or otherwise, instead of their being immediately incorporated with the state, such are more generally accounted dependent provinces, subject to its sovereignty, and treated accordingly. That country, which is the main part of the state, and the seat of government, is termed the mother-country; while the acquisitions are called dependencies. These, consequently, are not on a footing with the mother-country, but must content themselves with the stipulations entered into at their subjection; or surrender. The distinction between the mother-country and the dependencies, shews itself most in free states; for whereas part of the inhabitants, as in an aristocracy, or all, as in a democracy, have a share in the government; the people of these dependencies are mere subjects, and totally excluded from every such privilege; such, for instance, were the Corsicans in respect to the Republic of Genoa. Dependencies, however, so far from being a constant advantage to a state, sometimes bring it into great inconveniences; as when lying at a great distance, and convenient for a powerful neighbour, so that it is difficult to defend them; such was formerly the case of the Spanish Netherlands, very remote from Spain and contiguous to France.

XVIII. The second capital object relating to a state is, the people, or inhabitants. Those have either founded the state originally, or, as foreign invaders, have mastered it by force. The latter event has chiefly been occasioned by wars and migrations. There are, indeed, few states in the universe who can boast of the former circumstance, and prove an uninterrupted settlement in the present territories; for the more ancient a nation is, or pretends to be, the more uncertain is its origin, and that of the states founded by it, and the deeper it lies involved in fable and obscurity. It is the same with the names of people and states, which have undergone different mutations at distances of time. Most countries in Europe, Asia, and Africa, which were subject to the Roman empire, on its overthrow came to be called by new names. The names of some modern states are derived from foreigners who conquered them. Thus, for instance, France received its denomination from the Franks; England from the Angles; Scotland, from the Scots; Hungary from the Huns. Some people, on the other hand, are called by the an-

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cient and modern name of their countries; as the present Spaniards from Spain, the Portuguese from Portugal. Sometimes the capital has given its name to the state, as Naples to the kingdom so called; and the Russian empire, for a very long time, bore the name of Muscovy from its chief city.

XIX. On the people depend the strength and power of a state, and no less its weakness and impotency; therefore the qualities both of their bodies and minds, their virtues and vices, number, language, different degrees, and parties, are to be considered.

XX. To the bodily qualities belong largeness and beauty, and the opposite defects. There is in general a very great difference in the bodies and faces of men, according to the nature of the country. This is not purely owing to the heat or cold of the several climates, but to the grains, vegetables, and other aliments, which they produce, and are used by the inhabitants for food. A certain writer has remarked, that the human species towards the north-pole are brown; from thence to the sixtieth degree, red; from thence to the forty-fifth, fair; from thence to the thirtieth yellow; afterwards greenish, then swarthy, and lastly, under the tropics, black; that the northern people are large, fair-complexioned, with lank red hair, blue eyes, sanguine, and their blood thick; the southern, of a middling stature, brown complexion, black and curled hair, black eyes, their blood thin, and in no great quantity. Another learned person divides the whole human race into three nations, alike in stature, shape, and features. The first are known by a hideous countenance, swarthy skin, large jaw-bones, small flat nose, small hollow eyes, little or no beard, black hair, and jolt heads. Among these he classes the Calmucs, Mungals, Ostiaks, and other people of Siberia; the Samojeedes, Greenlanders, Chinese, Japanese, Americans, Indians, and Africans. The second nation have handsome faces; and this class he makes to consist of Jews, Turks, Persians, Armenians, and Georgians. The third nation are the Europeans and Tartars; and these he accounts the founders of the north-west people of Europe. But the difference of the bodies and faces of people in different countries is scarcely greater than that of their ideas of beauty. Thus the Moors place it in the blackness of their faces; the Chinese and Calmucs in a flat visage; nay, the Omaguas, a

C

people

of South America, press the foreheads of their new-born children between two boards, in order more effectually to give them that odd figure.

The different situation and quality of countries have an influence on the health of the inhabitants. Accordingly different nations have their peculiar distempers; such as the leprosy and pestilence, in the eastern and southern countries. The venereal distemper is said to have been first known in the islands of the New World, when discovered by Columbus, and to have been brought into Europe by the Spaniards; of this, however, some make a question.

XXI. As the climate has an influence on the body, it cannot be denied to affect the mind; whose dispositions depend not a little on the nature of the body. The effect of the different climates herein is manifest from the corresponding nature both of the country and inhabitants. Experience shews a temperate climate to be the best adapted to the human understanding; and in antient and modern ages, such has been the seat of arts and sciences; whereas the very hot or very cold countries never produced many great geniuses, or great scholars. The like difference between men living in different climates, appears in certain virtues and vices. The northern people, their bodies being steeled by the sharpness of the weather, are less inclined to a soft way of life, and sensual gratifications, than the southern, with whom voluptuousness is the predominant vice. They likewise can bear labour and hardships; thence their fitness for war, and their intrepidity in danger, which the

luxurious people of the south and east dare not face.

Omnis in Arctois populus quicumque
pruinis

Nascitur, indomitubellis et Martis ama-
tor.

Quidquid ad Eoos tractus mundique
teporum

Labitur, emollit gentes clementia cœli.

In cold laborious climes, the wintry
north

Brings her undaunted hardy warriors
forth;

In body and in mind untaught to
yield,

Stubborn of each, and steady in the
field;

While Asia's softer climate, form'd to
please,

Dissolves her sons in indolence and
ease.

This truth, which was known even to remote antiquity, is perfectly confirmed by history; the northern nations having generally vanquished the southern; and the greatest and most remarkable conquests having been carried on from the north southwards. The northern people have always been fond of liberty, and established it in all their colonies; whereas the southern have submitted to despotic governments, being little better than slaves to their princes. The north has always been famous for fidelity and probity; whereas the south lies under the imputation of treachery, craft, and deceit.

[To be continued.]

For the WESTMINSTER MAGAZINE.

CONSTITUTIONAL LETTER.

To the PEOPLE of ENGLAND.

Countrymen and Friends!

MY ardent wish is, that you examine my positions with an acute and jealous scrutiny. If you find that my appeals are not to your understanding, but your passions—that I deal not in argument, but declamation—that I insult you with gross panegyrics on one party, and impertinent abuse of another; your contempt, if not your indignation, will be my portion. Bottomed in principle, and for-

tified by fact, I feel no fear in accomplishing the end I propose; but, from my own want of skill. I shall speak to you in the spirit of the constitution, and my language shall neither militate against law, nor violate decency.

They then who tell you, that the present distractions of this country are necessarily to be considered as a party concern between two sets of statesmen, or that the disorders

disorders of the cabinet regard the affairs of the East-India Company, either wilfully abuse you, or know not what they say. If an act to repair a bridge, or improve a canal, afforded the same pretext, exactly the same measures would have taken place. Were the East-India bill the most despotic ever introduced into the House of Commons, and the ministers who brought it, the very worst that ever sat in Parliament, to the real point in question, are matters of very little importance. The true question for you is not, whether this or that man is to be minister, whether a whole, or only a part of the charter of the East-India Company should be taken away.—To the people of England, the true question is—Shall the constitution, which has flourished so long, the admiration of mankind, be transmitted to our posterity safe and sacred as we have received it from our ancestors, or shall it sink at once, and in it all that is dear to freemen, into the gulph of secret influence? The British Constitution against secret influence is the real question.

I do not mean, however, that the matter is incapable of a very enlarged discussion upon considerations personal to the late ministry; certainly not, and at a future opportunity we shall go minutely into the business upon that ground. But, to enter upon it now in that view, were a cheat upon the nation. It were to degrade that which is the most precious concern of every man in the country, into the affair of only half a dozen. It were defrauding the subject of its intrinsic dignity, and narrowing the greatest of public causes into a paltry personal contest.

The business of the Middlesex election soon ceased to be the concern of an individual. His purity of character was not, I believe, Mr. Wilkes's only recommendation to your patronage; nor did his virtues, I presume, in a very extraordinary degree incite you to his vindication. Whatever advantages of a different sort of fame the late ministry have over Mr. Wilkes, for this time I would have them out of our contemplation. The present, like the former grievance, should be viewed in a public light; and it merits so much the more attention, as it is a thousand times of greater magnitude. The affair of the Middlesex election was between the elector and representative. The evil which now distracts us is between the constitution (which comprehends elector, representative, law, liberty, &c.) and the

court. In that case the danger was enduring one injury which might operate as a future example, and destroy the constitution by degrees. The fear in this case is, that the constitution may be annihilated at once. No new invasion of our rights was begotten by the precedent of the Middlesex election. They who achieved it trembled at the success, and were vanquished in their own victory. As a similar outrage must be open, the whole nation would oppose it; and another attempt of the same kind would crush any government instantly. You persevered in the former affair, and succeeded, though slowly.—But this attack admits no pause. The constitution is stabbed in the very noblest part, and men stand aghast at the manner of it. The wound is deep indeed, but the instrument that gored us is the greater calamity. We feel our misfortune, but the dark and mystic channel through which it came, aggravates our danger in a tenfold degree. If the attack were open and direct, the courage of the people of England would have secured us from the infamy of a tame surrender of the constitution; but from midnight assassination no foresight could guard, no spirit could defend us. Were the constitution destined to perish in the face of day, its fall would be awful, and future ages, while they recorded, would revere our struggles.

The superior wisdom of our civil form is discovered in nothing more evidently, than in the independance of the legislature. This is the most important principle of all, for without it all other principles are useless. The properties of the three estates are clearly defined, and the subsistence of the whole depends upon the just exercise of these properties. Agreeable to the genius of our constitution, the leading weight is lodged in that branch which springs immediately from the people, for whose good all governments were destined. But the aristocratic body have their mass of rights as acknowledged and sacred as the democratic. Assent or dissent in making laws, and the power of executing the system, are vested in the crown, under conditions and upon a tenure well known and needless to explain. In so far as either of these estates delivers up its legal functions to the other, so far the constitution is violated. But there is a choice of evils, for the grievance is augmented by the quality of the abdication. A sacrifice of the rights of the Lords to the

Commons, or of the Commons in their turn to the Lords, is a dangerous infringement upon the principles which constitute the three estates; but a surrender of their powers by either of the two enacting branches to the crown, is a subversion of the constitution *in toto*. No civil doctrine is so generally admitted as this—that when the legislative becomes subservient to the executive branch, the liberties of the people are utterly lost. Read the greatest writers upon government, and you will find this axiom concurred in by all. A variety of sentiments prevail upon other points, but upon this subject there is an universal coincidence of opinion. Nor does its truth rest upon the cold ground of theory, for the experience of ages confirms it.

Observe for a moment the nature of these several estates, and you will see at once that the danger of influence by one branch upon both or either of the other two, centers almost entirely in the crown. One of the estates consists of 558 persons, 211 compose the other, but the third is an individual. Of the former two, their numbers make a successful interference impossible. The facility of detection is a bar to it, and their mutual incompetence to make an adequate requi-

tal for this treacherous sacrifice of the constitution, would render it at the best an hopeless adventure. But when we consider the interference of the individual estate, and that estate to be the seat of authority, the source of rewards, the fountain of honors, the danger is indeed of a different size. We are convinced by one moment's reflection, how very easy is this interference, and as to its success, day-light is not broader than its certainty in a recent instance.

I will not insult you by dwelling on the miscarriage of the East-India bill.—Whether Lord Temple used those words or these words, is to us a matter of indifference. That an interference unconstitutional beyond precedent or parallel has been the cause of defeating this measure, is a fact which no man doubts, and it were therefore an impertinent waste of your time, for me to engage it in proving that which proves itself upon the very face of the event. Hereafter I may say something upon this subject, when the foolery of Lord Temple's appointment, and the farce of his resignation occur in the course of my plan. For the present I dismiss it.

ARISTIDES.

Jan. 10, 1784.

For the WESTMINSTER MAGAZINE.

NARRATIVE of the AERIAL VOYAGE of Mr. CHARLES,

Dec. 1, 1783.

(Translated from the French.)

“PREVIOUS to our ascension,” says Mr. Charles, “we had sent up a globe of 5 f. 8 inc. to discover the course of the wind, and mark out our intended route. The compliment of cutting the string was paid to Mr. Montgolfier, and it instantly rose. Meanwhile we prepared to follow it with impatience; but the perplexing circumstances we were in prevented our putting into execution every minute particular that we had intended the night before. The globe and the chariot were in exact equilibrium on the ground. At three quarters after one, we threw out 19 pounds of ballast, and rose in the midst of a profound silence, occasioned by the emotion and astonishment of both parties. Our first pleasing reflections on our escape from the persecution

and calumny which had attacked us, were heightened by the majestic scene which presented itself to our view; on every side a most serene sky, without a cloud, and a most charming distant prospect. As we ascended by an accelerated progressive motion, we waved our banner in token of joy, and, in order the better to insure our safety, I was particularly attentive to the barometer. M. Robert examined the cargo with which our friends had ballasted our chariot, as for a long voyage, of champaign, &c. blankets, and furs.—Having enough, and to spare, he began with throwing out one of the blankets, which spread itself in the air, and fell near the dome of the Assumption.—The barometer then sunk 66 inches, and we had ceased to ascend, or, more properly

perly speaking, were arrived at the height of about 300 toises. This was the height to which I had undertaken to stop, and from this moment, to that of our first getting out of sight of the observers at the different stations, our horizontal course was between 26 inches and 26 inches 8 lines of the mercury, which agrees with the observations made at Paris. We took care to throw out our ballast in proportion as we descended by the insensible loss of inflammable air, and we raised ourselves sensibly to the same height. Had circumstances permitted us to regulate this ballast with more exactness, our course would have been almost absolutely horizontal and voluntary.

Having reached the height of Moulseaux, which we left a little to the left, we remained for a moment stationary. Our chariot turned about, and we then filed off, as the wind directed. We soon after passed the Seine, between St. Ouen and Asnières, and leaving Colombe on the left, passed almost over Gennevilliers. We had crossed the river a second time; leaving Argenteuil on the left, we past at Sannois, Franconville, Eaubonne, St. Leu-Taverny, Villiers, cross L'Isle Adam, and afterwards Nesle, where we descended. Such were nearly the places over which we must have passed almost perpendicularly. This passage makes about 9 Paris leagues, which we ran over in two hours, with scarcely any sensible agitation in the air. During the whole of this delightful journey we felt not the least uneasiness about our own fate or that of the machine. The globe suffered no other alteration than the successive modifications of dilatation and compression, of which we availed ourselves, to rise or descend at pleasure, in any quantity. The thermometer was, for above an hour, between 10 and 12 degrees above 0, owing to the inside of our chariot having been warmed by the rays of the sun. Its heat soon communicated itself to our globe, and contributed, by the dilatation of the inflammable air within, to keep us at the same height, without being obliged to lighten our ballast; but we suffered a greater loss: the inflammable air dilated by the sun's heat, escaped by the appendage to the globe, which we held in our hands, and loosened, as circumstances required, to let out the air too much dilated. By this easy method we avoided the expansions and explosions which per-

sons unacquainted with these matters apprehended. The inflammable air could not break its prison, since it had always a vent, and the atmospheric air could not get into the globe, since its pressure made the appendage serve as a valve to oppose its entrance.

After 16 minutes progress we heard the gun, which was the signal of our disappearing from the observers at Paris. Not being obliged to confine our course to an horizontal direction, as we had till then done, we gave ourselves up to the contemplation of the varied scenes in the open country beneath us. We shouted *Vive le Roi*, and heard our shouts echoed. We heard, very distinctly, voices saying, 'Are not you afraid, my friends? Are not you sick? What a clever thing it is! God preserve you! Farewell, my friends!'—We continued waving our banners, and we saw that these signals redoubled the joy and security of those below. We several times came down low enough to be heard: people asked us whence we came, and what time we set out, and we ascended bidding them farewell. As circumstances required, we threw out, successively, great coats, muffs, clothes. As we sailed over L'Isle Adam, we flourished our banners, and asked after the Prince of Conti; but had the mortification to be told by a speaking trumpet, that he was at Paris. At length, re-ascending, we reached the plains of Nesle about half after three, when, as I intended a second expedition, and wished to avail myself of the advantage of situation, as well as of the day-light, I proposed to Mr. Robert to descend. Seeing a troop of country people running before us over the fields, we descended towards a spacious meadow, inclosed with some trees and bushes. Our chariot advanced majestically along an inclined plane. As it approached the trees, fearing it might be entangled among them, I threw out two pounds of ballast, and it sprung upwards over them. We ran over above 20 toises within one or two feet of the land, and looked like travellers in a sledge. The country people pursued us as children do a butterfly, without being able to overtake us.

At length we came to the ground. As soon as the curate and syndics could be brought to the spot, I drew up a verbal process, which they immediately signed. Presently galloped up the Duke de Char-

tres,

tres, the Duke de Fitz James, Mr. Farrer, an English gentleman, and a number of horsemen, who had followed us from Paris. Fortunately we alighted at a hunting seat of the latter, who immediately mounted his horse, and riding up to us, exclaimed "Mr. Charles I am first." The Prince embraced us both in our chariot, and signed the process. So did the Duke de Fitz-James. Mr. Farrer signed it three times. His signature was omitted in the Journal, for he was so transported with joy, that he could not write legibly. Of above 200 horsemen who followed us from Paris, only these could overtake us; the rest had knocked up their horses, or given out. After relating a few particulars to the Duke de Chartres, I told him I was going off again, when would he have me return? He replied, in half an hour. Mr. Robert quitted the chariot, as we had agreed. Thirty peasants held down the machine. I asked for some earth to ballast it, having not above four or five pounds left. A spade was not at hand, nor were there any stones in the meadow.

The sun was near setting. I made a hasty calculation of the time requisite for the alteration of weight, and giving a signal to the peasants to quit their hold, I sprung up like a bird. In 20 minutes I was 1500 toises high, out of sight of all terrestrial objects. I had taken the necessary precautions against the explosion of the globe, and prepared to make the observations which I had promised myself. In order to observe the barometer and thermometer placed at the ends of the chariot, without altering the centre of gravity, I knelt down in the middle, stretching forward my body and one leg, holding my watch and paper in my left, and my pen and the string of the valve in my right hand, waiting for the event. The globe, which, at my setting out, was rather flaccid, swelled insensibly. The air escaped in great quantities at the valve.

