Sketches Of The History Of Man

In Two Volumes

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Sketch VII. Progress of Manners.

SKETCH VII.

Progreſs of MANNERS.

THere are peculiarities in the appearance, in the expreſſions, in the actions, of ſome perſons, which, in oppoſition to the manners of the generality, are termed *their manners*. Such peculiarities in the bulk of a nation, by which it differs from other nations, or from itſelf at different periods, are termed *the manners of that nation*. Manners therefore ſignify a mode of behaviour peculiar to a certain perſon, or to a certain nation. The term is not applied to mankind in general; except perhaps in contradiſtinction to other beings.

Manners are diſtinguiſhed from morals; but in what reſpect has not been clearly explained. Do not the ſame actions relate to both? Certainly; but in different reſpects: an action conſidered as right or wrong, belongs to morals; conſidered as characteriſtical of a perſon, or of a people, it belongs to manners.

Manners peculiar to certain tribes and to certain governments, fall under other branches of this work. The intention of the preſent ſketch is, to trace out the manners of nations, in the different ſtages of their progreſs, from infancy to maturity. I am far from regretting, that manners produced by climate, by ſoil, and by other permanent cauſes, fall not under my plan: I ſhould indeed

deed make but a poor figure upon a ſubject that has been learnedly diſcuſſed by the greateſt genius of the preſent age (*a*).

I begin with external appearance, being the firſt thing that draws attention. The human countenance hath a greater variety of expreſſions than that of any other animal; and ſome perſons differ widely from the generality in theſe expreſſions. The ſame variety is obſervable in human geſtures; and the ſame peculiarity in particular perſons, ſo as to be known by their manner of walking, or even by ſo ſlight an action as that of putting on or taking off a hat: ſome men are known even by the ſound of their feet. Whole nations are diſtinguiſhable by the ſame peculiarities. And yet there is leſs variety in looks and geſtures, than the different tones of mind would produce, were men left to the impulſes of pure nature: man, an imitative animal, is prone to copy others; and by imitation, external behaviour is nearly uniform among thoſe who ſtudy to be agreeable; witneſs people of faſhion in France. I am acquainted with a blind man, who, without moving his feet, is conſtantly balancing from ſide to ſide, excited probably by ſome internal impulſe. Had he been endowed with eyeſight, he would have imitated the manners of others. I reſt upon theſe outlines: to enter fully into the ſubject would be an endleſs work; diſproportioned at any rate to the narrowneſs of my plan.

Dreſs muſt not be omitted, becauſe it enters into external appearance. Providence hath clothed all animals that are unable to clothe themſelves. Man can clothe himſelf; and he is endowed beſide with an appetite for dreſs, no leſs natural than an appetite for food. That appetite is proportioned in degree to its uſe: in cold climates it is vigorous; in hot climates, extremely faint.

(*a*) Monteſquieu.

Savages muſt go naked till they learn to cover themſelves; and they ſoon learn where covering is neceſſary. The Patagonians, who go naked in a bitter-cold climate, muſt be woefully ſtupid. And the Picts, a Scotch tribe, who, it is ſaid, continued naked down to the time of Severus, did not probably much ſurpaſs the Patagonians in the talent of invention.

Modeſty is another cauſe for clothing: few ſavages expoſe the whole of the body without covering. It gives no high idea of Grecian modeſty, that at the Olympic games people wreſtled and run races ſtark naked.

There is a third cauſe for clothing, which is, the pleaſure it affords. A fine woman, ſeen naked once in her life, is a deſirable object; deſire being inflamed by novelty. But let her go naked for a month; how much more charming will ſhe appear, when dreſſed with propriety and elegance! Cloathing is ſo eſſential to health, that to be leſs agreeable than nakedneſs would argue an incongruity in our nature. Savages probably at firſt thought of cloathing as a protection only againſt the weather; but they ſoon diſcovered a beauty in dreſs: men led the way, and women followed. Such ſavages as go naked, paint their bodies, excited by the ſame fondneſs for ornament, that our women ſhew in their party-coloured garments. Among the Jews, the men wore earrings as well as the women (*a*). When Media was governed by its own kings, the men were ſumptuous in dreſs: they wore looſe robes, floating in the air; had long hair covered with a rich bonnet, bracelets, chains of gold, and precious ſtones: they painted their faces, and mixed artificial hair with that of nature. As authors are ſilent about the women, they probably made no figure in that kingdom, being ſhut up, as at preſent, in ſeraglios. Very

(*a*) Exod. xxxii. 2.

different

different was the caſe of Athenian ladies, after polygamy was baniſhed from Greece. They conſumed the whole morning at the toilette; employing paint, and every drug for cleaning and whitening the ſkin: they laid red even upon their lips, and took great care of their teeth: their hair, made up in buckles with a hot iron, was perfumed and ſpread upon the ſhoulders: their dreſs was elegant, and artfully contrived to ſet off a fine ſhape. Such is the influence of appetite for dreſs: vanity could not be the ſole motive, as Athenian ladies were never ſeen in public. We learn from St Gregory, that women in his time dreſſed their heads extremely high; environing them with many treſſes of falſe hair, diſpoſed in knots and buckles, ſo as to reſemble a regular fortification. Joſephus reports, that the Jewiſh ladies powdered their hair with gold duſt; a faſhion that was carried from Aſia to Rome. The firſt writer who mentions white powder for the hair, the ſame we uſe at preſent, is L'Etoile, in his journal for the year 1593. He relates, that nuns walked the ſtreets of Paris curled and powdered. That faſhion ſpread by degrees through Europe. For many years after the civil wars in France, it was the faſhion in Paris to wear boots and ſpurs with a long ſword: a gentleman was not in full dreſs without theſe accoutrements. The ſword continues an article of dreſs, tho' it diſtinguiſhes not a gentleman from his valet. To ſhow that a taſte for dreſs and ornament is deeply rooted in human nature, ſavages diſplay that taſte upon the body, having no covering to diſplay it upon. Seldom is a child left to nature: it is deprived of a teſticle, a finger, a tooth; or its ſkin is engraved with figures.

Cloathing hath no ſlight influence, even with reſpect to morals. I venture to affirm, at the hazard of being thought paradoxical, that nakedneſs is more friendly to chaſtity than covering. Adultery is unknown among ſavages, even in hot climates where they have ſcarce any covering. A woman dreſſed with taſte is a more

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desirable object than one who always goes naked. Dress beside gives play to the imagination, which pictures to itself many secret beauties, that vanish when rendered familiar by sight: if a lady accidentally discover half a leg, imagination is instantly inflamed, tho' an actress appearing in breeches is beheld with indifference: a naked Venus makes not such an impression, as when a garter only is discovered. In Sparta, men and women lived together without any reserve: public baths were common to both; and in certain games they danced and combated together naked as when born. In a later period, the Spartan dames were much corrupted; occasioned, as authors say, by a shameful freedom of intercourse between the sexes. But remark, that corruption was not confined to the female sex, men having degenerated as much from their original manhood as women from their original chastity; and I have no difficulty to maintain, that gold and silver, admitted contrary to the laws of Lycurgus, were what corrupted both sexes. Opulence could not fail to have the same effect there that it has every where; which is to excite luxury and sensuality. The Spartans accordingly, shaking off austerity of manners, abandoned themselves to pleasure: the most expensive furniture, the softest beds, superb tapestry, precious vases, exquisite wines, delicious viands, were not now too delicate for an effeminate Spartan, once illustrious for every manly virtue. Lycurgus understood human nature better than the writers do who carp at him. It was his intention, to make his countrymen soldiers, not whining lovers: and he justly thought, that familiar intercourse between the sexes would confine their appetites within the bounds of nature; an useful lesson to women of fashion in our days, who expose their nakedness in order to attract and enflame lovers. What justifies this reasoning is, the ascendant that Spartan dames had over their husbands while the laws of Lycurgus were in vigour: they in effect ruled the state as well as their own families. Such a-

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ſcendant cannot be obtained nor preſerved but by ſtrict virtue: a woman of looſe manners may be the object of looſe deſire; but ſeldom will ſhe gain an aſcendant over any man, and never over her huſband. Among no people was there more freedom of intercourſe than among the ancient Germans: males and females ſlept promiſcuouſly round the walls of their houſes; and yet we never read of an attempt upon a married woman. The ſame holds true of the Scotch highlanders.