I drew the valve from time to time, to give it two vents; and I continued to ascend, still losing air, which issued out hissing, and became visible, like a warm vapour in a cold atmosphere. The reason of this phenomenon is obvious. On earth the thermometer was 7 degrees above the freezing point; after 10 minutes ascent it was 5 degrees below. The inflammable air had not had time

to recover the equilibrium of its temperature. Its elastic equilibrium being quicker than that of the heat, there must escape a greater quantity than that which the external dilatation of the air could determine by its least pressure. For myself, though exposed to the open air, I passed, in 10 minutes, from the warmth of spring to the cold of winter, a sharp dry cold, but not too much to be borne. I declare, that in the first moment I felt nothing disagreeable in the sudden change. When the barometer ceased to rise, I marked exactly 18 inches 10 lines, the mercury suffering no sensible oscillation. From this oscillation I deduct a height of 1524 toises, or thereabouts, till I can be more exact in my calculation. In a few minutes more my fingers were benumbed with the cold, so that I could not hold my pen. I was now stationary, and moved only in an horizontal direction. I rose up in the middle of the chariot, to contemplate the scene around me. At my setting out the sun was set on the valleys; he soon rose for me alone, who was the only luminous body in the horizon, and all the rest of nature in shade. The sun himself presently disappeared, and I had the pleasure of seeing him set twice in the same day. I beheld, for a few seconds, the circumambient air and the vapours rising from the vallies and rivers. The clouds seemed to rise from the earth, and collect one upon another, still preserving their usual form, only their colour was grey and monotonous from the want of light in the atmosphere. The moon alone enlightened them, and shewed me that I was tacking about twice, and I observed certain currents that brought me back again. I had several sensible deviations, and observed, with surprise, the effects of the wind, and saw the streamers of my banners point upwards. This phenomenon was not the effect of the ascent or descent, for I then moved horizontally.

At that instant I conceived, perhaps a little too hastily, the idea of being able to steer one's own course. In the midst of my transports I felt a violent pain in my right ear and jaw, which I ascribed to the dilatation of the air in the cellular construction of those organs, as much as to that of the external air. I was in a waistcoat, and bareheaded. I immediately put on a woollen cap, yet the pain did not go off but as I gradually descended.

ed. For 7 or 8 minutes I had ceased to ascend; the condensation of the internal inflammable air rather made me descend. I now recollected my promise to return in half an hour, and, pulling the upper valve, I came down. The globe was now so much emptied, that it appeared only an half globe. I perceived a fine ploughed field near the wood of Tour du Lay, and hastened my descent. When I was between 20 and 30 toises from the earth, I threw out hastily 2 or 3 pounds of ballast, and became, for a moment, stationary, till I descended gently on the field, above a league from the place whence I set out. The frequent deviations and

turnings about make me imagine this voyage was about three leagues, and I was gone about 35 minutes. Such is the certainty of the combinations of our aerostatic machine, that I can at pleasure complete 130 specific lightness, the preservation of which, equally voluntary, might have kept me in the air at least for 24 hours longer. When the two Dukes saw me at a distance coming down, they and the rest left Mr. Robert to meet me, and hastened to Paris; and the Prince himself most kindly undertook to give the public an account of us, and to quiet their apprehensions."

CHARLES.

For the WESTMINSTER MAGAZINE.

HISTORICAL ANECDOTE OF A REMARKABLE DUEL.

THE fame of an English dog has been deservedly transmitted to posterity by a monument in basso relievo, which still remains on the chimney-piece of the grand hall at the castle of Montargis, in France. The sculpture represents a dog fighting with a champion, and was occasioned by the following circumstance:

Aubri de Mondidier, a gentleman of family and fortune, travelling alone thro' the forest of Bondi, was murdered, and buried under a tree. His dog, an English blood-hound, would not quit his master's grave for several days, till at length, compelled by hunger, he went to the house of an intimate friend of the unfortunate Aubri's, at Paris, and by his melancholy howling, seemed desirous of expressing the loss they had both sustained. He repeated his cries, ran to the door, then looked back to see if any one followed him, returned to his master's friend, pulled him by the sleeve, and with dumb eloquence entreated him to go with him.

The singularity of all the actions of the dog; his coming there without his master, whose faithful companion he always had been; the sudden disappearance of his master; and, perhaps, that divine dispensation of justice and events, which will not permit the guilty to remain long undetected; made the company resolve to follow the dog, who conducted them to the tree, where he renewed his

howl, scratching the earth with his feet, to signify that that was the spot they should search. Accordingly, on digging, the body of the unfortunate Aubri was found.

Some time after the dog accidentally met the assassin, who is stiled, by all historians that relate this fact, the Chevalier Macaire; when instantly seizing him by the throat, it was with great difficulty he was made to quit his prey.

Whenever he saw him after, the dog pursued and attacked him with equal fury. Such obstinate virulence in the animal, confined only to Macaire, appeared extraordinary to those persons who recollected the dog's fondness for his master, and at the same time several instances wherein Macaire had displayed his envy and hatred to Aubri de Mondidier.

Additional circumstances increased suspicion, which at length reached the Royal ear. The King (Lewis VIII.) sent for the dog. He appeared extremely gentle till perceiving Macaire, in the midst of twenty noblemen, he ran directly towards him, growled, and flew at him as usual.

In those times, when no positive proof of a crime could be procured, an order was issued for a combat between the accuser and accused. These were denominated the judgment of God, from a persuasion that Heaven would sooner work a miracle

miracle than suffer innocence to perish with infamy.

The king, struck with such a collection of circumstantial evidence against Macaire, determined to refer the decision to the chance of war, or, in other words, he gave orders for a combat between the Chevalier and the dog. The lites were appointed in the isle of Notre-Dame, then an uninclosed, uninhabited place: Macaire's weapon was a great cudgel.

The dog had an empty cask allowed for his retreat, to recover breath. The combatants being ready, the dog no sooner found himself at liberty, than he ran round his adversary, avoiding his blows, menacing him on every side, till his strength was

exhausted; then springing forward, he griped him by the throat, threw him on the ground, and forced him to confess his crime before the king and the whole court. In consequence of which the Chevalier, after a few days, was convicted upon his own acknowledgement, and beheaded on a scaffold in the Isle of Notre Dame.

The above curious recital is translated from the *Memoires sur les Duels*, and is confirmed by many judicious, critical writers, particularly Julius Scaliger, and M^ontfaucon, neither of them relators of fabulous stories.

G.

For the WESTMINSTER MAGAZINE.

EXTRAORDINARY ADVENTURES of a FRENCH OFFICER.

The following curious Account may be depended upon as authentic. It is taken from the Journal of *Colonel Capper* (written at *Mocha*) a Gentleman of Veracity, now in the East India Service.

JANUARY 24th, 1782. In the morning Capt. Twyfs came and told us he should sail for Bassora the next day. He had six English gentlemen passengers with him that were going over the desert, and also Monsieur Borel de Bourg, the French officer, who had been plundered and wounded by the Arabs on the desert. Monsieur Borel wishing to hear the latest news from Europe, and perhaps, also being desirous of conversing with a person who had lately travelled the same route as himself, came and spent the evening with me at the broker's house. I told him that I was no stranger to what had befallen him on the desert, and easily prevailed on him to give me an account of his adventures.

The particulars of the business upon which he was sent, he of course concealed, but in general terms he informed me, that soon after the engagement between the two fleets near Brest, in July, 1778, Monsieur de Sartine, his friend and patron, ordered him to carry dispatches over land to India.

I think he said he left Marseilles on the third of August; but that owing to the stupidity of the Captain of his vessel, and to contrary winds, he did not arrive at La-

ticea before the end of the month; from thence he immediately proceeded to Aleppo. The French Consul could not collect more than twenty-five guards to attend him across the desert; with which on the fourteenth of September, he began his journey. He met with no serious molestation, until he was within fifteen days of Bassora, when early one morning he perceived himself followed by a party of about thirty Arabs mounted on camels, who soon overtook him. As they approached, he, by his interpreter, desired they would please to advance or halt, or move to the right or left of him, for he chose to travel by himself; they answered that they should not interfere with him, and went forwards at a brisk rate. Mr. Borel's people then suspected them of some hostile design, and told him to be upon his guard. In the evening, between four and five o'clock, he observed them halted and drawn up as if to oppose him, and in a few minutes three other parties, consisting also of about thirty each appeared in sight, in opposite directions, seemingly inclined to surround him; from these appearances very naturally concluding their intentions to be hostile, and consequently his situation desperate, he thought only of selling his life

life as dearly as possible. He was armed with a double barrelled fuzee, a pair of pistols and a sabre; as he kept marching on, he first fell in with the party in front, who fired at him, which he returned as soon as he came within musket shot of them and killed the Sheick; when he had discharged his fire arms, before he could load them again, several of the Arabs broke in from different sides, and cut him down. Stunned with the violence of the blow, he knew nothing that passed afterwards until about an hour before day-break the next morning, when he found himself entirely naked on the ground, a quantity of blood near him, and part of the flesh of the side of his head hanging upon his cheek. In a few minutes he recollected what had passed, but as he could feel no fracture or confusion in the skull, he began to hope his wounds were not mortal; this, however, was only a transient gleam of hope, for it immediately occurred to him, that without clothes or even food, he was likely to suffer a much more painful death. The first objects that struck him when he began to look about him, were those who had been killed on both sides in the action; but at the distance of a few hundred yards, he soon afterwards perceived a great number of Arabs seated round a large fire: these he naturally supposed were his enemies, he nevertheless determined to go to them; in hopes, either to prevail on them to save his life, or else to provoke them to put an immediate end to his miseries. Whilst he was thinking in what manner without the assistance of language he should be able to excite their compassion, and to soften their resentment against him for the death of their companions, which these people he had heard seldom forgive; it had occurred to him, that they paid great respect to age; and also that they seldom destroy those who supplicate mercy; from whence he concluded that if he could throw himself under the protection of the oldest person amongst them he might probably be saved. In order to approach them unperceived, he crept towards them upon his hands and knees, and when arrived within a few paces of their circle, having singled out one who had the most venerable appearance, he rushed forwards, and springing over the head of one of the circle, he threw himself into the arms of him whom he selected for a protector. The whole party were at first extremely astonished, not having the least notion of his being alive; but when their surprize sub-

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sided a debate arose whether or not they should allow him to live. One of them who had probably lost a friend or relation, drew his sword in a great rage, and was going to put him to death, but his protector stood up with great zeal in his defence, and would not suffer him to be injured; in consequence of which, his adversary immediately mounted his camel, and with a few followers went away. When this contest was over the Sheick, for so he happened to be, perceiving Monsieur Borel entirely without clothes, presented him with his abba or outer cloak, invited him to approach the fire, and gave him coffee and a pipe, which an Arab when he is not on the march has always prepared. The people finding Monsieur Borel did not understand Arabic enquired for his interpreter, who was found asleep and slightly wounded.

The first demand the Arabs made was for his money and jewels, which they observed Europeans have always in great abundance, but which are concealed in private drawers, that none excepting themselves can discover. He assured them these opinions were erroneous with respect to him, for that he was not a rich merchant, but only a young soldier of fortune, employed to carry orders from his government in Europe, to their settlement in India; but that if they would convey him to Graine, a place near Bassora on the Sea coast; on their arrival there, and on the receipt of his papers he would engage to pay them two hundred chequins, about one hundred pounds sterling. After a few minutes consultation with each other they acceded to his proposals, returned him his oldest Arabian dress, and during the rest of his journey treated him with tolerable kindness and attention.

After Mr. Borel's arrival at Graine he easily prevailed on an Armenian to advance him the money to fulfil his engagements with the Arabs; and also to send the French resident at Bassora an account of what had befallen him on the desert, desiring to be supplied with money and other necessaries to enable him to proceed to Pondicherry. His letter very fortunately for us fell into the hands of the English resident at Bassora, who having heard of our rupture with France instantly determined to arrest him, being convinced he must be charged with public dispatches of consequence. Every generous mind will lament the necessity there was of adding to the distresses of this spirited and unfortunate youth; but the lives of thou-

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sands,

sands, and perhaps the safety of our settlements in India, depended upon his being intercepted, but to prevent his being treated with any rigour, or suffering any indignity, Mr. Abraham the second in council of the factory was employed to seize him.

The town of Graine is about seventy miles from Bassora, and is governed by an Arab Sheick, who is very much attached to us, but Mr. Abraham knew it would be very difficult to prevail on him to violate the rights of hospitality to a stranger, and without the Sheick's connivance, the execution of the project would have been absolutely impracticable; the better to conceal his design Mr. Abraham at night went down to Graine in a country boat, accompanied by the Captain of one of our ships then lying at Bassora, and immediately proceeded to the Sheick's house, to whom he communicated his business. The Arab at first violently opposed the measure; but being mollified by presents, and also assured that Mr. Borel should not receive any personal injury, he at last tacitly consented. When Mr. Abraham knocked at the door Mr. Borel was retired to rest, but he instantly got up to admit him, thinking he was a person sent from the French Resident with an answer to his letter; as soon as he discovered his mistake he attempted to defend himself, but he was instantly overpowered and conveyed to the sea side, where he

was put on board the ship that had been sent from Bassora, and was just then come to an anchor off the place. He had two packets, one for Pondicherry, and another for Mauritius, which were found, but Monsieur Borel observed to me that they missed the key of the cypher in which the dispatches were written, by neglecting to search the lining of his clothes. It was perhaps a fortunate circumstance for Monsieur Borel that he was taken prisoner by us, for his wound through unskilful management, and the want of proper remedies was grown extremely bad, nor is it improbable if he had attempted to proceed in a country boat, the only conveyance he could have got at Graine, that his wound would have occasioned his death long before the boat would have arrived at any French settlement in India. I made use of these arguments to console him for his misfortunes, but the zeal for his country, the natural enthusiasm of his disposition, and the hopes which had been given him of promotion, had he executed his commission, made him deaf to every thing I could say to afford him consolation; disappointed, but not discouraged by his former sufferings, he was then on his way to Bassora to proceed over the great desert a second time; which I was afterwards informed, he passed with every assistance he could receive from the gentlemen of our factory.

For the WESTMINSTER MAGAZINE.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS of the FOURTH SESSIONS of the FIFTEENTH PARLIAMENT of GREAT-BRITAIN.

H O U S E O F L O R D S.

Wednesday, December 20.

READE a first time the East-India payment of debts bill.

The order of the day for the second reading of the East-India Bill being moved for—

Lord Gower arose, and objected to the bill; this his lordship said he was induced to do from a thorough conviction, that the principle of the bill militated with the established principles of the constitution. That it was not founded in necessity, for that the East India Company, so far from being in a debilitated situation, were in a

flourishing state. His lordship went over all those objections which had been stated against passing the bill, on the former days, urging particularly the ill consequences which would attend passing the bill, from the very great acquisition of influence which it would throw into the hands of the Minister, to whom it would give an arbitrary controul over the territorial possessions of India.

Lord Carlisle defended the bill; connected as he might be with the present administration, he could not but declare himself

himself the open advocate of its principle, as well as the necessity of passing it.

His Lordship entered into a very long investigation of the Company's accounts and finances, going over the same grounds argued on in the Commons, deducing this conclusion, that the state of the Company had been exaggerated and misrepresented by the counsel at the bar. The necessity of passing the bill was political and absolute. Something must be done, and immediately. The interference of Parliament was indispensable; it was essential to the salvation of the Company's possessions in India. He described in pathetic language various depredations, murders, oppressions and wars, which had taken place in India, to the dishonour of humanity, and the disgrace of the British character, entered into for the purpose of rapine. Nabobs had been stripped of their dominions, and reduced with their families, from opulence to indigence. He produced a letter written by one of those unhappy princes, which roused the feelings and indignation of the House.— Here he read a letter from a Nabob which described the sufferings of himself and family in terms of the most poignant distress.

He then entered into a discussion of the treaty with the Mahrattas in 1762; from the whole of which he hoped parliament would consider the present bill as an object of wisdom and humanity. It was not his intention to bring criminal charges against Mr. Hastings, but he must observe, that the late war carried on in India originated in his designs.—The Governor had boasted of it as his own war; and every man knew the dangerous predicament in which it had placed the Company. Private property and chartered right he respected; the present bill injured neither. The public and the Company were but one; had but one interest; they had both the same at stake; the property of both was embarked in one vessel. Was it not then wise to give the direction of this bark to one pilot, and what pilot was so proper as the Legislature. For these reasons his lordship moved, that “The Bill be now committed.”

Lord Coventry declared, that the principle of the bill had his utmost abhorrence. It was an open invasion of chartered rights; it was a precedent to unhinge every charter in the country; it would excite fear in every community; spread alarm over the whole country. Necessity had been urged as its principle, and

necessity, which had always been considered as the plea of tyrants, was held forth as the plea of freedom, but the proposition was confounded, heterogeneous, and unnatural. The Revolution was not the effect of hard necessity, it was in consequence of the monarch's having broke his coronation oath. His lordship examined several other points, and concluded with declaring, he should oppose the commitment of the bill.

The Duke of Manchester said, he was so satisfied of its necessity, that he was resolved to give it his most hearty support; he believed the Company in their statement had set forth many articles that never would be forth coming; he would not say that due from the Court of France for French prisoners was of a desperate kind, but he feared the receipt was not so very certain, for when he had pressed for it, they had made a claim of a large sum for damages done by the India Company, by filling up the ditch at Chandernagore; our situation in India, he was clear, made it very requisite for some such regulation as was proposed by the bill, and unless that, or something of equal propriety, took place, the Company would be found to be in the utmost danger.

Lord Rawdon said, he would not consider it in the many points of view in which it had been so often held up, with respect to the bankruptcy of the Company, the necessity or pressing occasion for passing it, but merely confine himself to the single point of its policy; he would not contend that there had not been great rapacity committed by the servants of the Company in India, and that some regulations were not very much wanted; but he would contend, this bill would not be productive of these requisite regulations; it would rather be productive of an influence in this country which no Minister ought to be entrusted with. The patronage of India was to be vested in the hands of seven gentlemen, who it was natural to suppose were the friends of the Minister, and therefore the patronage was ultimately in him; if so, it was an influence too great for any Minister to be trusted with; and if he should go out of office, any other Administration would be but a shadow against him. That great boast of English liberty, the guardians of the people, the House of Commons, he found, would no longer be an independent body, but would contain a corrupt, and influenced majority. This he thought a sufficient reason for their lordships to assume

their dignity, and reject a bill that had such an apprehensive prospect for its tendency. His objection to it arose not from party motives, but from the principle of the bill; and that a bill, fraught with such influence, should meet with its advocates, was to him very surprizing; the noble Lord at the head of the Treasury, of whom he had the highest opinion, nor was his veneration for the character of another noble Lord, who filled a high office in administration less; that they should give sanction to a measure which was palpably the measure of a minister, and for what purpose? If their lordships saw it in the same point of view he did, they would, like him, execrate it. He trusted for their own honour, for the purity of the constitution, and rights and privileges of the people at large, the House would join with him in giving the commitment of the bill a negative.

Lord Sandwich paid many compliments to the last noble Lord, for the candour in which he had so ably descanted on the bill; but at the same time observed, he was from principle in many points obliged to differ from him; he did not perceive the ill consequences which the noble Lord apprehended, and he was thoroughly satisfied of the necessity for doing something speedily for the salvation of the Company. The noble Lord had admitted there were scenes of rapacity committed in India, which called aloud for a check: the Directors had been found by experience inadequate to the task, their orders were disregarded, and their commands held for nothing. Those who objected to this bill had argued a great deal on the state of their property; he would not say they were bankrupts, but they had done that, which if any individual merchant had committed, he would have been looked upon as a bankrupt. Bills had become due, and they had not wherewithal to pay them. They had called their creditors together, and asked for time; with respect to taking their property, and vesting it in other hands, it was no more than would happen in private life; their affairs was in that situation to make them apply for assistance, and they had produced to the persons agreeable to lend them assistance, a statement of their accounts; on the examination of which, their friends still are willing to give that assistance, but observe your property is greatly mortgaged, your circumstances are greatly mismanaged; we will extricate you if possible, yet left

we should be involved in ruin with you, we will appoint persons that can be trusted to have the care of the property; this is the plain case, the public are those friends, and, doubtless, ought to have some security for their trust. His Lordship dwelt for a considerable time on the enormities committed abroad, defended the bill in a most able manner, and concluded by recommending it as worthy the approbation of the House.

The Duke of Richmond objected to it as an infringement on the constitution, by establishing a new branch of executive power. He reprobated the idea of depriving them of their charter, nor would he admit there existed any necessity on the face of the accounts for such a proceeding; for counsel had proved at the bar that it did not exist; but then, says a noble Lord, that is only one side of the question, you have not heard the other; to that noble Lord, he would reply, that what evidence had been given was on oath, and on the other part there was only a few papers on their Lordships table, which he would not say was a partial selection; but ministers themselves had said they were sufficient to justify them: such a declaration, he said, needed no comment. His Grace adverted to what fell from the Duke of Manchester; he was sorry to have heard that the noble Lord's doubts as to the recovery of the money for the French prisoners, as considering his present situation, advantage might be taken of it by the French court, on a demand being made; with respect to his being silenced by a demand for filling up the ditch, he did not know what his instructions might be, but he thought it would have been as well not to have been mentioned in that manner.

The Duke of Manchester said, whenever his Grace thought fit to move for the papers by which he had acted, he should be ready for their being brought forward: he had no secrets, nor did he mean to have any.

Lord Walsingham considered the bill as pregnant with measures that threatened the subversion of rights and privileges, without giving a plausible reason for so doing; the Company were certainly in distress, but how had they become so? — He would say, not by mismanagement, but by unavoidable expences; by our being at war, the additional freight and demurrage amounted to more than would now extricate them from their difficulties, besides

besides what it cost them to make head against the common enemy, which they had done in such a manner as to reflect additional lustre to the British arms; and what was to be their recompence for this meritorious service done to their country? To lose their charter, have their property seized, because for their liberality and spirit, their circumstances were embarrassed, which would not have happened had their ships arrived in proper time; last year there were only ten, this eleven, and they expected seven and thirty next; many of which had been delayed on account of the hazard of war, which would fully answer the purpose of their exigence—A variety of arguments had been adduced to throw a crimination on the gentlemen in India, serving them indeed as the bill did the company, without any specific charge; much of that was levelled at Mr. Hastings, by whose activity, zeal, and integrity, in defiance of the many obstacles that had been constantly thrown in his way, our possessions in India were preserved—those territories which we were debating how they should be governed, but for his intrepidity, would not now be ours to govern. His Lordship took a large field in defence of Mr. Hastings, and lamented to hear the character of a man so arraigned, who had not an opportunity to appear at the bar to defend himself. The Bill, he did not consider as calculated to remedy those evils it complained of, if they did exist; and therefore he should give it his negative.

Lord Derby followed, and supported the bill upon the necessity there was for checking the public delinquency of the servants of the Company in India.

Lord Camden said, he had not intended to have interfered with politics, but when he saw a bill of such an important nature, and which militated in such direct terms against what he had ever conceived to be the principles of this constitution, he thought himself called upon to use such arguments as an insignificant individual as himself could produce against such innovations; charters were of too solemn a nature to be thrown aside at pleasure, and nothing but the actual commitment of an act of forfeiture, ought to deprive any body of men of that right; no such act was here proved, and yet the India Company was not only to be deprived of that, but their property also; for it appeared to him that if a man was denied the privilege of using his property, he was in fact deprived of it; a noble

Lord had endeavoured to draw a line between private property and this, which he said was connected with the public, but that was of so delicate a texture that he was not able to make the distinction. It was said that necessity, and that by the supporters of the bill, that necessity alone could justify this measure; now was this necessity made clear to their Lordships? he thought not: a charge of mismanagement was alledged, and by way of proving this, they had flown to India, and brought a recital of delinquency of servants who had disobeyed the Directors and for which the Directors were to be stripped of their just and legal rights. The servants, who had been guilty, were not to be punished; they were to escape, and their masters were to suffer, who had been so disobeyed; and what was the remedy proposed?—Why put aside these twenty-four members, and appoint seven, five of whom knew nothing about the matter, and those, we are to presume, will be paid more attention to than the late Directors. If they are not culpable, but their servants only, why not invest them with the same power you propose to those seven over their servants, and there can be little doubt of their managing as well?—His Lordship entered very largely into an investigation of the bill, and adduced many arguments in favour of his objections to it on the point of reform; but he considered it, he said, solely, as brought in to obtain influence; and in support of this idea, he read one of the clauses of the bill, which invested the sole appointments to every department in the East India Company in the hands of the new Directors, and gave them power to remove all who may be now employed.—He dwelt for some time on this, and observed, that as he had, jointly with the late Marquis of Rockingham, endeavoured to suppress influence, he could not now support a measure which gave the Minister ten times as much as they had been able to take from them, therefore he should, most certainly, oppose the bill.

Earl Fitzwilliam and Lord Gage said a few words in favour of the bill, as did Earl Radnor and Lord King against it; after which the

Bishop of Salisbury rose, and observed, that he disliked many parts of the bill, one in particular, that which put the power of patronage in the hands of the new Directors, and as the rest might be amended in the committee, if any noble Lord in Administration would assure him they

they would not oppose a clause in its stead, to vest that power in the King, he would support its being committed; if not, it should have his negative in the present stage.

The question being called for the House divided, when there appeared,

For the commitment	87
Proxies	19
	— 76
Against it	75
Proxies	20
	— 95

The bill therefore rejected by 19

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, December 17.

PASSED the American trade bill. In a committee went through the Irish postage bill.

Also the land tax bill with amendments.

PARLIAMENTARY PRIVILEGES ASSERTED.

The moment the Speaker took the chair, Mr. Baker rose, and observed, that as he had matters of very great importance to submit to the consideration of the House, he begged the Speaker would issue his orders for the immediate attendance of the members.

This being agreed to, the Serjeant at Arms went to the Speaker's chamber, carrying the Mace, and all the adjacent rooms of the House, with the Speaker's orders for their instant attendance in their places on their duty. The House was consequently soon very full.

Mr. Baker then apologized for the part which he found it his duty to act, and the forward stand he was obliged to take in submitting to their attention an object of consideration the most important and interesting that ever was proposed to Parliament. And at the same time that he lamented with the Speaker his late family affliction, as it must have been personally distressing to his feelings and humanity, he could not help being pleased with the opportunity which it had afforded himself, by the recess it occasioned, of digesting this important and pressing business, in order to bring it forward in that form to which he had reduced it.

He then stated the progress of the bill in the other House, and to what delays and adjournments it had been subjected. He was not prepared, nor was this the time to present any specific charge against any individual or set of individuals.— Whatever the wisdom of Parliament might think proper to do afterwards,

the duty of the House, in his opinion, was only to institute such an inquiry as might tend to investigate the facts necessary to substantiate the delinquency to which he alluded.

Every Hon. Gentleman, he doubted not, would readily anticipate that certain rumours were in his eye, by which many of those who sat in the other House were influenced to vote in a manner which, but for the prevalence of such rumours, they certainly would not have voted. These rumours were notorious and universal. They affected the personal reputation of the Sovereign. They had been, in some measure, avowed in the other House. They consisted with every individual's knowledge, and could not be contested.

The argument, therefore, on which he addressed the House, and founded his motion, was, that these rumours were dangerous to the constitution of the State, inasmuch as they were calculated to bias the deliberations of Parliament, and that impartiality and independence which were at once the support and the glory of the British Legislature. Their immediate object was to render the Sovereign his own Minister, and give a dangerous and unprecedented negative to the prerogative of the Crown. They divested the executive power of all responsibility, and held forth the royal opinion as the rule by which those, who were possessed of the privilege of deliberating and deciding on all measures that came before them according to their consciences, were directed to vote. They, on these grounds, constituted an evil of the first magnitude, and called for the immediate and decided interference of Parliament. The motion which he proposed to the House was, therefore, a resolution, or declaration to this effect, that

that any reports of his Majesty's opinion concerning matters pending in Parliament were dangerous to the freedom of Parliamentary independence, and ultimately affected the constitution, and that whoever advised his Majesty to any such interference was guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor.

Before he sat down he would beg leave to refer the House to a case in point, which they would find on their own journals. This was in the year 1640, when the King, in a speech from the Throne, blamed some individuals for what they had said in debate, and insisted on adding a clause to a bill then under discussion. This mode of conduct produced much confusion. The Commons came to several resolutions concerning it, and at last agreed to an address and remonstrance to the Throne, against what they considered as a most violent and daring infringement of their rights and privileges. They likewise intreated the other House to join them in these spirited proceedings.

This, the Honourable Gentleman candidly allowed, might not strike gentlemen as in every point similar to the case in question. But it went to the establishment of doctrines which applied to the resolution he had stated: and it pointed out, in his opinion, the mode of conducting the business, which the House from such a strong precedent, would undoubtedly adopt.

Lord Maitland said, he had many apologies to make for offering himself to the attention of the House; but it was his duty not to shrink from any appearance or exertion which the interests of the constitution might demand at his hand. The question now before the House was not that of public or private property, or plunder. It was not the merits or demerits of an usurper. It was not the management or mismanagement of the greatest commercial Company in the world. No, none of these matters were, in his opinion, half so important, or came home to his mind with any thing like the pressure which he felt when he considered that this night might probably determine whether this country was henceforth to be governed by a public and responsible administration, or a secret cabal, whom no one knew or could find, or could charge with any violation of right, or much less could answer for the grossest mismanagement, which none could or dared to avow. Under such a circumstance where shall we

find, said his Lordship, that responsibility, that redress for grievances which is so amply provided for in the constitution? Is this country, after exhibiting one of the most glorious political systems that ever adorned any society on earth, in one rash moment to surrender a privilege which she owes to the wisdom, the exertion, the blood, the fortunes, and the lives of our ancestors?—No. By the resolution now proposed, a plan is pointed out, by which the House may yet assert its own honour, and erect a glorious defence for those privileges, invaded and undermined by those detestable rumours on which it is founded. Many Hon. Gentlemen were of abilities more adequate to the importance and interesting nature of the subject, in his Lordship's opinion, than him; and to their discussion, without farther trespassing on the time and patience of the House, he would leave it, with heartily seconding the motion.

Lord Nugent was never more astonished in his life than with the resolution or motion made by an Hon. Gentleman and seconded by a noble Lord. It went, in his Lordship's opinion, to an utter annihilation of all Sovereignty in the country. What! Were not Peers, by their rank and situation, the hereditary Counsellors of the Crown? Would the House of Commons dare to derogate from that high and discriminating dignity which the constitution, for the wisest and the best purposes, hath appended to their station in society? His Lordship would go further, and assert not only that every Peer had a right to advise with his Sovereign individually, but that every Member of the House of Commons, nay, every subject in the kingdom, under certain modifications, had a title to address his Majesty. The resolution before the House was therefore calculated not only to convey a censure on the other branch of the legislature, to circumscribe the Peers in the enjoyment of their independence, but to subvert the liberties of Englishmen, who were individually allowed by the constitution to petition the Throne on whatever appeared to them of importance enough to justify such a measure.

But not only does this motion go thus far, but it goes thus far without any foundation whatever. What are your allegations, and where are your proofs? I vow to God, exclaimed his Lordship as usual, such a motion as this will stimulate the

the other House to resent the conduct of this. If any individual is intended to be censured by this measure, speak out and name him, bring him before you. What! would you suppress that good old English spirit, which will not be silent in the moment of danger? Is it the intention of this mode of proceeding to check those exertions, which every individual is called upon to put forth in the crisis of public calamity, when innovations, dreadful and threatening to every birthright we enjoy, are brought forward under the strong hand of authority? Do ye mean to keep the few virtues, which yet would stem the torrent of national ruin, in awe and at a distance from the only ears that may listen to them with success? I vow to God, Sir, were any relation, dear to me or mine, to be found on such a crisis as this, capable of advancing such bold truths to the royal father of his people; were a person under such a description to be brought before you, and receive condign punishment, I should think it in common with all his friends a triumph, which would be his glory to the latest posterity.

Mr. W. Pitt, who had rose at the same time with Lord Nugent, now made an apology for this oversight, and hoped the noble Lord would attribute his then getting up to no other motive than that common one which actuated them both, a due attachment to the constitutional independence of Parliament, and the unalienable right of Peers either individually or collectively to advise his Majesty, whenever they thought the situation of public affairs made such a step an essential part of their duty.

The very singular and solemn mode of introducing this most extraordinary resolution, the formality of summoning the immediate attendance of the Members, and, above all, the personal character of the honourable gentleman who made, and the noble Lord who seconded the motion, were circumstances which strongly impressed his mind with its necessity and importance; otherwise, when the matter was moulded into its proper shape, and divested of every superfluous accessory, it appeared to him the most unnecessary, the most frivolous and untimed that ever insulted the attention of the national senate.

He asked whether Gentlemen had adverted to its foundation and object? Did it contain any specific charge? No. Was it directed to any decisive issue? No. Was it founded on any positive facts, either proved or stated? No. What then was

the House to make of such a proposition? Could they adopt a measure which came in a shape thus unquestionable, without maturely weighing the consequences?

Upon what is the mighty grievance complained of supposed to depend? Not on any misdemeanor substantiated to the satisfaction of the House by any sort of evidence whatever, but on the vague surmises or lye of the day. The monster, public report, which is daily and hourly fabricating every species of the grossest absurdities and improbabilities, was thus made to intrude on the national business, and arrest the attention of the House of Commons to follow her through all her shapes and extravagancies. Could any thing be more perfectly ridiculous, or a greater sarcasm on that serious and dispassionate dignity of mind, which ought to attend and discriminate all their parliamentary proceedings?

Surely no such consequence was ever before imparted to mere rumour and hearsay: for was it really the duty of Parliament to take up rumours wherever they were to be found, the House might at least find enough of employment. Happily for Ministers, their rumours were all sanctified by the authority of office. This was the stamp which was to give them currency. But might not those of every size, complexion, and shape, be every where seen, on every occasion, stalking openly, and menacing the freedom and birthright of Englishmen, under every form, and by every means.

Influence has been ascribed to rumours of a certain description, which whether true or false he would not say, for he did not know but there was such an influence on the other side, which, according to rumour, was also used, and therefore equally criminal. Let Ministers answer for those scribblers who are employed at their instance, and even dare avow the use of their authority for publishing things unfounded. Where was the man who dared to avow such rumours as had been in constant circulation ever since the introduction of the Indian business? Who could estimate their operation on the minds of the people, the state of public credit, and the dignity of government, in the eyes of foreigners? Why were not resolutions founded on such palpable and obvious mischiefs as these? These all, more or less, originated in rumours, which however were suffered to pass with impunity, and to expire unnoticed and unsuppressed. But rumours, big he would say
with

with no such consequences, were however to be marked with the indignation of Parliament. He trusted the dignity of the House, the common sense which had always distinguished its proceedings, and the honour which Gentlemen owed to their own professions, would not, on this occasion, suffer any thing so frivolous and contemptible to slur the annals of a British Senate.

The Honourable Gentleman had talked much about secret influence, and asked how Ministers were to act when thus circumstanced? In his opinion the servants of the Crown were worse than useless whenever they were without responsibility. For a situation thus dangerous and unconstitutional they were indeed strictly answerable. Their duty in a situation thus dishonourable and inefficient, was therefore obvious and indispenfible. The moment they could not answer for their own measures let them retire. They were no longer fit to occupy stations which they did not adequately fill.