Cleanlineſs is an article in external appearance. Whether it be inherent in the nature of man, or only a refinement of poliſhed nations, may at firſt ſight appear doubtful. What pleads for the former is, that cleanlineſs is remarkable in ſeveral nations that have made little progreſs in the arts of life. The ſavages of the Caribbee iſlands, once a numerous tribe, were remarked by writers as neat and cleanly. In the iſland Otaheite, or King George's iſland, both ſexes are cleanly: they bathe frequently, never eat nor drink without waſhing before and after, and their garments as well as their perſons are kept free of ſpot or blemiſh. Ammianus Marcellinus, deſcribing the Gauls, ſays, that they were cleanly; and that even the pooreſt women were never ſeen with dirty garments. The negroes, particularly thoſe of Ardrah in the ſlave-coaſt, have a ſcrupulous regard to cleanlineſs. They waſh morning and evening, and perfume themſelves with aromatic herbs. In the city of Benin, in Guinea, women are employ'd to keep the ſtreets clean; and in that reſpect they are not outdone by the Dutch. In Corea, people mourn three years for the death of their parents; during which time they never waſh. Dirtineſs muſt appear diſmal to that people, as to us *. But inſtances are

* Many animals are remarkable for cleanlineſs. Beavers are ſo, and ſo are cats. This muſt be natural. Tho' a taſte for cleanlineſs is not remarkable in dogs, yet like men they learn to be cleanly.

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no leſs numerous that favour the other ſide of the queſtion. Amminianus Marcellinus reports of the Huns, that they wore the ſame coat till it fell to pieces with dirt and rottenneſs. Plan Carpin, who viſited the Tartars anno 1246, ſays, "That they never "waſh face nor hands; that they never clean a diſh, a pot, nor "a garment; that, like ſwine, they make food of every thing, not "excepting the vermin that crawl on them." The preſent people of Kamſkatka anſwer to that deſcription in every article. The naſtineſs of North-American ſavages, in their food, in their cabins, and in their garments, paſſes all conception. As they never change their garments till they fall to rags, nor ever think of waſhing them, they are eat up with vermin. The Eſquimaux and many other tribes are equally naſty.

As cleanneſs requires attention and induſtry, the cleanlineſs of ſome ſavages muſt be the work of nature; and the dirtineſs of others muſt proceed from indolence counteracting nature. In fact, cleanlineſs is agreeable to all; and naſtineſs diſagreeable: no perſon prefers dirt; and even thoſe who are the moſt accuſtomed to it, are pleaſed with a cleanly appearance in others. It is true, that a taſte for cleanneſs, like that for order, for ſymmetry, for congruity, is extremely faint during its infancy among ſavages. Its ſtrongeſt antagoniſt is indolence, which ſavages indulge to exceſs: the great fatigue they undergo in hunting, makes them fond of eaſe at home; and dirtineſs, when once habitual, is not eaſily conquered. But cleanlineſs improves gradually with manners, and makes a figure in every induſtrious nation. Nor is a taſte for cleanneſs beſtow'd on man in vain: its final cauſe is conſpicuous, cleanneſs being extremely wholeſome, and naſtineſs no leſs unwholeſome *.

Thus

* The plague, peſtilential fevers, and other putrid diſeaſes, were more frequent in

Thus it appears, that a taſte for cleanneſs is inherent in our nature. I ſay more: cleanlineſs is evidently a branch of propriety, and conſequently a ſelf-duty. The performance is rewarded with approbation; and the neglect is puniſhed with contempt (*a*).

A taſte for cleanneſs is not equally diſtributed among all men; nor indeed is any branch of the moral ſenſe equally diſtributed: and if by nature one perſon be more cleanly than another, a whole nation may be ſo. I judge that to be the caſe of the Japaneſe, ſo finically clean as to find fault even with the Dutch for dirtineſs. Their inns are not an exception, nor their little houſes, in which water is always at hand for waſhing after the operation. I judged it to be alſo the caſe of the Engliſh, who, high and low, rich and poor, are remarkable for cleanlineſs all the world over; and I have often amuſed myſelf with ſo ſingular a reſemblance between iſlanders, removed at the greateſt diſtance from each other. But I was forc'd to abandon the reſemblance, upon a diſcovery that the Engliſh have not always been ſo cleanly as at preſent. Many centuries ago, as

in Europe formerly than at preſent; eſpecially in great cities, where multitudes were crowded together in ſmall houſes, and narrow ſtreets. Paris, in the days of Henry IV. occupied not the third part of its preſent ſpace, and yet contained nearly the ſame number of inhabitants; and in London the houſes are much larger, and the ſtreets wider, than before the great fire, 1666. There is alſo a remarkable alteration in point of diet. Formerly, people of rank lived on ſalt meat the greater part of the year: at preſent, freſh meat is common all the year round. Pot-herbs and roots are now a conſiderable article of food: about London in particular the conſumption at the Revolution was not the ſixth part of what it is now. Add the great conſumption of tea and ſugar, which I am told by phyſicians to be no inconſiderable antiſeptics. But the chief cauſe of all is cleanlineſs, which is growing more and more univerſal, eſpecially in the city of London. In Conſtantinople, putrid diſeaſes reign as much as ever; not from unhealthineſs in the climate, but from the narrowneſs and naſtineſs of the ſtreets.

(*a*) Elements of Criticiſm, chap. 10.

recorded in monkiſh hiſtory, one cauſe of the averſion the Engliſh had to the Danes, was their cleanlineſs: they combed their hair, and put on a clean ſhirt once a-week. And the celebrated Eraſmus, who viſited England in the reign of Henry VIII. complains of the naſtineſs and ſlovenly habits of its people; aſcribing to that cauſe the frequent plagues which at that time infeſted them. "Their "floors," ſays he, "are commonly of clay ſtrewed with ruſhes, "under which lies unmoleſted a collection of beer, greaſe, frag- "ments, bones, ſpittle, excrements of dogs and cats, and of every "thing that is nauſeous (*a*)." A change ſo extraordinary in the taſte and manners of the Engliſh, rouſes our curioſity; and I flatter myſelf that the following cauſe will be ſatisfactory. A ſavage, remarkably indolent at home, tho' not inſenſible of his dirtineſs, cannot rouſe up activity ſufficient to attempt a ſerious purgation; and would be at a loſs where to begin. The induſtrious, on the contrary, are improved in neatneſs and propriety by the art or manufacture that conſtantly employs them: they are never reduced to purge the ſtable of Augeas; for being prone to action, they ſuffer not dirt to reſt unmoleſted. Induſtrious nations accordingly, all the world over, are the moſt cleanly. Arts and induſtry had long flouriſhed in Holland, where Eraſmus was born and educated: the people were clean above all their neighbours, becauſe they were induſtrious above all their neighbours; and upon that account the dirtineſs of England could not fail to ſtrike a Hollander. At the period mentioned, induſtry was as great a ſtranger to England as cleanlineſs: from which conſideration, may it not fairly be inferred, that the Engliſh are indebted for their cleanlineſs to the great progreſs of induſtry among them in later times? If this inference hold, it places induſtry in an amiable light. The Spaniards, who

(*a*) Epiſt. 432.

are

are indolent to a degree, are to this day as dirty as the Engliſh were formerly. Madrid, their capital, is nauſeouſly naſty: heaps of unmoleſted dirt in every ſtreet raiſe in that warm climate a peſtiferous ſteam, which threatens to knock down every ſtranger. A purgation was lately ſet on foot by royal authority. But people habituated to dirt are not eaſily reclaimed: to promote induſtry is the only effectual remedy *. The naſtineſs of the ſtreets of Liſbon before the late earthquake was intolerable; and ſo is at preſent the naſtineſs of the ſtreets of Cadiz.

Tho' induſtry be the chief promoter of cleanlineſs, yet it is ſeldom left to operate alone: other cauſes mix, ſome to accelerate the progreſs, ſome to retard it. The moiſture of the Dutch climate has a conſiderable influence in promoting cleanlineſs; and joined with induſtry produces a ſurpriſing neatneſs and cleanlineſs among people of buſineſs: men of figure and faſhion, who generally reſort to the Hague, the ſeat of government, are not ſo cleanly. On the other hand, the French are leſs cleanly than the Engliſh, tho' not leſs induſtrious. But the lower claſſes of people, being in England more at their eaſe than in France, have a greater taſte for living well, and in particular for keeping themſelves clean.