Lord Mahon and Lord North rose both at once, but the characteristic perseverance of the former was not to be matched or disconcerted by the decency of the latter. His Lordship, however, promised brevity. He attacked Mr. Secretary Fox with an utter desertion of all principle. He reprobated the East India bill as the worst and most obnoxious that ever challenged the attention of Parliament, or roused the indignation of Englishmen. By a strange mode of hypothetical reasoning, his whole speech was a personal attack on the conduct of the party who adhered to Mr. Fox, whom he reprobated as abandoning the public for private interest. He referred particularly and pointedly to the conduct of a noble Duke in the other House, whose words he took down, and which were, that he had authority to say that no man had authority to make mention of the Royal opinion in the sense in which it had been rumoured. This he averred that noble Duke had no right to assert; and he stated it as an improper influence on one side, as that which had been insinuated on the other. It was at midnight he said this happened, and midnight only was a fit season for such a conduct, as it was an evident intention to bias the minds of those who were entitled and bound by their consciences to exercise on every question which came before them.

Lord North avowed, that at the time to which the noble Lord alluded, he was un-

doubtedly fast asleep. But his Lordship's earnestness in the business, wherever exercised, had been so great, that, perhaps, the cause of the public had not been a great sufferer if this too had been his situation. He blames a noble Duke for doing what appeared to him his immediate duty, and the duty of every one who filled so responsible an office. A rumour had been stated, as reflecting very much on the character of the Sovereign, and tending not a little to embarrass Government. How was he to counteract that rumour? Was he to let it pass unnoticed, and possess undisturbed all its effect on the minds of those, for whose benefit and docility it was calculated? Or had he any other way of defeating its intention than by denying its reality?

His Lordship then applied himself to the several arguments urged by Mr. Pitt, which he went through with infinite energy and wit. He contested the propriety and necessity of the motion, on constitutional principles. It was competent for the House to institute an enquiry into whatever affected the independence or freedom of debate, and to take what resolutions in consequence they might think proper. The responsibility of Ministry was the only security which Englishmen had against the abuse of the executive power. This destroyed, their fears were justly roused, and who could say how strongly these might operate, or where they might end?

But it has been said by the Hon. Gentleman, that the conduct of Ministers under such a predicament even as this is obvious; whenever they find themselves destined to act under undue influence, they ought to leave their situation; and who, says he, would act so mean, so base, so despicable a part, as, after such an intimation as this, to continue in office? Such a mode of reasoning his Lordship admired, as peculiarly proper in the very critical situation of the Hon. Gentleman. It was only that one, in one House, should publish such a rumour as had been so frequently mentioned, and another in the other House push Ministers home. The game, thus managed, was sure, and the play required no very uncommon dexterity. He would presume, however, to advise the Hon. Gentleman to act with a little more patience and decency. Ministry, he trusted, would act as they should do, but he would not now say how. Only he was at liberty to assure the honourable candidate for their

places, that they would not retain their situation any longer than they could act in it with responsibility and effect. This, he trusted, was the determination of all who acted with him.

His Lordship had heard much in his time of secret influence. He never saw any thing like it, otherwise he should undoubtedly have relinquished his situation. But this rumour, which had merited such a marked reprobation, had all the appearance of it. A bill had been brought into Parliament, and discussed with so much serious and repeated argumentation, as he, who had sat full thirty years in the House, never had witnessed before. No evidence was insisted on by the Counsel to disprove the spirit, or expose the tendency of the bill, but the whole business went on smoothly and without molestation, till the Commons presented it, under all these circumstances, to the other House. Here it appeared under the sanction of one of the fullest and most independent majorities that ever accompanied any measure whatever. But there no regard is paid to what happened to every stage of the business. The Counsel came forward loaded with new evidence, which they insist on delivering in full. And lest all this had not been enough, rumours are industriously propagated in order to discredit the measure, and destroy it by that very influence which, if lawful at all, ought only to be exerted when there is a responsibility.

After putting these things in a variety of strong lights, his Lordship contended for the propriety and necessity of the motion. This he did the more especially as he had been charged on some former occasion with indifference to the constitution. Had he been silent when such a gross violation of it had met with countenance from so many of its most zealous friends, he should have thought himself culpable indeed. For what was the influence of the Crown, against which on former occasions all these gentlemen had divided against him, and for which he had then deemed it his duty to contend, in comparison of a principle, which, once established, would bury in one grave all the privileges of Parliament, the rights of the people, and the destruction of our glorious and happy constitution. He should therefore give the resolution now proposed his most sincere and hearty support.

Mr. Grenville was much astonished at the motion. He reprobated a measure

which had no proof to support it. He thought it violent and unprecedented. He desired the accuser to stand forth. If a noble relation of his was obliquely aimed at by such an oblique procedure, he could answer for him that he would not flinch from any scrutiny. But he protested against all insinuation and abuse, and desired the business might be conducted on principles, however bold and spirited, open, upright, and unequivocal.

Mr. Fox, in one of the most splendid and energetic speeches that ever arrested the attention of Englishmen anxious and pining for their liberties, went into the merits of the question without ceremony or preamble. He recollected an adage of a great man, who but a few years ago had stood in a very responsible situation in this country; a gentleman who possessed many valuable qualities, but who despised and execrated the idea of a secret influence: his words were strong, but marked the vigour and ardour of a manly understanding. I will never, said he, be more at the head of a set of Janissaries, who on the least notice from a certain quarter may strangle when they please. Such were the sentiments of that great man; and would to God, said Mr. Fox, that they had been inherited by all who bear the name. Such was the nature of the present debate, that names would unavoidably be mentioned. He then took a letter out of his pocket, and read it. The rumour, said he, to which so many allusions had been made, was this, that his Majesty had allowed Earl Temple to say, that whoever voted for the bill before Parliament was not his friend but his enemy; and if these words were not strong enough, the noble Earl might use what words he pleased. Would any gentleman then put this rumour on a level with those of a common newspaper? Would any gentleman say that such a rumour was not calculated to produce an immediate effect? He would not say that it ought; for those in high and elevated rank ought to prove themselves possessed of high and elevated sentiments. Yet it might have happened that several Lords who had left their proxies with Peers who had supported the bill, had taken them from them, and given them to others who were known enemies to the bill. This change might have taken place in very near twenty instances, though the Noble Lords so withdrawing their proxies had not had any opportunity to change their sentiments or opinions of the bill, from any arguments

arguments that had been used against it in the Upper House, as not one of them had been present there to hear the debates. Where was the man who could say all this might not have been the case? But it was certainly very extraordinary, and were he disposed to treat the matter seriously, their conduct would deserve his highest and most marked contempt. It would have been not only a degradation of their station as Peers of the realm, but virtually renouncing the character of gentlemen.

But leaving the Lords of the B—— C—— to the indulgence of their own feelings, he wished gentlemen to recollect what situation Ministers were reduced to by this sort of management. Whenever they had the spirit to hazard all that was dear to them in proposing something adequate to the present exigence of the public, instead of enjoying the triumph of having acted honestly and well, all their labour, all their industry, all the expectations, so natural from every honourable exertion, were thus whispered away by rumours, which whether founded or not, were capable of producing the greatest mischief before it was possible to disprove them.

Even these rumours, for all the strictures they have produced in this House, have not yet been disavowed. No, when the question was put homely and fairly to a noble Peer in the other House, what sort of an answer did it produce? Was he ready and eager to rescue the honour of his Sovereign from such a foul reproach? No; but with such an insidious temporising mode of phraseology, as tended to preserve the effect, without daring manfully to come forward and abide by the consequences of the guilt. Such was the answer, and what are we to infer, said he, from this kind of management, but that the plot was formed to operate on certain minds, as it is presumed to have done, and that such a shallow device could only apply to those, who, without any principle at all, were endowed with congenial understandings?

The Honourable Gentleman had twitted them about their situation, which had been rendered so very disagreeable by an interference, which had only not been foreseen from an opinion, that no man could have been base enough to have done it. But now their eyes were opened to scenes, of which ocular demonstration only could have convinced him. And when this fact was authenticated to them,

the Honourable Gentleman might depend upon it they should take their measures accordingly, mean while it was not their business to know any thing of the matter.

He would apprise gentlemen, however, that the situation of Ministers was a critical one. They stood pledged to the public, and a very honourable majority of the House, not to relinquish the affairs of the kingdom, while they were in so much confusion. He, for his own part, had come in on public ground. The people of England had made him what he was. It was at their instance he had been called to a place in the public service; and he would, perhaps, not treat them well, to be hasty in relinquishing a post to which they had raised him. He and his colleagues were bound in honour to do something for thirty millions of innocent people, whose expectations had been flattered by their exertions; who had long struggled under every oppression, and grappled with their fate in vain; and who, at this moment, groaned under the scourge of a cruel and desperate usurper, whom he was bound in conscience and honour to detest and execrate.

The Right Honourable Secretary went over an amazing number of particulars, all replete with reasoning and point, thro' which however it is impossible to follow him at this late hour. Mr. Pitt and he both rose to explain, in which explanation they very strongly contradicted each other.

Mr. Jenkinson felt himself alluded to personally by some things thrown out in the course of Mr. Fox's speech, which however he denied. He declared that he had never done any thing unbecoming his character as a Privy Counsellor. He begged also that gentlemen would recollect that when he avowed his being present with the King in March last, it was when no Ministry existed. On these grounds he rested his own personal vindication. The motion, he thought, extremely improper, and big with the worst consequences. He should therefore negative it, and vote for the order of the day.

Lord Mulgrave was very much surpris'd that the Right Hon. Secretary should have appeared so warm and pointed against influence, when every one saw that influence alone was the sole end of his administration. He conceived him to be the most dangerous character that had for a long time appeared in this country.

Mr. Martin had a few of his old puns and rubs at the coalition; but the House was too serious to laugh, and he sat down.

Sir Herb. Mackworth reprobated the motion as calculated to hold out a threat to the other House; and though no man hated secret influence, or all that sort of cabal more than he did, he should for the reason now assigned, vote against the motion.

Mr. T. Pitt took up the argument as a truism, and therefore that it involved a great deal of ridicule to enter into any discussion. He had condemned the bill as a monster, and was happy to find that it had met in the other House with the fate it deserved. The present motion he considered as the last pang of a desperate party, and therefore that he should give it his hearty negative.

Mr. Erskine entered warmly into the nature of the question. He reprobated the rumour, as intended to influence those in the other House who had never before deserted the Minister of the day. It was nonsense to deny the influence of such a rumour. It always had, and must from the nature of the thing have great and substantial influence. He said, there was not a man of honor in the House who would stand up and say, that such a rumour had not an effect. At these words there was a violent cry of 'Take down the words,' and Mr. Erskine gave them a fair opportunity, but which however they declined, and Mr. Erskine resumed his argument.

Mr. P. Arden replied to Mr. Erskine. He was not displeas'd with Mr. Secretary

Fox's eulogium on the Royal Family. He could not help observing, however, that his attachment to the person of Majesty was all from veneration for his ancestors and the love of his posterity. He said a few more common place things on the same side of the question.

Mr. Grenville said, that having taken down the words as delivered by Mr. Fox, as being the words made use of by a noble person, his near relation, and which had been made so much the subject of debate, he had shewn them to his noble relation, and he was fully authoris'd to say, that the noble person had never made use of these words.

Mr. Secretary Fox said, the Honourable gentleman, if he had authority to prove no more than this, had authority to prove nothing. These were not the precise words—then what were the precise words? Would the Honourable Gentleman, or any other person, standing up to answer for the noble Earl, say, that he had not made use of some words to the same effect as those which he had mentioned, viz. words calculated to influence the minds of men by the use of the royal name? If the Honourable Gentleman was not authoris'd to say this, he in fact gave testimony to the truth of the rumour, instead of giving any contradiction to it.

The House divided on the question,
 For the Order ——— 153
 Against it ——— 80

Majority 73

Mr. Baker's question was put and carried without a division.

For the WESTMINSTER MAGAZINE.

OBSERVATIONS on the CHARACTER of
 HAMLET.

THE strongest feature in the mind of Hamlet, as exhibited in the tragedy, is an exquisite sense of moral conduct. He displays, at the same time, great sensibility of temper; and is, therefore, most "tremblingly alive" to every incident or event that befalls him. His affections are ardent, and his attachments lasting. He also displays a strong sense of character, and therefore, a high regard for the opinions of others. His good sense, and excellent dispositions, in the early part of his life, and in the prosperous state of his fortune, rendered him amiable and beloved.

No misfortune had hitherto befallen him; and though he is represented to be susceptible of lively feelings, we have no evidence of his having ever shewn any symptoms of a morose or melancholy disposition. On the contrary, the melancholy which throws so much gloom upon him in the course of the play, appears to his former friends and acquaintance altogether unusual and unaccountable.

————— Something you have heard
 Of Hamlet's transformation: so I call
 it;

Sinc^r

Since nor th' exterior, nor the inward man,

Resembles that it was.

In the conduct, however, which he displays, in the progress of the tragedy, he appears irresolute and indecisive: he accordingly engages in enterprises in which he fails; he discovers reluctance to perform actions, which, we think, needed no hesitation; he proceeds to violent outrage, where the occasion does not seem to justify violence; he appears jocular where his situation is most serious and alarming: he uses subtleties not consistent with an ingenuous mind; and expresses sentiments not only immoral, but inhuman.

This charge is heavy; yet every reader, and every audience, have hitherto taken part with Hamlet. They have not only pitied, but esteemed him; and the voice of the people, in poetry as well as politics, deserves some attention. Let us enquire, therefore, whether those particulars which have given such offence, may not be considered as the infirmities of a mind constituted like that of Hamlet, and placed in such trying circumstances, rather than indications of folly, or proofs of inherent guilt. If so, he will still continue the proper object of our compassion, of our regret and esteem. The award of the public will receive confirmation.

Consider, then, how a young person of good sense, of strong moral feelings, possessing an exquisite sense of character, great sensibility, together with much ardour and constancy of affection, would be apt to conduct himself, in a situation so peculiar as that of Hamlet. He loses a respectable father; nay, he has some reason to suspect, that his father had been treacherously murdered; that his uncle was the perpetrator of the cruel deed; and that his mother, whom he tenderly loved, was an accomplice in the guilt; he sees her suddenly married to the suspected murderer; he is himself excluded from his birth-right; he is placed in a conspicuous situation; the world expects of him that he will resent or avenge his wrongs; while in the mean time he is justly apprehensive of his being surrounded with spies and informers. In these circumstances, and of such a character, if the poet had represented him as acting with steady vigour and unexceptionable propriety, he would have represented not Hamlet, but a creature so fanciful, as to have no prototype in human nature. We are not, therefore, to expect, that his conduct is to proceed according to the most infalli-

ble rules of discretion or of propriety. We must look for frailties and imperfections; but for the frailties and imperfections of Hamlet.

I. The injuries he has sustained, the guilt of Claudius, and the perversion of Gertrude, excite his resentment and indignation. Regard for the opinions of others, who expect such resentment in the Prince of Denmark, promotes the passion. He therefore meditates, and resolves on vengeance. But the moment he forms his resolution, the same virtuous sensibility, and the same regard to character, that roused his indignation, suggest objections. He entertains a doubt concerning the ground of his suspicions, and the evidence upon which he proceeds.

— The spirit that I've seen
May be a devil; and the devil hath
power
T' assume a pleasing shape; yea, and
perhaps,
Out of my weakness and my melan-
choly,
(As he is very potent with such spirits)
Abuses me to damn me. I'll have
grounds
More relative than this.

In this manner he becomes irresolute and indecisive. Additionally, therefore, to the sorrow and melancholy which he necessarily feels for the situation of his family, and which his peculiar frame of mind renders unusually poignant, the harassment of such an inward struggle aggravates his affliction. His sense of duty, a regard to character, and feelings of just resentment, prompt him to revenge; the uncertainty of his suspicions, the fallacious nature of the evidence on which he proceeds, and the dread of perpetrating injustice, embarrass and arrest his purpose.

The time is out of joint—O cursed
spight,
That ever I was born to set it right.

This irresolution, which indeed blasts his designs, but does not lessen our regard for his character, nor our compassion for his misfortunes, and the misery with which it afflicts him, are pathetically described and expressed, in the famous soliloquy consequent to the representation of the players.

What's Hecuba to him, or he to He-
cuba,

That

That he should weep for her? What would he do,
Had he the motive and the cue for passion
That I have? &c.—Yet I, &c.

II. In that particular mood, when he sees his own wrongs and the guilt of Claudius in a striking light, his repentment is inflamed, his evidence seems convincing; and he acts with a violence and precipitation very dissimilar to, though not inconsistent with, his native temper. In these circumstances, or at a time when he tells us he

————— Could drink hot blood!
And do such bitter business, as the day
Would quake to look on!

In such a situation and state of mind, he slew Polonius: he mistook him for the king; and so acted with a violence and precipitation of which he afterwards expresses his repentance. In a similar situation, when he had no leisure nor inclination to weigh and examine appearances, he wrote the death warrant of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern.

Being thus benetted round with villanies,
Ere I could make a prologue to my brains,
They had begun the play: I sat me down,
Devis'd a new commission, &c.
An earnest conjuration from the king,
As England was his faithful tributary,
That on the view and knowing of these contents,
He should the bearers put to sudden death.

Rosencrantz and Guildenstern had been employed as spies upon Hamlet; under the disguise of friendship for him, they had accepted of this infamous office; they were in some measure accessory to his intended assassination; "they made love to this employment;" and therefore, as "the defeat grew from their own insinuation," there was no occasion why it "should sit near to Hamlet's conscience." If leisure had been given him to reflect, perhaps he would not have sacrificed them; but having done the deed, he does not charge himself with deliberate guilt. He does not contend that his conduct was entirely blameless; he only tells us,

They are not near my conscience.