A beard gives to the countenance a rough and fierce air, ſuited to the manners of a rough and fierce people. The ſame face without

* Till the year 1760, there was not a privy in Madrid, tho' it is plentifully ſupplied with water. The ordure, during night, was thrown from the windows into the ſtreet, where it was gathered into heaps. By a royal proclamation, privies were ordered to be built. The inhabitants, tho' long accuſtomed to an arbitrary government, reſented this proclamation as an infringement of the common rights of mankind, and ſtruggled vigorouſly againſt it. The phyſicians were the moſt violent oppoſers: they remonſtrated, that if the filth was not thrown into the ſtreets, a fatal ſickneſs would enſue; becauſe the putrefcent particles of air, which the filth attracted, would be imbibed by the human body.

a beard appears milder; for which reaſon, a beard becomes unfaſhionable in a poliſhed nation. Demoſthenes the orator lived in the ſame period with Alexander the Great, at which time the Greeks begun to leave off beards. A buſt however of that orator, found in Herculaneum, has a beard; which muſt either have been done for him when he was young, or from reluctance in an old man to a new faſhion. Barbers were brought to Rome from Sicily in the 454th year after the building of Rome. And it muſt relate to the time following that period, what Aulus Gellius ſays (*a*), that people accuſed of any crime were prohibited to ſhave their beards till they were abſolved. From Hadrian, downward, the Roman Emperors wore beards. Julius Capitolinus reproaches the Emperor Verus for cutting his beard, at the inſtigation of a concubine. All the Roman generals wore beards in Juſtinian's time (*b*). When the Pope ſhaved his beard, it was reckoned a manifeſt apoſtaſy by the Greek church; becauſe Moſes and Jeſus Chriſt were always drawn with beards by the Greek and Latin painters. Upon the dawn of ſmooth manners in France, the beaus cut their beards into ſhapes, and curled their whiſkers. That faſhion produced a whimſical effect, viz. that men of gravity left off beards altogether: a beard in its natural ſhape was too fierce, even for them; and they could not for ſhame copy after the beaus.

Language, when brought to any perfection among a poliſhed people, may juſtly be conſidered as one of the fine arts; and in that view is handled above. But it belongs to the preſent ſketch, conſidered as a branch of external behaviour. Every part of external behaviour is influenced by temper and diſpoſition, and

(*a*) Lib. 3. cap. 4.

(*b*) Procopii Hiſtoria Vandalica, lib. 2.

language

language more than any other part. In Elements of Criticiſm (*a*) it is obſerved, that an emotion in many inſtances bears a reſemblance to its cauſe. The like holds univerſally in all the natural ſounds prompted by paſſion. Let a paſſion be bold, rough, cheerful, tender, or humble, ſtill it holds, that the natural ſound prompted by it is in the ſame tone: and hence the reaſon why theſe natural ſounds are the ſame in all languages. Some ſlight reſemblance of the ſame kind is diſcoverable in many artificial ſounds. The language of a ſavage is harſh; of polite people, ſmooth; and of women, ſoft and muſical. The tongues of ſavage nations abound in gutturals, or in naſals: yet one would imagine that ſuch words, pronounced with difficulty, would be avoided by ſavages, as they are by children. But temper prevails, and ſuggeſts to ſavages harſh ſounds, conformable to their roughneſs and cruelty. The Eſquimaux have a language compoſed of the harſheſt gutturals; and the tongues of the northern European nations are not remarkably more ſmooth. The Scotch peaſants are a frank and plain people; and their dialect is in the tone of their character. The Huron tongue hath ſtatelineſs and energy above moſt known languages; and the Hurons ſtill retain a certain elevation of mind, which is more conformable to the majeſty of their diſcourſe, than to their preſent low condition. Thus the manners of a people may in ſome meaſure be gathered from their language. Nay manners may frequently be gathered from ſingle words. The Hebrew word LECHOM ſignifies both *food* and *fighting*; and TEREPH ſignifies both *food* and *plunder*. KARAB ſignifies *to draw near to one*, and ſignifies alſo *to fight*. The Greek word LEIA, which ſignified originally *ſpoil procured by war or piracy*, came to ſignify *wealth*. And the great variety of Greek words

(*a*) Chap. 2. part 6.

ſignifying

ſignifying *good* and *better*, ſignified originally *ſtrong* and *violent*.

Government, according to its different kinds, hath conſiderable influence in forming the tone of a language. Language in a democracy is commonly rough and coarſe; in a republic, manly and plain; in a monarchy, courteous and inſinuating; in deſpotiſm, imperious with reſpect to inferiors, and humble with reſpect to ſuperiors. The government of the Greek empire is well repreſented in Juſtinian's edicts, termed *Novellæ Conſtitutiones*, the ſtyle of which is ſtiff, formal, and affectedly ſtately; but deſtitute of order, of force, and of ligament. About three centuries ago, Tuſcany was filled with ſmall republics, who ſpoke a dialect manly and plain. Its rough tones were purged off when united under the Great Duke of Tuſcany; by which means the Tuſcan dialect has arrived nearer to perfection than any other in Italy. The tone of the French language is well ſuited to the nature of its government: every man is politely ſubmiſſive to thoſe above him; and this tone forms the character of the language in general, ſo as even to regulate the tone of the few who have occaſion to ſpeak with authority. The freedom of the Engliſh government forms the manners of the people: the Engliſh language is accordingly more manly and nervous than the French, and abounds more with rough ſounds. The Lacedemonians of old, a proud and auſtere people, affected to talk with brevity, in the tone of command more than of advice; and hence the Laconic ſtyle, dry but maſculine. The Attic ſtyle is more difficult to be accounted for: it was ſweet and copious; and had a remarkable delicacy above the ſtyle of any other nation. And yet the democracy of Athens produced rough manners; witneſs the comedies of Ariſtophanes, and the orations of Eſchines and Demoſthenes. We are not ſo well acquainted with the Athenians as to account for the difference between their language and their manners:

manners: and are equally at a loſs about the Ruſſian tongue, which, notwithſtanding the barbarity of the people, is ſmooth and ſonorous. All that can be ſaid is, that the operation of a general cauſe may be diſturbed by particular circumſtances. Languages reſemble the tides: the influence of the moon, which is the general cauſe of tides, is in ſeveral inſtances overbalanced by particular cauſes acting in oppoſition.

There may be obſerved in ſome ſavage tribes, a certain refinement of language that might do honour to a poliſhed people. The Canadians never give a man his proper name, in ſpeaking to him. If he be a relation, he is addreſſed to in that quality: if a ſtranger, the ſpeaker gives him ſome appellation that marks affection; ſuch as, brother, couſin, friend.

From ſpeech we advance to action. Man is naturally prone to motion; witneſs children, who are never at reſt but when aſleep. Where reaſon governs, a man reſtrains that reſtleſs diſpoſition, and never acts without a motive. Savages have few motives to action when the belly is full: their huts require little induſtry; and their covering of ſkins, ſtill leſs. Hunting and fiſhing employ all their activity. After much fatigue in hunting, reſt is ſweet; which the ſavage prolongs, having no motive to action till the time of hunting returns. Savages accordingly, like dogs, are extremely active in the field, and extremely indolent at home *. The ſavages

* Quotiens bella non ineunt, non multum venatibus; plus per otium tranſigunt, dediti ſomno, ciboque. Fortiſſimus quiſque ac bellicoſiſſimus nihil agens, delegata domus et penatium et agrorum cura feminis ſenibuſque, et infirmiſſimo cuique ex familia, ipſi hebent; mira diverſitate naturæ, cum iidem homines ſic ament inertiam, et oderint quietem. *Tacitus, De moribus Germanorum, cap.* 15. — [*In Engliſh thus:* " While not engaged in war, they do not often ſpend their time in " hunting, but chiefly in indolence, minding nothing but their ſleep and food. " The braveſt and moſt warlike among them, having nothing to do, paſs the time " in

ges of the torrid zone are indolent above all others: they go naked; their huts coſt them no trouble; and they never hunt except for vegetables, which are their only food. The Spaniards who firſt landed in Hiſpaniola, were ſurpriſed at the manners of the inhabitants. They are deſcribed as lazy, and without ambition; paſſing part of their time in eating and dancing, and the reſt in ſleep; having no great ſhare of memory, and ſtill leſs of underſtanding. The character given of theſe ſavages belongs to all, eſpecially to ſavages in hot climates. The imperfection of their memory and judgement is occaſioned by want of employment. The ſame imperfection was remarkable in the people of Paraguay, when under Jeſuit government; of which afterward (*a*).

In early times, people lived in a very ſimple manner, ignorant of ſuch habitual wants as are commonly termed luxury. Rebecca, Rachel, and the daughters of Jethro, tended their fathers flocks: they were really ſhepherdeſſes. Young women of faſhion drew water from the well with their own hands. The joiner who made the bridal bed of Ulyſſes, was Ulyſſes himſelf (*b*). The Princeſs Nauſicaa waſhes the family-cloaths; and the Princes her brothers, upon her return, unyoke the car, and carry in the cloaths (*c*). Queens, and even female deities, are employ'd in ſpinning (*d*). Is it from this faſhion that young women in Eng-

" in a ſluggiſh ſtupidity, committing the care of the houſe, the family, and the " culture of the lands, to women, old men, and to the moſt weakly. Such is " the wonderful diverſity of their nature, that they are at once the moſt indolent " of beings, and the moſt impatient of reſt."]

(*a*) Book 2. ſketch 1.

(*b*) Odyſſey, book 23.

(*c*) Book 6. & 7.

(*d*) Book 10.

land

land are denominated ſpinſters? Telemachus goes to council with no attendants but two dogs:

" Soon as in ſolemn form th' aſſembly ſat,
" From his high dome himſelf deſcends in ſtate;
" Bright in his hand a pond'rous jav'lin ſhin'd;
" Two dogs, a faithful guard, attend behind."

ODYSSEY, *book* 2.

Priam's car is yoked by his own ſons, when he went to redeem from Achilles the body of his ſon Hector. Telemachus yokes his own car (*a*). Homer's heroes kill and dreſs their own victuals (*b*). Achilles entertaining Priam, as now mentioned, ſlew a ſnow-white ſheep; and his two friends flea'd and dreſſed it. Achilles himſelf divided the roaſted meat among all *.

Not to talk of gold, ſilver was ſcarce in England during the reign of the third Edward. Rents were paid in kind; and what money they had was locked up in the coffers of the great barons. Pieces of plate were bequeathed even by kings of England, ſo trifling in our eſtimation, that a gentleman of a moderate fortune would be aſhamed to mention ſuch in his will.

We next take under conſideration the progreſs of ſuch manners as are more peculiarly influenced by internal diſpoſition; preparing the reader by a general view, before entering into particulars.

* Pope judging it below the dignity of Achilles to act the butcher, ſuppreſſes that article, impoſing the taſk upon his two friends. Pope, it would appear, did not conſider, that from a lively picture of ancient manners proceeds one of the capital pleaſures we have in peruſing Homer.

(*a*) Odyſſey, book 15.

(*b*) Odyſſey, book 19. & 20.

Man is by nature a timid animal, having little ability to ſecure himſelf againſt harm: but he becomes bold in ſociety, and gives vent to paſſion againſt his enemies. In the hunter-ſtate, the daily practice of ſlaughtering innocent animals for food, hardens men in cruelty: they are worſe than bears or wolves, being cruel even to their own kind. The calm and ſedentary life of a ſhepherd tends to ſoften the harſh manners of hunters; and agriculture, requiring the union of many hands in one operation, inſpires a taſte for mutual good offices. But here comes in the hoarding appetite to diſturb that auſpicious commencement of civilization. Skilful huſbandry, producing the neceſſaries of life in plenty, paves the way to arts and manufactures. Fine houſes, ſplendid gardens, and rich apparel, are deſirable objects: the appetite for property becomes headſtrong, and to obtain gratification tramples down every obſtacle of juſtice or honour (*a*). Differences ariſe, fomenting diſcord and reſentment: war is raiſed, even among thoſe of the ſame tribe; and while it was lawful for a man to take revenge at his own hand (*b*), that fierce paſſion ſwallow'd up all others. Inequality of rank and fortune foſtered diſſocial paſſions: witneſs pride in particular, which produced a cuſtom, once univerſal among barbarians, of killing men, women, dogs, and horſes, for ſerving a dead chieftain in the other world. Such complication of ſelfiſh and ſtormy paſſions, tending eagerly to gratification, and rendering ſociety uncomfortable, cannot be ſtemmed by any human means other than wholeſome laws: a momentary obſtacle inflames deſire; but perpetual reſtraint deadens even the moſt fervid paſſion. The authority of good government gave vigour to kindly affections; and appetite for ſociety, which acts inceſſantly, tho' not violently, gave a currency to mu-

(*a*) See ſketch 3.

(*b*) See Hiſtorical Law-tracts, tract 1.

tual

tual good offices. A circumſtance concurred to blunt the edge of diſſocial paſſions: the firſt ſocieties were ſmall; and ſmall ſtates in cloſe neighbourhood produce diſcord and reſentment without end: the junction of many ſuch ſtates into a great kingdom, remove people farther from their enemies, and render them more gentle (*a*). In that ſituation, men have leiſure and ſedateneſs to reliſh the comforts of ſocial life: they find that ſelfiſh and turbulent paſſions are ſubverſive of ſociety; and through fondneſs for ſociety, they patiently undergo the ſevere diſcipline of reſtraining paſſion, and ſmoothing manners. Violent paſſions that diſturb the peace of ſociety have ſubſided, and are now ſeldom heard of: humanity is in faſhion, and ſocial affections prevail. Men improve in urbanity by converſing with women; and however ſelfiſh at heart, they conciliate favour, by aſſuming an air of diſintereſtedneſs. Selfiſhneſs thus refined becomes an effectual cauſe of civilization. But what follows? Turbulent and violent paſſions are buried, never again to revive; leaving the mind totally ingroſſed by ſelf-intereſt. In the original ſtate of hunters and fiſhers, there being little connection among individuals, every man minds his own concerns, and ſelfiſhneſs governs. The diſcovery that hunting and fiſhing are beſt carried on in company, promotes ſome degree of ſociety in that ſtate: it gains ground in the ſhepherd-ſtate, and makes a captital figure where huſbandry and commerce flouriſh. Private concord is promoted by ſocial affection; and a nation is proſperous in proportion as the *amor patriæ* prevails. But wealth, acquired whether by conqueſt or commerce, is productive of luxury and ſenſuality. As theſe increaſe, ſocial affections decline, and at laſt vaniſh. This is viſible in every opulent city that has long flouriſhed in extenſive commerce. Selfiſhneſs becomes the ruling paſſion: friendſhip is no more; and even blood-relation is

(*a*) See this more fully handled, book 2. ſketch 1.

little regarded. Every man ſtudies his own intereſt; and love of gain and of ſenſual pleaſure are idols worſhipped by all. And thus in the progreſs of manners, men end as they begun: ſelfiſhneſs is no leſs eminent in the laſt and moſt poliſhed ſtate of ſociety, than in the firſt and moſt ſavage ſtate.

From a general view of the progreſs of manners, we deſcend to particulars. And the firſt ſcene that preſents itſelf is, cruelty to ſtrangers, extended in proceſs of time againſt members of the ſame tribe. Anger and reſentment are predominant in ſavages, who never think of ſmothering paſſion. But this character is not univerſal: ſome tribes are remarkable for humanity, as mentioned in the firſt ſketch. Anger and reſentment formed the character of our European anceſtors, and made them fierce and cruel. The Goths were ſo prone to blood, that in their firſt inroads into the Roman territories they maſſacred man, woman, and child. Procopius reports, that in one of theſe inroads they left Italy thin of inhabitants. They were however an honeſt people; and by the poliſh they received in the civilized parts of Europe, they became no leſs remarkable for humanity, than formerly for cruelty. Totila, their king, having maſtered Rome after a long and bloody ſiege, permitted not a ſingle perſon to be killed in cold blood, nor the chaſtity of any woman to be attempted. One cannot without horror think of the wanton cruelties exerciſed by the Tartars againſt the nations invaded by them under Gengizcan and Timor Bec.

A Scythian, ſays Herodotus, preſents the king with the heads of the enemies he has killed in battle; and the man who brings not a head, gets no ſhare of the plunder. He adds, that many Scythians clothe themſelves with the ſkins of men, and make uſe of the ſculls of their enemies to drink out of. Diodorus Siculus reports of the Gauls, that they carry home the heads of their enemies ſlain in battle; and after embalming them, depoſit them in cheſts as their chief trophy; bragging of the ſums offered for theſe heads

heads by the friends of the deceaſed, and refuſed. In ſimilar circumſtances men are the ſame all the world over. The ſcalping of enemies, in daily uſe among the North-American ſavages, is equally cruel and barbarous.

No ſavages are more cruel than the Greeks and Trojans were, as deſcribed by Homer; men butchered in cold blood, towns reduced to aſhes, ſovereigns expoſed to the moſt humbling indignities, no reſpect paid to age nor to ſex. The young Adraſtus (*a*), thrown from his car, and lying on his face in the duſt, obtained quarter from Menelaus. Agamemnon upbraided his brother for lenity: "Let none from deſtruction eſcape, not even the liſping "infant in the mother's arms: all her ſons muſt with Ilium fall, "and on her ruins unburied remain." He pierced the ſuppliant with his ſpear; and ſetting his foot on the body, pulled it out. Hector, having ſtript Patroclus of his arms, drags the ſlain along, vowing to lop the head from the trunk, and to give the mangled corſe a prey to the dogs of Troy. And the ſeventeenth book of the Iliad is wholly employ'd in deſcribing the conteſt about the body between the Greeks and Trojans. Beſide the brutality of preventing the laſt duties from being performed to a dead friend, it is a low ſcene, unworthy of heroes. It was equally brutal in Achilles to drag the corſe of Hector to the ſhips, tied to his car. In a ſcene between Hector and Andromache (*b*), the treatment of vanquiſhed enemies is pathetically deſcribed; ſovereigns maſſacred, and their bodies left a prey to dogs and vultures; ſucking infants daſh'd againſt the pavement; ladies of the firſt rank forc'd to perform the loweſt acts of ſlavery. Hector doth not diſſemble, that if Troy were conquered, his poor wife would be condemned to draw water like the vileſt ſlave. Hecuba, in Eu-

(*a*) Book 6. of the Iliad.