III. Thus agitated by external circumstances, torn by contending emotions,

liable to the weaknesses nearly allied to extreme sensibility, and exhausted by the contests of violent passions; is it wonderful that he should exhibit dejection of mind, and express dislike for every human enjoyment? This extreme is no less consistent with his character than his temporary violence. "I have of late," he tells Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, "lost all my mirth; forgone all custom of exercises; and indeed it goes so heavily with my disposition, that this goodly frame, the earth, seems to me a sterile promontory; this most excellent canopy, the air, look you, this brave o'er-hanging firmament; this majestical roof fretted with golden fire; why, it appears no other thing to me than a foul and pestilential congregation of vapours," &c. In like manner, the same state of internal contest leads him to a conduct directly opposite to that of violence or precipitancy; and when we expect that he will give full vent to his resentment, he hesitates and recedes. This is particularly illustrated in the very difficult scene where Hamlet, seeing Claudius kneeling and employed in devotion, expresses the following soliloquy:

Now might I do it pat, now he is praying;
And now I'll do it: and so he goes to heaven;
And so am I reveng'd? That would be scann'd.
A villain kills my father, and for that,
I, his sole son, do this same villain send
To heaven.
Why, this is hire and salary, not revenge:
He took my father grossly, full of bread,
With all his crimes broad blown as flush as May;
And, how his audit stands, who knows, save heaven?
But, in our circumstance and course of thought,
'Tis heavy with him; and am I then reveng'd,
To take him in the purging of his soul,
When he is fit and season'd for his passage?

You ask me, why he did not kill the Usurper? And I answer, because he was at that instant irresolute. This irresolution arose from the inherent principles of

of his constitution, and is to be accounted natural: it arose from virtuous, or at least from amiable, sensibility, and therefore cannot be blamed. His sense of justice, or his feelings of tenderness, in a moment when his violent emotions were not excited, overcame his resentment. But you will urge the inconsistency of this account, with the inhuman sentiments he expresses:

Up, sword, and know thou a more horrid pent:

When he is drunk, asleep, or in his rage, &c.

Then trip him up, &c.

In reply to this difficulty, and it is not inconsiderable, I will venture to affirm, that these are not his real sentiments. There is nothing in the whole character of Hamlet that justifies such savage enormity. We are therefore bound, in justice and candour, to look for some hypothesis that shall reconcile what he now delivers, with his usual maxims and general deportment. I would ask, then, whether on many occasions, we do not alledge those considerations as the motives of our conduct, which really are not our motives? Nay, is not this sometimes done almost without our knowledge? Is it not done when we have no intention to deceive others; but when, by the influences of some present passion, we deceive ourselves? The fact is confirmed by experience, if we commune with our own hearts: and by observation, if we look around. When the profligate is accused of enormities, he will have them pass for manly spirit, or love of society; and imposes this opinion not upon others, but

on himself. When the miser indulges his love of wealth, he says, and believes, that he follows the maxims of a laudable œconomy. So, also, while the censorious and invidious slanderer gratifies his malignity, he boasts, and believes, that he obeys the dictates of justice. Consult Bishop Butler, your favourite, and the favourite of every real enquirer into the principles of human conduct, and you will be satisfied concerning the truth of the doctrine.—Apply it, then, to the case of Hamlet: sense of supposed duty, and a regard to character, prompt him to slay his uncle; and he is with-held at that particular moment, by the ascendant of a gentle disposition; by the scruples, and perhaps weakness, of extreme sensibility. But how can he answer to the world, and to his sense of duty, for missing this opportunity? The real motive cannot be urged. Instead of excusing, it would expose him, he thinks, to censure; perhaps to contempt. He casts about for a motive; and one better suited to the opinions of the multitude, and better calculated to lull resentment, is immediately suggested. He indulges, and shelters himself under the subterfuge. He alleges, as direct causes of his delay, motives that could never influence his conduct; and thus exhibits a most exquisite picture of amiable self-deceit. The lines and colours are indeed very fine; and not very obvious to cursory observation. The beauties of Shakespeare, like genuine beauty of every kind, are often veiled; they are not forward nor obtrusive. They do not demand, though they claim attention.

W. R.

For the WESTMINSTER MAGAZINE.

A T H E N I A N L E T T E R S. *

THE two following Letters, which seem to have some Allusion to the established Mode of Education in this Country, contain pretty nearly all that has been or can be said about our Universities.

L E T T E R I V.

SMERDIS to CLEANDER.

THE more I consider human nature, the more I find it unable to bear the agitations of love, grief, or indignation in silence, or under the cover of tranquil-

lity and cheerfulness. In such circumstance the affections will force their way; we must vent our groans to the rocks, and pour out our complaints to the senseless and inanimate part of the creation, if we are afraid to entrust them with the rational and those of our own species. Men of narrow minds, who have wanted generosity

* See Page 692 of the Supplement.

generosity enough to gain a friend, or of tickle minds, who have wanted sedateness enough to fix one, must frequently have recourse to soliloquies in retirement, when tossed to and fro by the hurricane of passion. But for my own part, I thank the gracious Oromasdes, that he has given me a warmth of temper, as well as strength of understanding, sufficient to make me zealous in cultivating a strict correspondence with the wise and faithful Cleander, in whose bosom I may deposite every undisguised thought and disquieting apprehension. Let me open myself to thee without reserve on the state of the Bactrian schools and the indolence of our order. It will not surprize thee that I blame their faults; for thou art too well acquainted with my integrity to imagine me capable of approving those corruptions which the sanguine would pronounce it my duty to palliate, and the cautious would think it my interest to maintain.

Our mighty prophet Zoroaster received numberless favours from the great Darius, in whose memorable reign he appeared. The erudition and sanctity of the order, which he reformed, occasioned the bountiful encouragements and large revenues, which were bestowed on us by the monarchs who succeeded him. They thought our attention to rectify the religious notions, and improve the reasons of our followers, qualified us to instruct the youth of the empire in philosophical speculations: they thought the recluseness of our condition and the purity of our lives enabled us to curb their appetites, and refine their practice. In our hands therefore the heirs of noble families and the hopes of the kingdom were placed.

By this means they conceived, that, notwithstanding the alterations in our government and manners, the loss of the ancient schools would be repaired, simplicity preserved in those who are surrounded with superfluities, and continence amidst every incitement to transgress. I need not enlarge on these mistakes, which are obvious, and, however absurd in themselves, are too serious in their consequences to be ridiculed.

Alas! the ignorance of the world, which we are generally brought up in, and which has preposterously raised our reputation, both as observers and teachers of morality, introduces more faults amongst us than it saves us from; and instead of subduing or extinguishing the passions, it only cuts out another channel for them. Though our desire of reputation be check-

ed, and our vanity constrained to act in a narrow sphere, we give a loose to pride, and look down on the useful part of society with an insolent scorn. Though we have few opportunities of shewing our obstinacy in action, yet we are strangely tenacious of opinions; and though we are clear of those vices which arise from promiscuous conversation, we fall into the low habits that attend the want of it. Believe me, my Ephesian friend, there is no error which carries less the appearance of truth, at the same time that there is none more destructive of magnanimity, than this, that "not to have met with temptation, is to have acquired virtue." But if it was the intention of Providence, that virtue should be the effect of good sense and experience united, it is then incumbent upon us, who are to educate a nation, to have known the world, and struggled with its insinuating allurements. What though we be guilty of mistakes at first setting out, neither ourselves nor our neighbours should despair of us; we pursue our journey, take care to be informed better of the right track; and after having followed it, our advice to the young adventurers in life will be received with more reverence, when it proceeds from a sobriety not natural and phlegmatic, but painfully and dangerously acquired. Such men would be far advanced in the way to perfection; for though to learn wisdom from the sufferings of others be the highest point of it, yet it requires no small share of understanding to take warning, and to give it, in consequence of our own. Such men might be said in truth to have the government of their passions, might be esteemed masters in the art of education; and having tried what the world is, would be fit instructors for those who are to live in it. It were to be wished, therefore, that while some of us are employed in contemplating and explaining the divine volume of Zerdusht, others should be employed in the public service, and travelling abroad, and enriching themselves with the fruits of their enquiries into men and things; and that all of us, at a certain age, in recompence for the support we had received from the colleges of Balch, should be recalled, and obliged to spend the rest of our days in forming the youth of Persia. We might then hope to see the institution of this place much amended. Instead of teaching chicanery, evasion, and positiveness in our schools, the sound principles of policy and justice would be set forth; instead of a scrupulous

tach-

attachment to forms enforced by the terror of an unmanly discipline, we should behold a general regard to good-breeding, candour, and philosophy arising from an inward regulation of temper and a well-turned mind. No man would enjoy the pension designed for the diligent, who was not some how or other interested in the great work; and it might be found possible, however it may seem otherwise at present, for the oldest and most venerable of our order to converse with their disciples, and not betray themselves into the extreme of an unmeaning dignity, or a low familiarity. Thus conducted and improved in the opening of life, the youth would no longer laugh at our sage counsels with the giddiness of children, nor disdain to obey our laws with the stubbornness of men; and the Magi themselves would think they ill deserved the emoluments they receive, or ill answered the end of their founder, if they were regular in no good thing but their orations to the rising or declining Mithras.

C.

LETTER V.

SMERDIS to CLEANDER.

I complained of a relaxation of discipline amongst the Magi; and though not without reason, yet it would be injurious to impute it wholly to them: perhaps a general corruption may be too strong for their best efforts to restrain. The children of the great are committed to their care much later than formerly; they bring with them a high opinion of their rank, a confidence in their paternal fortunes, and eagerness for pleasures, which they have had an early taste of. They associate only one with another, and seek partners in voluptuousness rather than the advantages of wise conversation, which would be attended with restraint: for excellent instruction is still to be had amongst the Magi by those who want not industry, and an ingenuous disposition: witness the young Orsames, who owns himself indebted to our schools for those qualities which adorn him, and promise such fruits to his country. But observe, Cleander, the prudent steps taken by the satraps and the wealthy, who have entertained unfavourable opinions of a Persian education; they send their children abroad, and take no farther concern about their conduct than that it

JAN. 1784.

may not be seen by them. The young Persian is set out with a splendid retinue; has his recommendations from Susa, and wherever he goes is received as a satrap; he is honoured in our provinces, and gazed at in foreign states; his mind is elevated above his rank, be it what it will, and his improvements seldom qualify him for any. He probably impairs his fortunes, and upon his return has a mind much raised above the thoughts of oeconomy; or if he submits to it, it is in a wrong place. The expences of equipage and voluptuousness are become necessary and indispensable; he therefore grows parsimonious to those who have just claims upon him; he oppresses his dependants, and sparingly rewards the countryman, the guardian of his wealth. Nor is this to be wondered at; the young traveller sets out with a mind not yet confirmed in any principles, and at an age strongly biassed to pleasure. He therefore most naturally falls in with the corruptions of every country both in principles and practice; for as he is disposed to gratify his affections, he readily admits such sentiments as favour them. It is generally thought the business of a traveller, to select for the benefit of his country what appears to him to make up the most perfect polity; and, from his experience of men, to become himself an exemplary, wise, and good citizen. But our young traveller takes a pleasure in reciting the imperfections he has observed in government, manners, and religion; he dwells much on the superstitions of Egypt, the bigotry of the people, and the craft of the priests; and intimates, that he has much improved his sagacity in regard to the worship of his own country. He is just such an observer in morals; for if he has made the tour of Greece, he assures you, that the rule of right and wrong, the ground of all justice, so much insisted on by our ancestors, is not so indelibly imprinted by nature as has been imagined; that an ancient and flourishing state had subsisted without the cultivation of it; though probably he takes this upon hearsay, for our youth seldom come nearer to Sparta than a neighboring * isle much better suited to the delicacy of their lives. What can be the reason of this, but that they think their practice justified by these great authorities? Why else do we hear little more of Athens than its sports and gaiety? of Sardis, than gaming? and of Babylon, than its obscene hospitality?

F

I assure

* Cythera, the island of Venus.

I assure thee, Cleander, I have known some of our youth, after a toilsome passage across Arabia and the sea in Upper Egypt, upon hearing the festival rites at Cyprus were coming on, take a light vessel, and with all the expedition of oars and sails swim down the Nile, and content themselves with so transitory a view of the great cities and monuments of that ancient kingdom. When they reached the ports of Cyprus, which extends its arms into the sea, and incloses vast fleets in its bosom, they spent little reflection on its stupendous moles and its conveniences for lading. They heard that the temple of the Grecian goddess was open; that a choir of an hundred youths and as many beautiful virgins had already began the solemn ode; they perfumed themselves with rich oils, and crowned with garlands hastened to mix in the idolatrous rites, habited like shepherds of Arcadia; for all appear in disguise on this occasion, that they may not be under the restraint of shame, which ill becomes the votaries of so impure a deity.

Tender minds, Cleander, are ready for all impressions; therefore it is not proper they should be withdrawn from wise and virtuous patterns, till they have gained an intimate acquaintance with virtue, and are able to combat the temptations of vice and folly. The soul is long in its infancy; the body comes much earlier to maturity: young men therefore (as the wives of the Magi are confined to the most beautiful objects of sight, and hear nothing but harmony, that no ill impression may deface their offspring, which is to be dedicated to the holy service of the temple) should be accustomed to no ideas that pollute the soul, the purity of which is an offering most delightful to Oromasdes.

It is at too great a hazard they go in quest of what is worthy their imitation in Egypt or Greece; for that much may be found by a prudent enquirer, I will not deny: wisdom is not confined to one climate, it shoots out in some shape every where; at Athens it is wise policy, tender regard for the community, and every art, that is properly humane; at Lacædæmon it is public liberty, maintained by austere discipline, and an ignorance of every enervating pleasure; in Egypt it is piety to the gods, and a veneration for all things sacred. It once appeared under all these denominations in Persia: alas! that we can now only find it in our histories!

Perhaps, after all, Cleander, thou wilt say, what need all this precaution in favour of virtue! and why should our youth be prejudiced in her behalf, who is represented so amiable as to strike her beholders with admiration, and force our esteem? It is because virtue, though more amiable, is not so obvious; the useful little art to recommend herself; like a chaste virgin, she must be sought after and sued for; vice, like a prostitute, always presents herself, is officious, importunate, and ensnaring. Orsames is acquainted with this: he traverses the distant regions of the earth, not to gratify the idle curiosity of sight, or adorn the palace of his Persian ancestors with the arts of Greece, but to complete the furniture of his mind, to fit it for the abode of Oromasdes, who deigns to dwell with the good; in awe of whose presence the wicked Ahriman will fly from us, as the shades of night disperse, at the approach of Mithras, to distant countries and the deep caverns of the earth.

H.

For the WESTMINSTER MAGAZINE.

Original Letter relating to the Death of the Duke of Buckingham, written by Lord Arran (afterwards Duke of Hamilton,) to Sprat, Bishop of Rochester, formerly Chaplain to the Duke.

(Transcribed from authentic Memorials of the Villiers Family.)

Kerby-moor Syde, April 17, 1687.

My Lord,

MERE chance having thrown me into those parts by accident, as I was at

York, in my journey towards Scotland I heard of the Duke of Buckingham's illness here, which made me take a resolution of waiting upon his Grace, to see what condition he was in. I arrived
here

here on Friday in the afternoon, where I found him in a very low condition: He had been long ill of an ague, which had made him weak; but his understanding was as good as ever, and his noble parts were so entire, that though I saw death in his looks, at first sight, he would by no means think of it. He told me he was on horseback but two days before, and that he found himself so well at heart, that he was sure he could be in no danger of his life. He told me he had a mighty descent fallen upon his privities, with an inflammation and great swelling, but he thought by applying warm medicines the swelling would fall, and then he would be at ease; but it proved otherwise, for a mortification came on those parts, which run up upon his belly, and so mounted, which was the occasion of his death. So soon as I arrived, I sent to York for one Dr. Waler, for I found him here in a most miserable condition; he desired me to stay with him, which I very willingly obeyed. I confess it made my heart bleed to see the Duke of Buckingham in so pitiful a place and in so bad a condition; and, what made it worse, he was not at all sensible of it, for he thought in a day or two he should be well; and when we minded him of his condition, he said it was not so as we apprehended. The doctors told me his case was desperate, and though he enjoyed the free exercise of his senses, that in a day or two at most it would kill him; but they durst not tell him of it; so they put a hard part on me to pronounce death to him, which I saw approaching so fast, that I thought it was high time for him to think of another world, for it was impossible for him to continue long in this. So I sent for a very worthy gentleman, Mr. Gibson, a neighbour of his Grace's, who lives but a mile from this place, to be an assistant to me in this work; so we jointly together represented his condition to him, which I saw was at first very uneasy; but I think we should not have discharged the duty of honest men, or I of a faithful kinsman, if we should have suffered him to go out of this world without desiring him to prepare for death, and to look into his conscience.

After having plainly told him his condition, I asked him who I should send for to be assistant to him during the small time he had to live? he would make me no answer, which made me conjecture, and

having formerly heard that he had been inclining to be a Roman Catholic, I asked him if I should send for a priest; for I thought that any act that could be like a Christian, was what his condition now wanted most; but he positively told me that he was not of that persuasion, and so would not hear any more of that subject, for he was of the church of England; but hitherto he would not hear of a parson, though he had declared his aversion for my offering him to send for a priest. But, after some time, beginning to feel his distemper mount, he desired me to send for the parson of this parish, who said prayers for him, which he joined in very freely, but still did not think he should die; though this was yesterday, at seven in the morning, and he died about eleven at night.

Mr. Gibson asked him if he had made a will, or if he would declare who was to be his heir. But to the first he answered that he had made none; and, to the last, whoever was named, he always answered, No. First, my Lady Duche's was named, and then I think almost every body who had any relation to him, but his answer was always, No. And to see if he would change any way the answer or manner of it, they asked him if my Lord Purbeck was? but to that he said, by no means. I did fully represent my Lady Duche's condition to him, and told him it was absolutely fit, during the time he had the exercise of his reason, to do something to settle his affairs, but nothing that could be said to him could make him come to any point.