(*b*) Iliad, book 6.

ripides,

ripides, laments, that ſhe was chained like a dog at Agamemnon's gate; and the ſame ſavage manners are deſcribed in many other Greek tragedies. Prometheus makes free with the heavenly fire, in order to give life to man. As a puniſhment for bringing rational creatures into exiſtence, the gods decree, that he be chained to a rock, and abandoned to birds of prey. Vulcan is introduced by Eſchylus rattling the chain, nailing one end to a rock, and the other to the breaſt-bone of the criminal. Who but an American ſavage can at preſent behold ſuch a ſpectacle and not be ſhocked at it? A ſcene repreſenting a woman murdered by her children, would be hiſſed by every modern audience; and yet that horrid ſcene was repreſented with applauſe in the Electra of Sophocles. Stobœus reports a ſaying of Menander, that even the gods cannot inſpire a ſoldier with civility: no wonder that the Greek ſoldiers were brutes and barbarians, when war was waged, not only againſt the ſtate, but againſt every individual. At preſent, humanity prevails among ſoldiers as among others; becauſe we make war only againſt a ſtate, not againſt individuals. The Greeks are the leſs excuſable for their cruelty, as they appear to have been ſenſible that humanity is a cardinal virtue. Barbarians are always painted by Homer as cruel; poliſhed nations as tender and compaſſionate:

" Ye gods! (he cried) upon what barren coaſt,
" In what new region is Ulyſſes toſt;
" Poſſeſs'd by wild barbarians fierce in arms,
" Or men whoſe boſom tender pity warms?"

ODYSSEY, *book* 13. 241.

Cruelty is inconſiſtent with true heroiſm; and accordingly very little of the latter is diſcoverable in any of Homer's warriors. So much did they retain of the ſavage character, as, even without bluſhing,

bluſhing, to fly from an enemy ſuperior in bodily ſtrength. Diomedes, who makes an illuſtrious figure in the fifth book of the Iliad, retires when Hector appears: "Diomedes beheld the chief, "and ſhuddered to his inmoſt ſoul." Antilochus, ſon of Neſtor, having ſlain Melanippus (*a*), ruſhed forward, eager to ſeize his bright arms. But ſeeing Hector, he fled like a beaſt of prey who ſhuns the gathering hinds. And the great Hector himſelf ſhamefully turns his back upon the near approach of Achilles: "Peri-"phetes, endowed with every virtue, renowned in the race, great "in war, in prudence excelling his fellows, gave glory to Hec-"tor, covering the chief with renown." One would expect a fierce combat between theſe two bold warriors. Not ſo. Periphetes ſtumbling, fell to the ground; and Hector was not aſhamed to transfix with his ſpear the unreſiſting hero.

In the ſame tone of character, nothing is more common among Homer's warriors than to inſult a vanquiſh'd foe. Patroclus, having beat Cebriones to the ground with a huge ſtone, derides his fall in the following words.

"Good heav'ns! what active feats yon artiſt ſhows,
"What ſkilful divers are our Phrygian foes!
"Mark with what eaſe they ſink into the ſand.
"Pity! that all their practice is by land."

The Greeks are repreſented (*b*) one after another ſtabbing the dead body of Hector: "Nor ſtood an Argive near the chief who "inflicted not a wound. Surely now, ſaid they, more eaſy of "acceſs is Hector, than when he launched on the ſhips brands of "devouring fire."

(*a*) Book 15.

(*b*) Book 22.

When

When ſuch were the manners of warriors at the ſiege of Troy, it is no wonder that the heroes on both ſides were not leſs intent on ſtripping the ſlain than on victory. They are every where repreſented as greedy of ſpoil.

The Jews did not yield to the Greeks in cruelty. It is unneceſſary to give inſtances, as the hiſtorical books of the Old Teſtament are in the hands of every one. I ſhall ſelect one inſtance for a ſpecimen, dreadfully cruel without any juſt provocation: "And "David gathered all the people together, and went to Rabbah, "and fought againſt it, and took it. And he brought forth "the people that were therein, and put them under ſaws, and "under harrows of iron, and under axes of iron, and made them "paſs through the brick-kiln: and thus did he unto all the cities "of the children of Ammon (*a*)."

That cruelty was predominant among the Romans, is evident from every one of their hiſtorians. Brutality to their offſpring was conſpicuous. Children were held, like cattle, to be the father's property: and ſo tenacious was the *patria poteſtas*, that if a ſon or daughter ſold to be a ſlave was ſet free, he or ſhe fell again under the father's power, to be ſold a ſecond time, and even a third time. The power of life and death over children was much leſs unnatural, while no public tribunal exiſted for puniſhing crimes. A ſon, being a ſlave, could have no property of his own. Julius Cæſar was the firſt who privileged a ſon to retain for his own uſe ſpoils acquired in war. When law became a lucrative profeſſion, what a ſon gained in that way was declared to be his property. In Athens, a man had power of life and death over his children; but as they were not ſlaves, what they acquired belonged to themſelves. So late as the days of Dioclefian, a ſon's mar-

(*a*) 2 Samuel, xii. 29.

riage

riage did not diſſolve the Roman *patria poteſtas* (*a*). But the power of ſelling children wore out of uſe (*b*). When powers ſo unnatural were given to men over their children, and exerciſed ſo tyrannically as to make a law neceſſary prohibiting the diſinheriting of children, can there be any doubt of their cruelty to others? During the ſecond triumvirate, horrid cruelties were every day perpetrated without pity or remorſe. Antony, having ordered Cicero to be beheaded, and the head to be brought to him, viewed it with ſavage pleaſure. His wife Fulvia laid hold of it, ſtruck it on the face, uttered many bitter execrations, and having placed it between her knees, drew out the tongue, and pierced it with a bodkin. The delight it gave the Romans to ſee wild beaſts ſet looſe againſt one another in their circus, is a proof not at all ambiguous of their taſte for blood, even at the time of their higheſt civilization. The Edile Scaurus ſent at one time to Rome 150 panthers, Pompey 410, and Auguſtus 420, for the public ſpectacles. Their gladiatorian combats are not ſo clear a proof of their ferocity: the courage and addreſs exerted in theſe combats gave a manly pleaſure that balanced in ſome meaſure the pain of ſeeing theſe poor fellows cut and ſlaſh one another. And that the Romans were never cured of their itch for blood, appears from Caligula, Nero, and many other monſters, who governed the Romans from Auguſtus downward. There is no example in modern times of ſuch monſters in France, tho' an abſolute monarchy, nor even in Turky.

Ferocity was in the Roman empire conſiderably mollified by literature and other fine arts; but it acquired new vigour upon the irruption of the barbarous nations who cruſhed that empire. In the year 559, Clotaire, King of the Franks, burnt alive his ſon, with

(*a*) l. 1. Cod. cap. De patria poteſtate.
(*b*) l. 10. eod.

all his friends, becauſe they had rebelled againſt him. Queen Brunehaud, being by Clotaire II. condemned to die, was dragged through the camp at a horſe's tail till ſhe gave up the ghoſt. The ferocity of European nations became altogether intolerable during the anarchy of the feudal ſyſtem. Many peaſants in the northern provinces of France, being ſorely oppreſſed in civil wars carried on by the nobles againſt each other, turned deſperate, gathered together in bodies, reſolving to extirpate all the nobles. A party of them, anno 1358, forc'd open the caſtle of a knight, hung him up upon a gallows, violated in his preſence his wife and daughters, roaſted him upon a ſpit, compelled his wife and children to eat of his fleſh, and terminated that horrid ſcene with maſſacring the whole family, and burning the caſtle. When they were aſked, ſays Froiſſard, why they committed ſuch abominable actions, their anſwer was, " That they did as they ſaw others do; and " that all the nobles in the world ought to be deſtroy'd." The nobles, when they got the upper hand, were equally cruel. They put all to fire and ſword; and maſſacred every peaſant who came in the way, without troubling themſelves to ſeparate the innocent from the guilty. The Count de Ligny encouraged his nephew, a boy of fifteen, to kill with his own hand ſome priſoners who were his countrymen; in which, ſays Monſtrelet, the young man took great delight. How much worſe than brutal muſt have been the manners of that age! for even a beaſt of prey kills not but when inſtigated by hunger. The third act of ſtealing from the lead-mines in Derby, was, by a law of Edward I. puniſhed in the following manner: A hand of the criminal was nailed to a table; and in that ſtate he was left without meat or drink, having no means for freedom but to employ the one hand to cut off the other. The barbarity of the Engliſh at that period made ſevere puniſhments neceſſary: but the puniſhment mentioned goes beyond ſeverity; it is brutal cruelty. The barbarous treatment

of

of the Jews during the dark ages of Chriſtianity, gives pregnant evidence, that Chriſtians were not ſhort of Pagans in cruelty. Poiſon and aſſaſſination were moſt licentiouſly perpetrated, no farther back than the laſt century. Some pious men made vigorous efforts in more than one general council to have aſſaſſination condemned, as repugnant to the law of God; but in vain *.