I then said, that since he would do nothing in his worldly affairs, I desired he might die like a Christian; and since he called himself of the church of England, the parson was ready here to administer the sacrament to him, which he said he would take. So accordingly I gave orders for it; and two other honest gentlemen received it with him, Mr. Gibson and Colonel Liston, an old servant of his Grace's. At first he called out three or four times; for he thought the ceremony looked as if death was near, which, for the strength of his noble parts (they not being yet affected) he could not easily believe: for all this time he was not willing to take death to him. But, in a few moments after, he became calm and received the sacrament with all the decency imaginable, and in an hour after he lost his speech and continued so till eleven at night, when he died.

The confusion he has left his affairs in will make his heir, whoever he be, very uneasy. To tell you truly, I believe there is no other will in being but what they say is in the trustees hands; for all the servants say, they knew there was a parchment sealed, which my Lord said he would alter, which they looked upon to be his will: whether he has cancelled it, I cannot find; some say one Mr. Burrell has it, but nobody here can give any distinct account of it. But my Lord himself said positively, in the presence of several, that he had no will in being, so what to make of this, I cannot tell you. We supposed that it might be Sir William Villars that he intended for his heir, but he said several times before us all, No: so that I cannot imagine, if he has any will, to whom he has given it, I myself being as nearly related to him as any by the full blood. Mr. Brian Fairfax and Mr. Gibson have been witnesses of my proceedings since my being here; I hope they will give an account of it. I thought in honour I could not leave him in this condition, being so nearly related to him; especially his Grace being in such a retired corner, where there was nobody but myself, till I sent for this Mr. Gibson. My Lord Fairfax of Gullin came yesterday in the afternoon, but he was speechless when he came.

I have ordered the corpse to be embalmed and carried to Helmsley castle, and there to remain till my Lady Duchess her pleasure shall be known. There must be speedy care taken: for there is nothing here but confusion, not to be expressed. Though his stewards have received vast sums, there is not so much as one farthing, as they tell me, for defraying the least expence. But I have ordered his

intestines to be buried at Helmsley, where his body is to remain till farther orders.

Being the nearest kinsman upon the place, I have taken the liberty to give his Majesty an account of his death, and sent his George and blue ribbon to be disposed as his Majesty shall think fit. I have addressed it under cover to my Lord Present, to whom I beg you would carry the bearer the minute he arrives.

I have given orders that nothing should be embezzled, and for that reason, as soon as my Lord died, I called to see his strong box, but before Mr. Brian Fairfax and Mr. Gibson: I found nothing of moment in it but some loose letters of no concern, but such as they are I have ordered them to be locked up and delivered to my Lady Duchess, as also the small plate and linen he had, I have committed to the care of Lord Fairfax.

So now that I have given your Lordship this particular account of every thing, I have nothing more to do but to assure your Lordship that I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most assured
Friend and humble servant,
A R R A N.

In the Prerogative Office it appears, that George Duke of Buckingham died without will, and that the Duchess his widow administered.

* * * Our Readers may depend on the authenticity of the above relation, which illustrates in a striking manner some of the most beautiful lines in Pope's Epistles:—

“ In the worst Inn's worst Room, &c.”

For the WESTMINSTER MAGAZINE.

MONTHLY AND CRITICAL REVIEW

FOR JANUARY, 1784.

A Brief and Impartial Review of the State of Great Britain, at the Commencement of the Session, 1783, &c. 8vo.

THIS writer investigates the state of the East India Company, the Independence of America, and the political affairs of Ireland, with judgement and candour.

A Plain Letter to the Common People of England and Wales, &c. 12mo.

This honest expostulation is intended as an antidote to the rage of emigration to America. The author asserts, that masters of ships continue to decoy whole cargoes of men across the Atlantic, who find themselves obliged to indenture for a certain

certain number of years, for the amount of their passage. That these innocent transports are dragged away by the planters into wild and woody regions, far distant from all former connections, where they are treated in every respect like negroes, and wear out a mournful life without the hope of ever returning to their native country.

Nor is it to such poor and unfortunate people as these alone, that America proves an unprosperous country. To the planter himself it yields few of the comforts, says this writer, but is productive of numerous scourges of human life. The sudden transitions from violent heat to violent cold, the damps in the morning and evening, with all their train of fevers, agues, dysenteries, rheumatisms, &c. &c. are exhibited in strong and affecting colours. In that unhappy country, we are told that vegetables, animals, and even the human race, greatly degenerate from the state in which they were when imported thither from Europe.

An Argument to prove, that it is the indispensable Duty of the Creditors of the Public, to insist that Government do forthwith bring forward the State of the Nation, &c. By John Earl of Stair. 8vo.

This noble author is a warm advocate for Governor Hastings, whom he emphatically calls the powerful CHATHAM of the East!—From the premises he lays down, he draws the following gloomy conclusion; viz. “That the state is a bankrupt; and that those who have trusted their all to the public faith, are in very imminent danger of becoming (I die, says his Lordship, pronouncing it) *beggars!*”

Substance of the Speech of the Right Hon. Charles James Fox, upon a Motion for the Commitment of the Bill for vesting the Affairs of the East-India Company in the Hands of certain Commissioners, &c. 8vo.

This piece of oratory appears to be taken by the hand of a master, and is well worth the perusal of all persons interested in the affairs of the East-India Company.

Serious Considerations on the political Conduct of Lord North, &c. By N. Buckingham, Esq. 8vo.

An ironical defence of the noble Lord's administration, written with spirit and humour.

Two Letters on Parliamentary Representation: By Jeremiah Batley, Esq. 8vo. These letters contain a judicious enquiry

into the subject mentioned in the title page, and merit the serious consideration of the public, as it is probable some alteration will very soon be made in the national representation.

The Village: a Poem. In two Books. By the Rev. George Crabbe. 4to.

This piece is far above mediocrity; the characters of the Ancient Peasant and the Parish Apothecary are well discriminated. The following is Mr. Crabbe's description of a Village Workhouse:

“Theirs is yon house that holds the parish poor,
Whose walls of mud scarce bear the broken door:
There, where the putrid vapours flagging play,
And the dull wheel hums doleful through the day;
There children dwell, who know no parents' care;
Parents, who know no childrens love, dwell there:
Heart-broken matrons on their joyless bed,
Forsaken wives, and mothers never wed;
Dejected widows, with unheeded tears,
And crippled age with more than childhood fears;
The lame, the blind, and (far the happiest they!)
The moping idiot, and the madman gay.”

Poems on Subjects arising in England and the West-Indies. By a Native of the West-Indies. 4to.

This honest Creole is a very different writer from the Author of the Village, and has certainly been guilty of a misnomer in his title page, by calling his crudities, “Poems.” Gentle reader, take a specimen of his abilities in describing a drought:

—The rats, the mice, that haunt our drooping canes,
The worms and very reptiles of the plains.
No drops of water in our ponds remain;
And the long camel stoops his neck in vain.

No burfing clouds o'er sultry azure sails,
To fill our household jars and ready pails;
Again——

Is there no cistern in the skies above?
Flow there no drops from mercy and from love?

From yonder sheep! oh! hark the mournful bleat!

And hark! these goats the thirsty cries repeat.

Oh! give us water, all the day, they cry;
Oh! give us water quickly, or we die.

For

For the WESTMINSTER MAGAZINE.

THE COURT OF APOLLO.

BEING A

SELECTION OF ORIGINAL AND FUGITIVE POETRY.

For the Westminster Magazine.

R H A P S O D Y.

O First and boldest of the tuneful throng
That drew from nature's source the
powers of song!

If from the orb of some propitious star
Serenely gliding at the close of day,
Thy spirit love to tread this hallow'd ground
Which saw thy birth and hail'd thy virgin lay,
Let not unmark'd a youthful suppliant kneel,
Immortal SA AKESPEAR! He with infant zeal
Thy flights rever'd, and worship'd from afar,
His moral guide to life's uncertain bound,
The child of fancy by the virtues crown'd.

Unrival'd yet on earth! however GREECE
Exalt her fathers of poetic lore;
Whatever ROME's high boast, when new to
peace

Her arts conceal'd that freedom was no more;
Far less by those their heirs of later days,
With all the self-plum'd tribe of modern GAUL,
Whose powder'd critics join at fashions call
To mock with feeble light thy noon-tide rays.

Nor THINE with servile efforts to retrace
What arts of elder times had made their own,
Selected features of ideal grace
In breathing paint, or Promethean stone,
Or verse that time respects, and worlds admire.
Self-rich in nature's elemental store,
Perennial fountain! unexhausted mine!
THINE, like a GOD, with absolute controul
To sway the movements of the various soul,
O'erleap the walls of empyrean fire,
And sketch with mortal hand the vast design.

T. W.

For the Westminster Magazine.

V E R S E S T O A F R I E N D.

FILL high the glass, nor lose in vain debate
(Alike to us whatever party sway)
The few, the fleeting hours assign'd by fate
To love and wine with social freedom gay:
Let FOX or PITT still rule their little day;
Not our's, thank heaven! to mend a crazy
state,
Doom'd like ourselves to perish soon or late,
But when, dear CHARLES, let older states-
men say.

Three sprightly CLOE's artless smiles provoke
Whole from the spur, unconscious of the
yoke,
And skittish still to every touch but thine—
Me three long months in silken bonds insnare
The starry tresses of EMILIA's hair,
And snowy limbs of symmetry divine.

For the Westminster Magazine.

S O N N E T

Written during a long Voyage at Sea.

THREE moons are pass'd, and quickly to de-
cline
The fourth suspends her middle lamp in
heaven,
Since stay'd by calms, by countering tempests
driven,
I cease to view the female form divine;
For this, my chief delight, I most repine,
Tho' many a dying groan my heart have
riven,
And many a corse devoted to the brine
The dread alarm to fellow-victims given
Him too that bending o'er the vessel's side,
With pensive eye surveys the rippling tide,
If mark'd as once fond passion's future prey
May distant love lament his early doom!
The cot my winding-sheet, the wave my
tomb,
The passing gale my monumental lay!

For the Westminster Magazine.

I M P R O M P T U.

*On the success of the New Pantomime, called
Friar Bacon, composed by O'KEEFE, now
performing at Covent-Garden.*

HOWE'ER the learned may agree
That there's no truth in—alchemy,
I no such doctrine hold:
Since of O'KEEFE, 'tis fairly said,
That Friar Ba. on's brazen head,
He nightly turns to gold!

Jan. 8.

PARACEL'SUS.

For

THE COURT OF APOLLO.

47

For the Westminster Magazine.

PADDY WHACK!

A real Incident addressed to the Dukes of C—s and D—.

PADDY WHACK was commanded by two witty Peers,
To tell them the reason, why asses had ears?—
An't please ye, quoth *Pat*, I'm not given to letters—

Nor dare I pretend to know more than my betters:—

Howe'er, from this time, I shall ne'er see your Graces,

As I hope to be fav'd—without thinking on asses!

Wood's Coffee-House, KILLIGREW, junior.
Jan. 4, 1784.

For the Westminster Magazine.

FRIAR BACON'S HEAD.

Time was!

THE glorious sun, bright God of day, retires,
Mild ev'ning weeps in dew his absent fires;
While guileless songsters constant vigils hold,
E'er night's dark mantle doth the scene unfold.

Departed time my trembling muse would sing,
When Britain's rising fame made vallies ring;
Chearful the shepherd taught his babes the theme,
And infants glory'd in a Briton's name.

When liberty first dawn'd on Albion's shore,
Fair nurse of science and of sacred lore;
The noble flame with sacred ardor blaz'd,
And Britons to the rank of heroes rais'd.

They scorn'd the yoke of arbitrary sway,
As sons would honor—not as slaves obey;
The rights of men their gen'rous bosoms fir'd,
And native freedom, warlike deeds inspir'd.

Then rising from the couch of rosy health,
Th'industrious peasant chearful toil'd for wealth;
His honest labours met a sweet reward,
Peace was his guest, and innocence his guard.

All blithe he sang o'er the luxuriant mead,
Where flocks at large might, without danger,
feed;

His leathern bottle, and his pipe reliev'd
The little cares, which he in absence griev'd.

When ev'ning shades enwrap'd the world in grey,
Pleas'd o'er the lawn he homeward bent his way;
There, hail'd by all that sweetens life, he found
Domestic bliss, and soft content abound.

Then too, the farmer whistled o'er his ground,
And sprightly songs the village gambols crown'd;
Festivity in every cot was seen,
Their joys were pure, and their repose serene.

Then bowls convivial grac'd the friendly board,
Pomona's luscious gifts their closets stor'd;
While o'er the glass good sense and humour
join'd
To mend the heart, and to relieve the mind.

Then fair Religion on firm basis stood,
Her friends were steady, and their tenets good;
Each prospect then this happy island prov'd,
Fav'rite of men---and of her God below'd.

Woolwich.

E L I Z A.

For the Westminster Magazine.

On seeing the Rival Actresses in the Character of Lady RANDOLPH.

WHAT different kinds of applause critics
shew,

When the *Siddons* and *Crawford* appears!
On the former they loud acclamations bestow;
But to *Crawford* give nothing---but tears!

January 2, 1784.

F.

For the Westminster Magazine.

EPISTLE to his Excellency **GEORGE WASHINGTON**, Esq; &c. &c. &c.

— Honest praise

Oft nobly sways

Ingenuous youth:

But from the coward and the lying mouth
Praise is reproach. Eternal God alone
For mortals fixes that sublime award.
He, from the faithful records of his throne,
Bids the historian and the bard
Dispose of honour and of scorn:
Discern the patriot from the slave;
And write the good, the wise, the brave,
For lessons to the multitude unborn.

AKENSIDE'S *Ode*.

WHILE many a servile Muse her succour
lends,

To flatter tyrants, or a tyrant's friends,
While thousands slaughter'd at Ambition's
shrine

Are made a plea to court the tuneful Nine;
Whilst laurels list their heroes to the sky,
Foretel their conquests twice a year, and lie,
Damn half-starv'd rebels to eternal shame,
Or paint them trembling at Britannia's name;
Permit an humble bard, Great Chief, to raise
One truth-erected trophy to thy praise:
No flatt'ring colours shall these numbers seek,
To tinge with blushes Virtue's modest cheek:
Call forth to view no great or generous deed,
But foes must own, and Washington may read.

Say, where along yon venerable wood,
My native stream swells thy Potomack's flood,
Shall my untutor'd Muse begin the song,
Which future bards in rapture shall prolong:
Or there my little bark presume to sail,
Fann'd by fair Liberty's inspiring gale?

Fair

Fair Liberty, of man the noblest claim,
Great source of bliss, kind nurse of arts and
fame;

She, wrong'd and exil'd from yon eastern
climes,
Perhaps may deign to listen to these rhymes;
And in these regions pleas'd to find relief,
May bear them smiling to her fav'rite chief:
Illustrious Chief! whom with one common
voice

An injur'd people chose, and Heav'n approv'd
the choice.

Forth from the bosom of thy calm retreat,
At once the hero's and the sage's seat,
Where bounteous Nature spreads her choicest
gifts

Of woods and lawns along thy native cliffs,
Where, with the Graces, Wisdom choicest
roam,

Where sweet Simplicity had fix'd her home,
Where wedded Love display'd his mildest ray,
To gild each rising and each setting day,
And with a smile could smooth the brow of
Care,

Save when thy country's cries alarm'd thy ear,
Great Freedom call'd Thee to the glorious
strife:

The tranquil scenes of sweet domestic life
Delight no more: to arms! to arms! she
cries;

To arms! to arms! each sister state replies.
Be Thou great guardian of thy country's cause,
She said, and hots of heroes shout applause.

Thus, when of old, from his paternal farm
Rome had her rigid Cincinnatus arm,
The illustrious peasant rushes to the field;
Soon are the haughty Volsci taught to yield:
His country sav'd, the solemn triumph o'er,
He tills his native acres as before.

Hail, happy man! crown'd with immortal
bays,

Before whose glory shrink the dwindled rays
Of royal pageantry! thy gen'rous heart
To Freedom's fens shall still its warmth impart,
Teach them their native dignity to scan,
And scorn the wretch who spurns his fellow-
man:

And when in eastern climes, 'midst lawless
sway,

Thy fame shall sink, and Freedom's wreaths
decay,

These infant states shall catch the god like
flame,

And tyrants still shall shudder at thy name;
Then nobly dare Columbia to be free,
And what the Roman was, thy Washington
shall be.

For the Westminster Magazine.

V E R S E S

Sent to a Young GENTLEMAN going Abroad.

By G. E. Howard, Esq.

THOU say'st, my friend, thou mean'st to
take a wife,
With thee in foreign climes to pass thy life;

If then a pleasing form, enchanting grace,
With charms of mind which time cannot
efface;

If sprightly wit with solid judgment join'd,
Good nature, temper sweet, and sense refin'd,
Give social happiness and ceaseless joy,
(Which will with years encrease and never cloy)
With eye impartial, sweet *Letitia* view;

Take her, be wise, if she'll accept of you:
When toils of business with the day shall cease,
How will her lively charming converse please!
How soothing life's certain cares, and easy make
The bed when pain or sickness keeps awake!
And when love's fires shall tow'rd's their: period
tend,

The much-lov'd mistress shall be faithful friend.

For the Westminster Magazine.

S O N N E T.

WRITTEN AT BATH.

THE winding grace of Avon's faery tide,
Her cliffs abrupt, and meads of lively
green,

Her villas glittering from the mountain-side,
And tufted bowers, and garden slopes between;
Nor these, nor yon gay domes, with rapture
eyed,

When health and pleasure crown'd the care-
less scene,

Can gild this bosom's dark and dreary void,
While sickness dims Amanda's alter'd mien:
Yet still she hope, or from that halcyon brow,
Where shines the soul superior and serene,
The scatter'd shades of pain and languor fly;
Else o'er those eyes the veil of fancy throw,
The form of anguish for a while to screen,
And cheat the friend with visionary joy.

For the Westminster Magazine.