I wiſh to ſoften the foregoing ſcene: it may be ſoftened a little. Among barbarians, puniſhments muſt be ſanguinary; as their bodies only are ſenſible of pain, not their minds.

The reſtoration of arts and ſciences in Europe, followed with a reformation in religion, had a wonderful effect in ſweetening manners, and promoting the intereſts of ſociety. Of all crimes high treaſon is the moſt involved in circumſtances, and upon that account the moſt difficult to be defined or circumſcribed: at the ſame time, the influence of government upon its judges ſeldom permits a fair trial. And yet, for that crime are reſerved the moſt exquiſite torments. In England, the puniſhment is, to cut up the criminal alive, to tear out his heart, to daſh it about his ears, and to throw it into the flames. The ſame puniſhment continues in form, not in reality: the heart indeed is torn out, but not till the criminal is ſtrangled. Even the virulence of religious zeal is conſiderably abated. Savonarola was condemned to the flames as an impious impoſtor; but he was firſt privately ſtrangled. The fine arts, which humanize manners, were in Italy at that time accelerating toward perfection. The famous Latimer was in England

* It required the ferocity and cruelty of a barbarous age to give currency to a Mahometan doctrine, That the ſword is the moſt effectual means of converting men to a dominant religion. The eſtabliſhment of the Inquiſition will not permit me to ſay, that Chriſtians never put in practice a doctrine ſo deteſtable: on the contrary, they ſurpaſs the Mahometans, giving no quarter to heretics, either in this life, or in that to come. The eternity of hell-torments is a doctrine no leſs inconſiſtent with the juſtice of the Deity, than with his benevolence.

condemned to be burnt for hereſy: but bags of gunpowder were put under his arms, that he might be burnt with the leaſt pain. Even Knox, a violent Scotch reformer, acknowledges, that Wiſhart was ſtrangled before he was thrown into the flames for hereſy. So bitter was the late perſecution againſt the Jeſuits, that not only were their perſons proſcribed, but in many places their books, not even excepting books upon mathematics, and other abſtract ſubjects. That perſecution reſembled in many particulars the perſecution againſt the knights-templars: fifty-nine of the latter were burnt alive: the former were really leſs innocent; and yet ſuch humanity prevails at preſent, that not a drop of Jeſuit-blood has been ſhed. A bankrupt in Scotland, if he have not ſuffered by unavoidable misfortune, is by law condemned to wear a party-coloured garment. That law is not now put in execution, unleſs where a bankrupt deſerves to be ſtigmatized for his culpable miſconduct.

Whether the following late inſtance of barbarity do not equal any of thoſe above mentioned, I leave to my readers. No traveller who viſited Peterſburgh during the reign of the Empreſs Eliſabeth can be ignorant of Madam Lapouchin, the great ornament of that court. Her intimacy with a foreign ambaſſador having brought her under ſuſpicion of plotting with him againſt the government, ſhe was condemned to undergo the puniſhment of the knout. At the place of execution ſhe appeared in a genteel undreſs, which heightened her beauty. Of whatever indiſcretion ſhe might have been guilty, the ſweetneſs of her countenance, and her compoſure, left not in the ſpectators the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion of guilt. Her youth alſo, her beauty, her life and ſpirit pleaded for her.—But all in vain: ſhe was deſerted by all, and abandoned to ſurly executioners; whom ſhe beheld with aſtoniſhment, ſeeming to doubt whether ſuch preparations were intended for her. The cloak that covered her boſom being pulled off, modeſty took the alarm,

alarm, and made her ſtart back: ſhe turned pale, and burſt into tears. One of the executioners ſtripp'd her naked to the waiſt, ſeized her by both hands, and threw her on his back, raiſing her ſome inches from the ground. The other executioner laying hold of her delicate limbs with his rough fiſts, put her in a poſture for receiving the puniſhment. Then laying hold of the knout, a ſort of whip made of a leathern ſtrap, he retreated a few ſteps, and with a ſingle ſtroke tore off a ſlip of ſkin from the neck downward, repeating his ſtrokes till all the ſkin of her back was cut off in ſmall ſlips. The executioner finiſhed his taſk with cutting out her tongue; after which ſhe was baniſhed to Siberia *.

The native inhabitants of the iſland Amboyna are Malayans. Thoſe on the ſea-coaſt are ſubject to the Dutch: thoſe in the inland parts are declared enemies to the Dutch, and never give quarter. A Dutch captive, after being confined five days without food, is ripped up, his heart cut out, and the head, ſever'd from the body, is preſerved in ſpice for a trophy. Thoſe who can ſhow the greateſt number of Dutch heads are the moſt honourable.

In early times, when revenge and cruelty trampled on law, people formed aſſociations for ſecuring their lives and their poſſeſſions. Theſe were common in Scandinavia and in Scotland. They were alſo common in England during the Anglo-Saxon period, and for ſome ages after the Conqueſt. But inſtead of ſupporting juſtice, they contributed more than any other cauſe to a-

* The preſent Empreſs has laid an excellent foundation for civilizing her people, which is a Code of laws, founded on principles of civil liberty, baniſhing ſlavery and torture, and expreſſing the utmoſt regard for the life, property, and liberty, of all her ſubjects, high and low. Peter I. reformed many bad cuſtoms: but being rough in his own manners, he left the manners of his people as he found them. If this Empreſs happen to enjoy a long and proſperous reign, ſhe may poſſibly accompliſh the moſt difficult of all undertakings, that of poliſhing her people. No taſk is too arduous for a woman of ſuch ſpirit.

narchy

narchy and confuſion, the members protecting each other, even in robbery and murder. They were ſuppreſſed in England by a ſtatute of Richard II.; and in Scotland by reiterated ſtatutes.

Roughneſs and harſhneſs of manners are generally connected with cruelty; and the manners of the Greeks and Trojans are accordingly repreſented in the Iliad as remarkably rough and harſh. When the armies were ready to engage (*a*), Meneſtheus King of Athens, and Ulyſſes of Ithaca, are bitterly reproached by Agamemnon for lingering, while others were more forward. "Son "of Peleus, he ſaid, and thou verſed in artful deceit, in miſ- "chief only wiſe, why trembling ſhrink ye back from the field; "why wait till others engage in fight? You it became, as firſt in "rank, the firſt to meet the flame of war. Ye firſt to the ban- "quet are called when we ſpread the feaſt. Your delight is to "eat, to regale, to quaff unſtinted the generous wine." In the fifth book Sarpedon upbraids Hector for cowardice. And Tlepolemus, ready to engage with Sarpedon, attacks him firſt with reviling and ſcurrilous words. Becauſe Hector was not able to reſcue the dead body of Sarpedon from the Greeks, he is upbraided by Glaucus, Sarpedon's friend, in the following words. "Hec- "tor, tho' ſpecious in form, diſtant art thou from valour in "arms. Undeſerved haſt thou fame acquired, when thus thou "ſhrinkeſt from the field. Thou ſuſtaineſt not the dreadful arm, "not even the fight of godlike Ajax. Thou haſt ſhunned his "face in the fight: thou dareſt not approach his ſpear."

Rough and harſh manners produced ſlavery; and ſlavery foſtered rough and harſh manners, by giving them conſtant exerciſe. The brutality of the Spartans to the Helots, their ſlaves, is a reproach to the human ſpecies. Beſide the harſheſt uſage, they were prevented from multiplying by downright murder and maſſacre.

(*a*) Book 4.

Why

Why did not ſuch barbarity render the Spartans deteſtable, inſtead of being reſpected by their neighbours as the moſt virtuous people in Greece? There can be but one reaſon, that the Greeks were all of them cruel, the Spartans a little more perhaps than the reſt. In Rome, a ſlave, chain'd at the gate of every great houſe, gave admittance to the gueſts invited to a feaſt: could any but barbarians behold ſuch a ſpectacle without pain? If a Roman citizen was found murdered in his own houſe, his whole houſehold-ſlaves, perhaps two or three hundred, were put to death without mercy, unleſs they could detect the murderer. Such a law, cruel and unjuſt, could never have been enacted among a people of any humanity.

Whence the rough and harſh manners of our Weſt-Indian planters, but from the unreſtrained licence of venting ill humour upon their negro ſlaves *? Why are carters a rugged ſet of men? Plainly becauſe

* C'eſt de cet eſclavage des negres, que les Crèoles tirent peut-être en partie un certain caractere, qui les fait paroître bizarres, fantaſques, et d'une ſociété peu goûtée en Europe. A peine peuvent-ils marcher dans l'enfance, qu'ils voient autour d'eux des hommes grands et robuſtes, deſtinés à deviner, à prevenir leur volonté. Ce premier coup d'œil doit leur donner d'eux-mêmes l'opinion la plus extravagante. Rarement exposés à trouver de la réſiſtance dans leurs fantaiſies même injuſtes, ils prennent un eſprit de préſomption, de tyrannie, et de mépris extrême, pour une grande portion du genre humain. Rien n'eſt plus inſolent que l'homme qui vit preſque toujours avec ſes inferieurs; mais quand ceux-ci ſont des eſclaves, accoutumés à ſervir des enfans, à craindre juſqu'à des cris qui doivent leur attirer des châtimens, que peuvent devenir des maîtres qui n'ont jamais obéi, des méchans qui n'ont jamais été punis, des foux qui mettent des hommes à la chaîne? *Hiſtoire Philoſophique et Politique des etabliſſemens des Européens dans les Deux Indes, l. 4. p. 201.* — [*In Engliſh thus:* " It is from this ſlavery of the negroes, that the " Creoles derive in a great meaſure that character which makes them appear ca- " pricious and fantaſtical, and of a ſtyle of manners which is not reliſhed in Eu- " rope. Scarcely have the children learned to walk, when they ſee around them " tall and robuſt men, whoſe province it is to gueſs their inclinations, and to pre- " vent

becauſe horſes, their ſlaves, ſubmit without reſiſtance. An ingenious writer, deſcribing Guiana in the ſouthern continent of America, obſerves, that the negroes, who are more numerous than the whites, muſt be kept in awe by ſeverity of diſcipline. And he endeavours to juſtify the practice; urging, that beſide contributing to the ſafety of the white inhabitants, it makes the ſlaves themſelves leſs unhappy. "Impoſſibility of attainment," ſays he, "never fails to annihilate deſire of enjoyment; and rigid treatment, ſuppreſſing every hope of liberty, makes them peaceably "ſubmit to ſlavery." Sad indeed muſt be the condition of ſlaves, if harſh treatment contribute to make them leſs unhappy. Such reaſoning may be be reliſhed by rough European planters, intent upon gain: I am inclined however to believe, that the harſh treatment of theſe poor people is more owing to the avarice of their maſters, than to their own perverſeneſs *. That ſlaves in all ages have been harſhly treated, is a melancholy truth. One exception I know, and but one, which I gladly mention in honour of the Mandingo negroes. Their ſlaves, who are numerous, receive

"vent their wiſhes. This firſt obſervation muſt give them the moſt extravagant "opinion of themſelves. From being ſeldom accuſtomed to meet with any oppo-"ſition, even in their moſt unreaſonable whims, they acquire a preſumptuous and "tyrannical diſpoſition, and entertain an extreme contempt for a great part of the "human race. None is ſo inſolent as the man who lives almoſt always with his "inferiors; but when theſe inferiors are ſlaves accuſtomed to ſerve infants, and "to fear even their crying, for which they muſt ſuffer puniſhment, what can be "expected of thoſe maſters who have never obeyed, profligates who have never "met with chaſtiſement, and madmen who load their fellow-creatures with "chains?"

* In England ſlavery ſubſiſted ſo late as the ſixteenth century. A commiſſion was iſſued by Queen Eliſabeth, anno 1574, for enquiring into the lands and goods of all her bondmen and bondwomen in the counties of Cornwall, Devon, Somerſet, and Glo'ſter, in order to compound with them for their manumiſſion or freedom, that they might enjoy their own lands and goods as free men.

very

very gentle treatment; the women eſpecially, who are generally ſo well dreſſed as not to be diſtinguiſhable from thoſe who are free.

Many political writers are of opinion, that for crimes inſtigated by avarice only, ſlavery for life and hard work, would be a more adequate puniſhment than death. I would ſubſcribe to that opinion but for the following conſideration, that the having ſuch criminals perpetually in view, would harden the hearts of the ſpectators, and eradicate pity, a capital moral paſſion. Behold the behaviour of the Dutch in the iſland of Amboyna. A native who is found guilty of theft is deprived of his ears and noſe, and made a ſlave for life. William Funnel, who was there anno 1705, reports, that 500 of theſe wretches were ſecured in priſon, and never ſuffered to go abroad but in order to ſaw timber, to cut ſtone, or to carry heavy burdens. Their food is a pittance of coarſe rice boiled in water, and their bed the hard ground. What is ſtill worſe, poor people who happen to run in debt are turned over to the ſervants of the Eaſt-India company, who ſend them to work among their ſlaves, with a daily allowance of two pence, which goes to the creditor. A nation muſt be devoid of bowels, who can eſtabliſh ſuch inhumanity by law. But time has rendered that practice familiar to the Dutch, ſo as to behold with abſolute indifference, the multiplied miſeries of their fellow-creatures. It appears indeed, that ſuch a puniſhment would be more effectual than death to repreſs theft; but can any one doubt, that ſociety would ſuffer more by eradicating pity and humanity, than it would gain by removing every one by death who is guilty of theft? At the ſame time, the Dutch, however cruel to the natives, are extremely complaiſant to one another: ſeldom is any one of them puniſhed but for murder: a ſmall ſum will procure pardon for any other crime.

A degree of coarſeneſs and indelicacy is connected with rough

manners. The manners of the Greeks, as copied by Plautus and Terence from Menander and other Greek writers, were extremely coarſe; ſuch as may be expected in a people living among their ſlaves, without any ſociety with virtuous women. The behaviour of Demoſthenes and Eſchines to each other in their public harangues, is wofully coarſe. But Athens was a democracy; and a democracy, above all other governments, is rough and licentious. In the Athenian comedy, neither gods nor men are ſpared. The moſt reſpectable perſons of the republic are ridiculed by name, in the comedies of Ariſtophanes, which wallow in looſeneſs and detraction. In the third act of Andromaché, a tragedy of Euripides, Peleus and Menelaus, Kings of Theſſaly and Sparta, fall into downright ribaldry; Menelaus ſwearing that he would not give up his victim, and Peleus threatening to knock him down with his ſtaff. The manners of Jaſon, in the tragedy of Medea by Euripides, are wofully indelicate. With unparallelled ingratitude to his wife Medea, he, in her preſence, makes love to the King of Corinth's daughter, and obtains her in marriage. Inſtead of ſhunning a perſon he had ſo deeply injured, he endeavours to excuſe himſelf to her in a very ſneaking manner, "that he was an "exile like herſelf, without ſupport; and that his marriage would "acquire powerful friends to them and to their children." Could he imagine, that ſuch frigid reaſons would touch a woman of any ſpirit? But the moſt ſtriking picture of indelicate manners, is exhibited in the tragedy of Alceſtes. Admetus prevails upon Alceſtes, his loving and beloved wife, to die in his ſtead. What a barbarian muſt the man be, who graſps at life upon ſuch a condition? How ridiculous is the bombaſt flouriſh of Admetus, that, if he were Orpheus, he would pierce to hell, brave the three-headed Cerberus, and reſtore his wife to earth again! and how indecently does he ſcold his father, for refuſing to die for him! What pretext could the monſter have to complain of his father,

when

when he himſelf was ſo diſgracefully fond of life, as even to ſolicit his beloved ſpouſe to die in his ſtead! What ſtronger inſtance, after all, would one require of indelicacy in the manners of the Greeks, than that they held all the world except themſelves to be barbarians? In that particular, however, they are not altogether ſingular. Tho' the Tartars, as mentioned above, were foul feeders, and hoggiſhly naſty, yet they were extremely proud, deſpiſing, like the Greeks, every other nation. The people of Congo think the world to be the work of angels; except their own country, which they hold to be the handiwork of the ſupreme architect. The Greenlanders have a high conceit of themſelves; and in private make a mock of the Europeans, or Kablunets, as they call them. Deſpiſing arts and ſciences, they value themſelves on their ſkill in catching ſeals, conceiving it to be the only uſeful art. They hold themſelves to be the only civilized and well-bred people; and when they ſee a modeſt ſtranger, they ſay, "he begins to be a man;" that is, to be like one of themſelves.