S O N N E T.

Written at a small Country-*House* in Cornwall.

Causa fuit pater bis!—

H O R.

IN these neglected walls a father's day
Serenely clos'd, unconscious of a stain,
Whom all unknown to fame's unequal strain
Reflection's sweeter voice did well repay.

Nor thou, his lov'd retreat, of fate complain,
Whose praise may last while prouder scenes
decay,

Where native floods the painted arch disdain,
And pagod-spires their shivering pomp dis-
play.

Nor, had the plunder'd East her spoils resign'd,
And mimic Ganges through thy pastures
roll'd,

Might haply peace have sooth'd the master's
mind,

Or late reflection lent his death a smile;
Nor could his weeping son the costly pile,
With equal joy, or gratitude behold.

For

For the WESTMINSTER MAGAZINE.

EAST-INDIA INTELLIGENCE.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, Jan. 10.

Whitehall, January 10, 1784.

Extract of a Dispatch to his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the home Department, from his Excellency Major General James Stuart, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's and the East-India Company's Forces on the Coast of Coromandel, dated Camp, one Mile south of Cuddalore, June 27, 1783, received Yesterday by Capt. Thomas, of the 23d light Dragoons, who arrived in his Majesty's ship Medea.

I DO myself the honour of acquainting you, by this separate letter, of the very signal victory obtained over the French and Tippoo Sahib's Auxiliaries, by the troops of his Majesty, and of the Honourable East-India Company, under my command, on June 13th, being the 4th day after our operations began South of Cuddalore. The particulars will be found in the form of a letter, inclosed to your Lordship, nearly the same as I had the honour to address to this Government.

Every account which I have received, induces me to believe that the enemy, in killed and wounded upon this occasion, suffered in Europeans to the extent of 42 officers, and 600 men.

I do myself the honour to transmit to your Lordship the general orders to the army, and the separate instructions to the officers commanding the four divisions of the army in the action of that day.

There is also another letter inclosed, containing the particulars of the total repulse of the enemy, in their attack upon our parallel, the morning of the 25th of June—an action which gives additional lustre to the steadiness and bravery of this army. The particulars are also nearly the same with what was my duty to acquaint this government of. The name of the officer who commanded the Sortee, and now our prisoner, is Mons. Des Damas, Chevalier de Malte, Colonel of the regiment of Aquitaine. There are, besides, two Captains, and one or two subaltern officers, prisoners. The total Europeans of the enemy, killed, wounded, or prisoners, are reported to exceed 400.

I enclose to your Lordship a return of the killed and wounded on our part, which, I am happy to find on this occasion, are in no great number. In this Sortee of the enemy, it happened that a small party in the dark got over one particular place of the trenches, where two chance shots killed one Jemidar,

JAN. 1784.

and badly wounded another, both of whom carried the colours of the 24th Bengal regiment, which fell from their hands, and in the scramble, some French soldiers stole off unperceived with the two stand of colours. But your Lordship will see, both from the return of our inconsiderable loss, and from the narrative annexed, that the honour of the regiment was in no shape affected by this little dark exploit, which, as I am informed, the enemy make such a parade of.

Your Lordship will know, from the separate dispatches, that the army under my command were in the impossibility of proceeding towards Cuddalore with effect, until May the 28th, when the rice, and other necessary articles were landed, and received from the ship at Conjemecr; and that on our coming to the high ground, near Pondicherry, we received certain information that Mons. Suffrein had found the means to send supplies of stores and provisions under an escort superior in force, as I believe, to the escort which our main convoy expected from Madras, and upon which every thing turned. Some of the French ships were, indeed, (from our camps) seen at anchor. I nevertheless continued the march, in the way I fixed in my own mind for months before, and getting round that side of Cuddalore where the enemy expected us, I fixed this as our ultimate encampment, in the afternoon of the 7th of June.

To speak of the enemy's strength in Europeans only, the French, my Lord, at little more than a musquet shot from us now in Cuddalore, are upwards of 2500* regulars of the old establishments, besides what M. Suffrein, who is now here with 19 sail at anchor, has in his power to land at an hour's notice; and, previous to the late fall, he had landed upwards of 1500 land troops or marines.

I take the liberty, my Lord, to transmit to your Lordship what I judged as a mark of private gratitude, as well as public duty, to give out in general orders to this brave army, in full confidence that your Lordship will do them the honour to communicate to his Majesty, whatever you think proper, and particularly what regards the detachment of his Majesty's 15th and 16th regiments of his Electoral subjects, and to Colonel Wangenheim, who commanded them.

Upon the whole, I request your Lordship to lay before his Majesty my most humble recommendation of this brave army, to his Majesty's most gracious favour, as highly deserving of it. And as a mark of that favour, that his Ma-

G

jesty

* July, 1783. It has been since found from the returns, that the French regulars, and Dutch Europeans, exclusive of the marines, exceeded 4000.

jefty will be graciously pleased to approve of the promotions which, as commanding his Majesty's troops, I have taken the liberty to make, in regular succession, by seniority, to vacancies during the present very severe service, for such it has been, in every sense of the word.

The Hon. Lieutenant-Colonel Cathcart, as your Lordship will perceive, has had very great merit at the head of the corps of grenadiers, both on the 13th and 25th. He will have the honour to deliver this letter; and there is none more capable to supply any information, which, in the hurry, I may have omitted. I beg leave to recommend him to his Majesty as an officer attached to his profession, and of very good abilities.

[N. B. The original dispatch, of which the above is a duplicate, brought by the Medea, was intrusted to Lieutenant-Colonel Cathcart, who is now on his passage from India, in the Pondicherry.]

Extract of the letter first referred to in the preceding dispatch, containing the particulars of the action on the 13th June, 1783.

I most sincerely congratulate your Lordship on the successful efforts of this brave army, in carrying at one stroke the whole of the outposts and redoubts of the enemy, with * eighteen pieces of artillery mounted on them. Their loss in Europeans, killed and wounded, according to the prisoners report, being † twenty-six officers, and six hundred men. We have also lost many excellent officers and brave men.

On the preceding day (the 12th) I called as a Council of War, the two officers next in command to me, Major Gen. Bruce and Col. Stuart. I acquainted them of the state of our affairs in general; the letters I had received from the Admiral, representing the sickly condition of his men, and the state of the water, which might oblige him to return to Madras; also the approach of the French fleet; but above all, the indefatigable industry visible in the vast works they are making on the high grounds and lines, in communication with the post, commonly called Brickmyre's, thus stretching along the neck by which we must approach the place; and I requested General Bruce and Colonel Stuart freely to speak their minds. I had called the chief engineer, and commanding officers of the Bengal and Coast artillery as deliberative, desiring to know, in their different departments, if they were in readiness, so far as regarded materials for closing the redoubts after we should get possession, and to form a first parallel, and as to guns, with a sufficient supply of stores for the enterprise. They agreed that every thing was in readiness, and we were unanimously of opinion, that there was not an hour to be lost in driving the French from all their outposts into Cuddalore, or under the guns.

I immediately presented the plan I meant to

follow in effecting our purpose, a copy of which I have the honour of inclosing. It was in general most exactly followed. Lieut. Col. Kelly, in the precise moment agreed on, got possession of the posts of the enemy on the Bandipollum Hills, with their guns, and Lieutenant Col. Cathcart, at the head of the grenadiers, supported by Col. Stuart, commanding the advanced picquets on the left, consisting of the remains of the 73d regiment under Capt. Lamont, and two battalions of Sepoys, made a movement to turn the enemy's right flank.

In advancing, they sustained such a heavy fire, and the ground so difficult, that with great judgment, Col. Stuart covered his people until he could better reconnoitre, and some further disposition could be taken to approach the enemy from different quarters nearly about the same time. He sent me a report of his situation, and I gave orders in consequence to the reserve, under Col. Gordon, to make a movement in advance to their left, and to Major General Bruce, to march from the right, in the direction of the redoubt, if the ground could admit of it.

The General had very properly posted Lieutenant Colonel Edmondson upon the Sandhills, near the Sea, to support the four brass eighteens, and prevent our being flanked on that side.

Upon further information, that the redoubt which principally annoyed the grenadiers, was to be got at in the rear, orders were given for the grenadiers, the reserve and the right under General Bruce, to close upon the enemy with their musquetry, leaving their guns under cover. I desired the commanding officer of artillery to fire three guns as a signal, and to continue a heavy fire for five minutes on the enemy's redoubt on the front, opposite to Colonel Stuart, and the grenadiers, whilst the reserve under Colonel Gordon was moving on; upon our fire ceasing the attack on all sides to begin.

The Reserve, which consisted chiefly of the remains of his Majesty's 101st, and of the detachment from the 15th and 16th Hanoverians, with five companies of Captain Muirhead's battalion of Sepoys, advanced in the best order imaginable, under the heaviest fire of musquetry, round and grape, from the enemy, that I ever beheld. The greater part had got within the enemy's entrenchments;—many of our officers fell there.

The detachment of his Majesty's Hanoverians, under Lieutenant-Colonel Wangenheim, and Major Varrennius, behaved most remarkably well. The Major fell in the attempt. The company of grenadiers and light infantry of his Majesty's 101st, and the officers of that corps, and the officers and Sepoys of the 20th Carnatic battalion, shewed the greatest spirit and steadiness; and if the other men of the 101st

had

* Upon examining the returns, the number taken was sixteen.

† It was afterwards found they had forty-two officers killed and wounded.

had seconded the efforts of their officers and their grenadiers and light infantry, there is not a doubt but that the business would have been over at once; but they did not; and our people on that attack, were for a certain time driven back, and pursued to a considerable distance by the enemy.—However, at that precise time, when the French were in the pursuit, our grenadiers under Lieutenant-Colonel Cathcart and Major Moore, with Colonel Stuart and Captain Lamont, with the precious remains of the 73d, entered the redoubt on the side where it was not entirely closed, and not only took possession of it, but pushed forward to a post called Brickmyre's, considerably in advance, and were for some time in possession of it, with the guns, but obliged to quit, upon fresh troops pouring in upon them.

Our people kept hold of the first redoubt, as commanding or enfilading every thing in front or to the right of it, and therefore a good point to go from in our approaches; it was ordered to be closed by the chief engineer as soon as possible. The havoc done by our guns from the heights now appeared plain; and having thus secured, by Lieutenant-Colonel Kelly and his brigade, the commanding points of the Bandipollum Hills, giving an opening to the large Tank that lies between them, and seeing from thence, in reverse, the whole bound hedge of Cuddalore; and having secured a post to approach from of such importance as before mentioned, I thought it sufficient for the day, considering the numbers of our brave men that had fallen.

The spirit of our people, even after so severe an action, was so undaunted, that I was urged to proceed further, and to drive the whole of the enemy into the fort the same evening, although we must have had both heavy guns and musquetry to encounter with; but I declined it, both for the above reason, and because, from my knowledge of the French, I was sure, that after a night's reflection of what had passed, they would not try a second day out of the fort. It happened so, for they abandoned in the course of the night all their remaining out-posts, and drew off their guns, excepting three, which we brought into the redoubt. The inclosed return will shew your Lordship the guns we have taken from the enemy; two of them are upon the hill, and two in the redoubt, ready to open against their former master.

I shall in a separate letter, so soon as I know it with precision, acquaint your Lordship of the loss on our side. It is with infinite regret that I mention the loss of Captain Douglas, Deputy-Adjutant-General, as an officer, and as a member of society; and the same of Lieutenant Peter Campbell, my first Aid-de-camp. Major Varrennius fell haranguing his men, advancing to the redoubt. The Hon. Captain Lindsey, commanding the grenadiers of the 73d, was wounded and taken

prisoner, refusing to suffer his own people to remain behind with him*. In a word, nothing I believe in history ever exceeded the heroism and coolness of this army in general, visible to every one, for it lasted from four in the morning to two in the afternoon.

The Admiral, with the whole fleet, is now at anchor near our rice ships, and by our last accounts, Mons. Suffrein was seen by him to the Southward, with fifteen ships of the line, and two frigates.

I have written to Major General Burgoyne to give orders (with the previous information to government) that 200 Hanoverians, with all the recovered men, and recruits belonging to his Majesty's troops, now at or near the Presidency, be sent with the utmost dispatch to us by sea; and I have recommended to order the same, regarding the recruits and recovered men of the Company's Europeans.

The army lay upon their arms for twenty hours, after the business of the 13th was over, and until I had the means to bring our camp further in advance, now that we had silenced the guns planted on the enemy's out-posts. Our right is now within a mile of Cuddalore; but as I had the honour in a former letter to represent to the Select Committee, and having nearly a brigade to cover our rear and landing place, and so large a circuit of posts to occupy in front, added to our loss in action, and sickness incident to fatigue, I repeat that unless the force under Colonel Fullarton does come nearer to co-operate and to take off some part of the heavy duty that now falls to our share, this army will, in a very short time, be melted to nothing, through sickness, and other accidents.

Camp, S. of Cuddalore, June 15, 1783.

Letter to the Select Committee at Madras, containing the particulars of the repulse of the French, on the 25th of June, 1783.

It is with great additional satisfaction that I give you the account of the repulse the enemy met with in a sortie they made early this morning. We have taken their commanding officer, Chevalier de Damas, Col. (Maitre de Camp) of the regiment of Aquitaine; likewise a Captain and a Lieutenant. There is a Major, a Captain, and two subalterns, killed. The prisoners are about 150. I don't know how many of the enemy have been killed, or carried off wounded; but this I know, it was a complete route. Our loss is Major Cotgrove, Lieutenant Grueber, of the Bengal detachment, and Lieut. Outcherloney, missing; Capt. Williamson wounded, and about twenty rank and file wounded.

Upon the return of the French fleet, and our's not appearing, I was sure that they would take every occasion to annoy us: we were prepared for it, as they have found to their experience. From what I can collect of the prisoners, the troops engaged were of their best sort, the regiment of Aquitaine, and other

* Captain Lindsay died of his wounds at Cuddalore.

old corps, besides volunteers from all the other corps, and two battalions of Sepoys. Their principal impression seems to have been directed to the right of our parallel; but they had no idea of our having completed a redoubt there, which, with the two guns, galled them very severely. Our people behaved wonderfully well, and the Sepoys mixed their's with the French bayonets: nothing could exceed their steadiness. Col. Gordon commanded in the trenches with Lieut. Col. Cathcart and Major Cotgrove; only one half of the grenadiers were with the out-laying pickets, but Major Mopie, with the other half, was instantly on the ground from their advanced camp, and they proved an excellent support to the parallel on the right.

From the character of Mons. Suffrein, and the infinite superiority of the present means on the part of the French now that we are left to ourselves, I expect a daily visit of this sort from them, and shall be prepared to give them a similar reception; but I cannot too often repeat, that the severity of the present duty both on officers and men is become almost insupportable.

As to my uneasiness of mind, considering many things which I need not detail to you, and that it is now nine days since our fleet and provision ships left us, and having no certainty of Colonel Fullarton's movements towards me, in consequence of my order of the 16th instant; I say that, on the whole of these considerations, my mind is upon the rack without a moment's rest.

The steady undaunted valour of this army is my present resource in the midst of surrounding difficulties, if the Admiral does not soon appear.

The high idea I entertain of the merit of the army has led me to express my sentiments at some length in this day's general orders, both of their conduct on the 13th, and in the action of this day. I shall have the honour of transmitting to your Lordship, &c. a copy, together with every paper of any consequence, which you have not hitherto been furnished with, owing to the uncertainty of conveyance since we lost sight of the Admiral.

I pray your Lordship, &c. to forward the means of conveyance by sea to us for the detachment of 200 Hanoverians, with the recruits and recovered men of his Majesty's and the Company's troops, together with money, rice, and horse grain, our only dependence for all these things being upon you.

Camp before Cuddalore, June 25, 1783.

Return of Ordnance taken from the enemy in the Posts near Cuddalore, June 13, 1783.

On the Bandypollam Hill.

Brass guns serviceable mounted, and may be used, on the Posts, 2 four and half pounders. In the intrenchments from Bandypollam Hill and Brickmyres Post, iron guns serviceable, the carriages damaged, and cannot be used, 1 nine pounder, 1 four pounder.

Brass guns serviceable mounted, and may be used, 1 four and half pounder, 2 two and half ditto.

In Brickmyres Post.

Iron guns serviceable mounted, and may be used against the fort, 2 eighteen pounders, 1 nine ditto. 1 five ditto.

Brass guns serviceable mounted, and may be used, 1 nine pounder.

Ditto cannot be used, 1 twelve pounder.

Between Brickmyres Post and Cuddalore.

Brass guns serviceable mounted, and may be used, 3 three pounders.

Ammunition tumbrils, 8.

Carts for shot, 4.

(Signed)

W. Elliot, Lieut. Col.

Commanding the Artillery.

June 14.

Return of the killed, wounded, and missing, in the attack of the French advanced posts, lines, and redoubts, before Cuddalore, on the 13th of June, 1783, of the army under his Excellency Major General James Stuart, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's and the Company's troops.

His Majesty's troops.

1st battalion, 73d regiment. Killed, Capt.

Alex. Mackenzie, 1 serjeant, and 10 rank

and file. Wounded and prisoners, the Hon.

Capt. James Lindsay, Lieut. Simon Mac-

kenzie, jun. and Lieut. James Trail.

Wounded, Capt. John Hamilton, Lieut.

Charles Gorry, David Rannier, John Sin-

clair, James Duncan, and George Suther-

land, 5 serjeants, 2 drummers, and 75

rank and file. Missing, six rank and file.

78th regiment. Killed, Captain George Mac-

kenzie and 9 rank and file. Wounded,

Lieutenants Patrick Grant and Malcolm

Macpherfon, 2 serjeants, and 28 rank and

file. Missing, 1 serjeant, and 1 rank and

file.

101st regiment. Killed, Lieutenants W. R.

Elsden, J. Moore, J. Branthwayte, and C.

Rofs, 2 serjeants, 2 drummers, and 38

rank and file. Wounded and prisoners,

Capt. S. G. Cole, and Lieut. John M'Gil-

lowray. Wounded, Capt. P. Beatty, Lieu-

tenants A. Ingram, John Napier, and

Mungo Noble, 5 serjeants, 2 drummers,

and 48 rank and file.

Detachments of the 15th and 16th regiments

of Hanoverians in one regiment. Killed,

Major Varrennius, Capt. Brunswick, Lieut.

Riussmand, and Ensign Muller, 2 serjeants,

and 60 rank and file. Wounded, Captains

Droegi, Schamhorfs, Westernhagen, and

Zele, Lieutenants Brandt, Notto, V.

Hennubar, Ensigns Gerber, Jambart, Bert,

Werniche, and Adjutant Chevalier, 1 ser-

jeant, 2 drummers, and 141 rank and

file.

J. GRATTAN, Adj. Gen.
Bengal Troops.

Wounded, Colonel Tho. D. Pearse.

Artillery. Killed, 2 bombardiers, 1 matross,

and

and 8 lascars. Wounded, Lieut. E. Brown, and Lieut. Fireworker Egghaw, 1 serjeant, 1 bombardier, 1 gunner, 2 matrosses, 2 syrangs, 1 tindal, 1 coslob, 1 gelandauré, and 20 lascars.

12th regiment of Sepoys. Killed, 1 serjeant, 1 subedar, 1 jemidar, and 1 rank and file. Wounded, 1 drummer, and 22 rank and file.

13th regiment of Sepoys. Killed, 1 subedar, 1 jemidar, and 3 rank and file. Wounded, Lieut. Plumer, Ensign Franklin, 1 subedar, 1 drummer, and 34 rank and file.

25th regiment of Sepoys. Killed, Capt. Durie, 1 serjeant, 2 subedars, and 6 rank and file. Wounded, Lieut. R. Colebrooke, 1 serjeant, 1 jemidar, and 31 rank and file.

Coast Troops.

Killed, Capt. Walter Douglas, Deputy-Adjutant General, and Lieut. Peter Campbell, Aid de Camp.

European troop. Killed, 1 horse.

2d regiment of cavalry. Killed, 2 horses. Wounded, 1 horse, 2 rank and file.

Artillery. Killed, 8 lascars. Wounded, 3 corporals, 4 gunners, 5 matrosses, 2 syrangs and 21 lascars.

European infantry. Killed, 8 rank and file. Wounded, Lieut. John Munro, Quartermaster, Ensign James Rogers, 3 serjeants, 1 drummer, and 25 rank and file.

Titchinopoly detachment. Killed, 2 rank and file. Wounded, 1 subedar, 1 jemidar, and 24 rank and file.

5th battalion of Sepoys. Killed 6 rank and file. Wounded, 1 drummer, and 5 rank and file.

8th battalion of Sepoys. Wounded, 8 rank and file.

16th battalion of Sepoys. Killed, 6 rank and file. Wounded, Ensign G. Haddon, 1 serjeant, 2 jemidars, 2 packallies, and 36 rank and file.

18th battalion of Sepoys. Killed 4 rank and file. Wounded, 1 subedar, 2 jemidars, 3 packallies, and 47 rank and file. Missing, 2 rank and file.

20th battalion of Sepoys. Killed, Ensign S. Powell, and 6 rank and file. Wounded, 1 jemidar, 2 drummers, and 12 rank and file.

21st battalion of Sepoys. Wounded 2 rank and file.

Total of killed, wounded, and missing, 962.

N. B. Of the European grenadiers, King's and Company, consisting of 5 Captains, 17 subalterns, and 336 non-commissioned rank and file, under the command of the Hon. Lieut. Col. Cathcart, and included above in their respective regiments.

Officers. Non-commissioned rank and file.		
Killed	- 4	36
Wounded	- 8	100
Missing	- 0	6
Total	- 12	142

June 25.
Return of the killed, wounded, and missing, in the repulse of the enemy, in their attack on the retrinchments, on the morning of the 25th of June, 1783. Camp, South of Cuddalore, June 25, 1783.

His Majesty's Troops.

1st battalion, 73d regiment. 1 rank and file wounded.

Detachments of the 15th and 16th Hanoverians in one regiment. 1 rank and file killed.

Bengal Troops.

24th regiment Sepoys. Lieutenant Granber, 1 jemidar, 1 drummer, 8 rank and file, killed. Captain Williamson, 1 subedar, 3 jemidars, 18 rank and file, wounded. Lieutenant Ochterloney, wounded and prisoner.

Coast Troops.

Major Cotgrove, commanding the 4th brigade, killed.

Artillery. 1 rank and file killed; 1 rank and file wounded.

5th battalion Sepoys. 10 rank and file wounded.

GENERAL ABSTRACT.

Officers. Non commissioned rank and file.	
His Majesty's troops, killed	1
Ditto wounded	2
Company's troops, Europeans, killed	1
Ditto wounded	1
Natives killed	9
Ditto wounded	30
Total	44

J. Richardson, D. Adj. Gen.

[The same Gazette contained General Stuart's General Orders of Thanks to the Army for their gallant Behaviour in the aforesaid Actions.]

From the LONDON GAZETTE, Jan. 13, Admiralty-Office, Jan. 12, 1784.

Extract of a duplicate of a letter from Vice-Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, Knight of the Bath, and Commander in Chief of his Majesty's ships and vessels in the East-Indies, to Mr. Stephens, received on Friday last, by Captain Erasmus Gower, of his Majesty's ship Medea; the original of which is on board the Pondicherry armed transport, not yet arrived.

Superb, in Madras Road, July 25, 1783.

My last address to you, for their Lordships information, was dated the 19th of March, of this year, from Bombay. By it I signified my intention to proceed to sea with the ships of his Majesty's squadron under my command, and I sailed accordingly the day following.

On the 8th of April, off the Bassas, I was joined by Captain Troubridge, in his Majesty's

jeity's ship Active, who had been cruising for a month off the Friar's Hood by my orders, and had seen nothing of the enemy's squadron during that time.

In the night of the 10th, a grab ship of the enemy's, that had been taken from the English, fell into the squadron and was captured. By the officers, prisoners, taken in this ship, I learned the whole of the enemy's squadron, under the command of Monf. Suffren, was in Trincomale harbour, except two of their best sailing line of battle ships, and two frigates, which were cruising off Madras to block up that port, and intercept all supplies bound to it; I therefore immediately steered with the squadron for that place, and anchored in the road on the 13th of April, but saw nothing of the French cruisers; however, as they had been in sight of the place only the day before, I directed the ships named in the margin*, under the orders of Captain Mitchell, of the Sultan, to proceed to sea, and use all possible diligence to intercept them; and, on the day following, Capt. Graves, of his Majesty's ship Sceptre, whose signal had been made to chase a strange sail, on the 11th joined me with the Naiade, a French frigate of 30 guns, and 160 men, which he had come up with in the night and captured.

On the 16th of April, Captain Burney, of his Majesty's ship Bristol, with his convoy from England, arrived in this road, escorted by the ships under the orders of Captain Mitchell, of the Sultan, who had seen nothing of the enemy's cruisers, but fell in with the Bristol and her convoy at sea.

On the 19th of April, the Company's ship Duke of Athol made the signal of distress, and the boats of the squadron being ordered by signal to her assistance, she unfortunately blew up, by which unhappy accident the squadron lost † six commissioned and four warrant officers, and 107 of our best seamen.

From the day of the squadron's arrival in this Road, all possible diligence had been used to complete the ships water, in doing which great delays and frequent disappointments arose from the want of a sufficient number of shore boats, and the high surf on the beach. However, I put to sea on the 2d of May with his Majesty's ships to seek the enemy's squadron, and, if possible, intercept their expected reinforcements, although the water of many of the ships was by no means complete, having left in the Road his Majesty's three storeships Pondicherry, Harriot, and Minerva, to lade military stores and provisions for the service of the army then about to march for the attack of Cuddalore, where the Marquis de Bussy with

the greater part of the French land forces, was posted; and to cover and protect these store-ships, as well as some other ships and vessels employed for the same purpose, from the enemy's cruisers, I left in the road, at the request of the Select Committee of this Presidency, his Majesty's ships and vessels as per margin †, under the command of Captain Haliday, of his Majesty's ship Isis.

On the 15th of May, when off Cuddalore, I spoke two Portuguese ships from Trincomale, who informed me Monf. Suffren, with his whole force was there, sitting for sea with all possible expedition, to come to the relief of Cuddalore. From that time I continued working to windward with the squadron along shore, lest the enemy's squadron should pass in shore of me, and fall on the store-ships and their covering party, then at anchor near to Cuddalore.

On the 25th of May I came off Trincomale, and reconnoitred the position of the enemy's squadron, which I did not think by any means eligible to attack at anchor, under cover of their gun and mortar batteries, and therefore stood to the southward, to intercept any reinforcement or supplies that might be coming to them, at the same time watching their motions by the frigates of the squadron, and keeping within a proper distance of the place, lest they should put to sea in the night, and fall down on the covering ships and store ships off Cuddalore.

On the 1st of June two English seamen in a boat escaped from the French squadron, and brought certain intelligence, that the Fendant, of 74 guns, with two frigates and two store-ships, had slipped out of Trincomale Bay; the store-ships I concluded carried stores for the French garrison of Cuddalore, and the Fendant and two frigates destined to cover and protect them; and being apprehensive they might attack our covering ships and store-ships off Cuddalore, I bore away on the 2d of June for the Coast, and on the 3d had sight of the Fendant and two frigates, whom I chased till night, when I lost sight of them.

I continued cruising with the squadron to the Southward of Cuddalore till the 9th of June, when I anchored in Porto Novo Road, about seven leagues to the Southward of that place, partly to cover our own ships in Cuddalore Road, and engage the enemy's squadron before they could anchor there, and partly to endeavour to get a supply of water, of which many ships began to be in want; but, after exerting ourselves to the utmost, no water could be obtained either at Porto Novo or Tranquebar; at the first place the enemy's troops

* Sultan, Burford, Africa, Eagle, and Active.

† The names of the commissioned officers are as follow, those of the warrant officers are not yet known, viz. Lieutenants Charles Egan, of the Superb; Neal Morrison, of the Eagle; Thomas Wilson, of the Sceptre; James Thompson, of the Juno; — Pringle, of the Active; Alexander Allen, of the Sea-horse.

‡ Isis, Active, San Carlos, Naiade, Chaser, Pondicherry, Minerva, and Harriot.

were in possession of both Banks of the river, at the other the wells were dried up.

On the 13th of June the enemy's squadron, under the command of Mons. Suffrein, came to fight to the Southward, consisting of fifteen ships of the line, three frigates, and a fireship; and the same day I weighed with his Majesty's squadron, and dropped down to about five miles distance off Cuddalore, and there anchored: the French squadron anchored off the Coleroon River, about seven or eight leagues to the Southward of our's.

On the 17th the French squadron being under sail, and bearing down, I made the signal, and weighed with his Majesty's squadron, and formed the line of battle a-head to receive the enemy; in the evening they hauled the wind, and stood to the southward, and I followed them with his Majesty's squadron: from this time to the 20th I was continually employed in endeavouring to get the wind of the enemy, which, however, I was never able to effect, from the extraordinary variability of the winds, that often brought part of the two squadrons within a random shot of each other. On the 20th, the enemy still having the wind, shewed a disposition to engage, when I immediately formed the line of battle a-head, and brought-to to receive them: At four minutes past four, P. M. the van ship of the enemy, having first tried her distance by a single shot, when scarce within point blank shot distance, the enemy's squadron began their fire on his Majesty's, which, at twenty minutes after was returned, and a heavy canonade ensued on both sides, the enemy still keeping up their first distance; the canonade continued till seven, P. M. when the enemy hauled off: At daylight I made the signal and wore with the squadron, and brought-to to repair the damages, with the ships heads towards the land; several of the ships much disabled in their hulls, masts, and rigging, the Gibraltar and Isis in particular; the enemy's squadron not in sight.

In the morning of the 22d I saw the French squadron at anchor in Pondicherry Road, bearing S. S. W. directly to windward of his Majesty's squadron, and some of them getting under weigh; and I made what sail I could towards them, and anchored the same night off the ruins of Alemparvo, the more effectually to stop shot holes, and repair the damages sustained.

I beg you will be pleased to inform their Lordships, that so early as the 8th of June, the scurvy began to make a rapid progress among the crews of all the ships of the squadron, but particularly on board the ships last arrived from England, under the orders of Commodore Sir Richard Bickerton, Bart.

The number of sick on board the line of battle ships, amounted on that day to 1121 men, 605 of whom being in the last stage of the scurvy, I was under the necessity of sending on the day following to the naval hospital at this place, in his Majesty's ships Bristol and San Carlos.

From that time to the 22d, the disease increased the numbers of the sick daily, so as most of the ships of the line had from 70 to 90 men, and the ships last from England double that number, very many in the last stage of the disease, and unable to come to quarters, dying daily. Under these circumstances, and the water of most of the ships being expended, except a few casks in their ground tiers, and none to be obtained to the Southward, I determined to return to this road, there to land the sick and wounded, and complete the water of the squadron for further service; and on the 23d of June I weighed with the squadron, and arrived in this road in the afternoon of the 25th.

On my arrival there, I received authentic (altho' not official) intelligence, that the preliminary Articles of Peace between Great Britain, France, Spain, and America, had been signed and ratified, as well as a cessation from hostilities agreed on between Great Britain and the States General of the United Provinces, of which information the Select Committee of this presidency were also in possession; and being summoned the same day to a consultation with the Select Committee, to take into consideration these circumstances, I concurred with the other Members of the Committee, that it would be proper and was necessary to communicate to the Commanders in Chief of the sea and land forces of the French King at Cuddalore, the information we had received, together with the grounds on which we believed it to be true and authentic; and on the 27th of June I dispatched his Majesty's ship Medea, as a flag of truce, with letters to M. Suffrein and the Marquis de Buffy.

On the 4th of July the Medea returned to this road, with answers from Mons. Suffrein and the Marquis De Buffy to my letters of the 27th of June, by which they concurred in a cessation of hostilities by sea and land, as well as an immediate release and return of prisoners on both sides; in consequence, I have received all the prisoners belonging to the squadron in Mons. Suffrein's power, amounting to about 200, and have returned all those made prisoners in French ships, amounting to about 300. Mons. Suffrein informs me by letter, he has also sent to the Mauritius for such English prisoners as have been sent thither, and will return them.

I have judged it necessary to send for their Lordships information, the list of the ships of his Majesty's squadron under my command, on the 20th of last month, and a list of the French ships opposed to me under the command of Mons. Suffrein.

Rich. King, Esq. Commodore of the Red. Guns.

74 Hero,	} Com. Rich. King } Capt. Jones
74 Cumberland,	
64 Monmouth,	
64 Eagle,	
64 Magnanise,	
	Allen
	Alms
	Clark
	Mackenzie
	50 Britol,

GUNS
50 Bristol, Burney
Frigates, Chafer, San Carlos, Pondicherry,
Harriot.
Sir Edward Hughes, K. B. Vice Admiral of
the Blue.

74 Superb, } Sir E. Hughes
} Capt. Newcome
74 Sultan, Mitchell
70 Burford, Rainier
68 Monarca, Gell
64 Sceptre, Graves
64 Africa, M'Donall
64 Worcester, C. Hughes
Frigates, Combustion, Medea, Lizard, Juno
and Seahorse, to repeat signals.
Sir Richard Bickerton, Bart. Commodore of
the White.

80 Gibraltar, } Sir R. Bickerton
} Capt. Hicks
74 Defence, Newnham
64 Exeter, S. Smith
64 Inflexible, Chetwynd
50 Isis, Haliday

A list of the French Squadron in the Engage-
ment with the British Squadron in the East-Ind-
ies, on the 20th of June, 1783.

SHIPS.	No. of GUNS.
L' Héros,	74
Le Fendant,	74
L' Hannibal,	74
L' Illustre,	74
L' Argonaute,	74
Le Sphinx	64
Le Vengeur,	64
L' Artisien,	64
L' Ajax,	64
Le Severe	64
Le Brilliant	64
L' Hardie	64
Le St. Michael,	60
Le Flamand,	50

Le Petit Hannibal 50
Le Cleopatra, 36
L' Apollon, 40
Le Coventry 28

E. D. HUGHES.

Abstract of the Officers, Seamen, and Ma-
rines, killed and wounded, on board His Ma-
jesty's ships in the action of the 20th of June,
1783.

SHIPS.	KILLED.	WOUNDED.
Superb,	12	41
Hero,	5	21
Gibraltar,	6	40
Monmouth,	2	19
Cumberland,	2	11
Monarca,	6	14
Magnanime,	1	16
Sceptre	17	47
Sultan	4	20
Burford,	10	20
Defence,	7	38
Inflexible,	3	30
Africa,	5	25
Worcester,	8	32
Eagle,	4	8
Exeter,	4	9
Bristol,	4	10
Isis,	3	30

Total 99

Officers killed.

Lieut. Robert Travers of the Monarca.
Lieut. James Dow, Sultan
Lieut. John Lett, Defence
Mr. Parker, Master, Ditto

Officers wounded.

Lieut. Middlemore, of the Hero
2d Lieut. Thompson of Marines Ditto
Lieut. Watton, Sceptre
Mr. Stone, Master, Sultan
Mr. Hunter, Boatswain, Defence
Mr. Sinclair, Boatswain, Worcester

* * On Account of the extraordinary Length of the Gazettes, we are obliged to defer
the List of Promotions, Births, Marriages, and Deaths, &c. to our next Number.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The Letter signed *Belisarius*, is under Consideration.

Aretine's Dissertation is too indecent for our Collection.

Bob Short is not *pitby* enough to deserve a place.

C. L's Letter, *Arifides*, and the *Matrimonial Creed*, will appear in our next.



As nothing of any Importance has been produced at the Theatres this Month, we have
deferred our Account of the Drama, to make room for more interesting matter.

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