So coarſe and indelicate were Roman manners, that whipping was a puniſhment inflicted on the officers of the army, not even excepting centurions (*a*). Doth it not ſhow extreme groſſneſs of manners, to expreſs in plain words the parts that modeſty bids us conceal? and yet this is common in Greek and Roman writers. In the Cyclops of Euripides there is repreſented a ſcene of the vice againſt nature, groſsly obſcene, without the leaſt diſguiſe. How wofully indelicate muſt the man have been, who could ſit down gravely to compoſe ſuch a piece! and how diſſolute muſt the ſpectators have been, who could behold ſuch a ſcene without hiſſing! Next to the indecency of expoſing one's nudities in good company, is the talking of them without reſerve. Horace is extremely obſcene, and Martial no leſs. But I cenſure neither of

(*a*) Julius Capitolinus, in the life of Albinus.

them, and as little the Queen of Navarre for her tales; for they wrote according to the manners of the times. It is the manners I cenſure, not the writers. A woman taken in adultery was proſtituted in the public ſtreet to all comers, a bell ringing the whole time. This abominable practice was aboliſhed by the Emperor Theodoſius (*a*).

The manners of Europe, before the revival of letters, were no leſs coarſe than cruel. In the Cartularies of Charlemagne, judges are forbid to hold courts but in the morning, with an empty ſtomach. It would appear, that men in thoſe days were not aſhamed to be ſeen drunk, even in a court of juſtice. It was cuſtomary, both in France and Italy, to collect for ſport all the ſtrumpets in the neighbourhood, and to make them run races. Several feudal tenures give evidence of manners both low and coarſe. Struvius mentions a tenure, binding the vaſſal, on the birth-day of his lord, to dance and fart before him. The cod-piece, which a few centuries ago made part of a man's dreſs, and which ſwelled by degrees to a monſtrous ſize, teſtifies ſhamefully-coarſe manners; and yet it was a modeſt ornament, compared with one uſed in France during the reign of Lewis XI. which was the figure of a man's privy parts worn upon the coat or breeches. In the ſame period, the judgement of Paris was a favourite theatrical entertainment: three women ſtark-naked repreſented the three goddeſſes, Juno, Venus, and Minerva. Nick-names, ſo common not long ago, are an inſtance of the ſame coarſeneſs of manners; for to fix a nick-name on a man, is to uſe him with contemptuous familiarity. In the thirteenth century, many clergymen refuſed to adminiſter the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, unleſs they were paid for it *.

Swearing

(*a*) Socrates, Hiſt. Eccl lib. 5 cap. 18.

* Corpus Chriſti tenentes in manibus, (ſays the canon), ac ſi dicerent, Quid mihi vultis

Swearing as an expletive of ſpeech, is a violent ſymptom of rough and coarſe manners. Such ſwearing prevails among all barbarous nations. Even women in Plautus ſwear fluently. Swearing prevailed in Spain and in France, till it was baniſhed by polite manners. Our Queen Eliſabeth was a bold ſwearer; and the Engliſh populace, who are rough beyond their neighbours, are noted by ſtrangers for that vice. Tho' ſwearing in order to enforce an expreſſion, is not in itſelf immoral; it is however hurtful in its conſequences, rendering ſacred names too familiar. God's beard, the common oath of William Rufus, ſuggeſts an image of our maker as an old man with a long beard. In vain have acts of parliament been made againſt ſwearing: it is eaſy to evade the penalty, by coining new oaths; and as that vice proceeds from an overflow of ſpirits, people in that condition brave penalties. Poliſhed manners are the only effectual cure for that malady.

When a people begin to emerge out of barbarity, loud mirth and rough jokes come in place of rancour and reſentment. About a century ago, it was uſual for the ſervants and retainers of the court of ſeſſion in Scotland, to break out into riotous mirth and uproar the laſt day of every term, throwing bags, duſt, ſand, or ſtones, all around. We have undoubted evidence of that diſorderly practice from an act of the court, prohibiting it under a ſevere penalty, as diſhonourable to the court, and unbecoming the civility requiſite in ſuch a place (*a*).

And this leads to the lowneſs of ancient manners; plainly diſtinguiſhable from ſimplicity of manners: the latter is agreeable, not the former. Among the ancient Egyptians, to cram a man

vultis dare, et ego eum vobis tradam? — [*In Engliſh thus:* "Holding the body of "Chriſt in their hands, as if they ſaid, What will you give me for this?"]

(*a*) Act of Sederunt, 21ſt February 1663.

was

was an act of high reſpect. Joſeph, the King's firſt miniſter, in order to honour Benjamin above his brethren, gave him a five-fold meſs (*a*). The Greeks in their feaſts diſtinguiſhed their heroes by a double portion (*b*). Ulyſſes cut a fat piece out of the chine of a wild boar for Demodocus the bard (*c*). The ſame reſpectful politeneſs is practiſed at preſent among the American ſavages; ſo much are all men alike in ſimilar circumſtances. Telemachus (*d*) complains bitterly of Penelope's ſuitors, that they were gluttons, and conſumed his beef and mutton. The whole 14th book of the Odyſſey, containing the reception of Ulyſſes by Eumæus the ſwine-herd, is miſerably low. Manners muſt be both groſs and low, where common beggars are admitted to the feaſts of princes, and receive ſcraps from their hands (*e*). In Rome every gueſt brought his own napkin to a feaſt. A ſlave carried it home, filled with what was left from the entertainment. Sophocles, in his tragedy of Iphigenia in Aulis, repreſents Clytemneſtra ſtepping down from her car, and exhorting her ſervants to look after her baggage, with the anxiety and minuteneſs of a lady's waiting-woman. Homer paints in lively colours the riches of the Phœacians, their ſkill in navigation, the magnificence of the king's court, of his palace, and of the public buildings. But, with the ſame breath, he deſcribes Nauſicaa, the king's daughter, travelling to the river on a waggon of greaſy cloaths, to be waſhed there by her and her maids. Poſſibly it will be urged, that ſuch circumſtances, however low in our opinion, might appear other-

(*a*) Gen. xliii. 34.

(*b*) Odyſſey, b. 8. v. 513. b. 15. v. 156.

(*c*) Odyſſey, b. 8. v. 519.

(*d*) Odyſſey, b. 2.

(*e*) See 17th & 18th books of the Odyſſey.

wiſe

wiſe to the Greeks. If they had appeared low to the Greeks, they would not have been introduced by their greateſt poet. But what does this prove, other than that the Greeks were low in their manners? Their manners did not correſpond to the delicacy of their taſte in the fine arts. Nor can it be expected that they ſhould correſpond, when the Greeks were ſtrangers to that polite ſociety with women which refines behaviour, and elevates manners. The firſt kings in Greece, as Thucydides obſerves, were elective, having no power but to command their armies in time of war; which reſembles the government that obtains at preſent in the iſthmus of Darien. They had no written laws, being governed by cuſtom merely. To live by plunder was held honourable; for it was their opinion, that the rules of juſtice are not intended for reſtraining the powerful. All ſtrangers were accounted enemies, as among the Romans; and inns were unknown, becauſe people lived at home, having very little intercourſe even with thoſe of their own nation. Inns were unknown in Germany; and to this day are unknown in the remote parts of the highlands of Scotland; but for an oppoſite reaſon, that hoſpitality prevailed greatly among the ancient Germans, and continues to prevail ſo much among our highlanders, that a gentleman takes it for an affront if a ſtranger paſs his houſe. At a congreſs between Francis I. of France and Henry VIII. of England, among other ſpectacles for public entertainment, the two kings had a wreſtling-match. Had they forgot that they were ſovereign princes?

One would imagine war to be a ſoil too rough for the growth of civilization; and yet it is not always an unkindly ſoil. War between two ſmall tribes is fierce and cruel: but a large ſtate mitigates reſentment, by directing it, not againſt individuals, but againſt the ſtate in general. We know no enemies but thoſe who are in arms: we have no reſentment againſt others, but rather find

find a pleaſure in treating them with humanity. Barbarity and cruelty, having thus in war few individuals for their objects, naturally ſubſide; and magnanimity in their ſtead transforms ſoldiers from brutes to heroes. Some time ago, it was uſual in France to demand battle; and it was held diſhonourable to decline it, however unequal the match. Here was heroiſm without prudence; but in all reformations it is natural to go from one extreme to the other. While the King of England held any poſſeſſions in France, war was perpetual between the two nations, which was commonly carried on with more magnanimity than is uſual between inveterate enemies. It became cuſtomary to give priſoners their freedom, upon a ſimple parole to return with their ranſom at a day named. The ſame was the cuſtom in the border-wars between the Engliſh and Scots, before their union under one monarch. Both parties found their account equally in ſuch honourable behaviour. Edward Prince of Wales, in a pitched battle againſt the French, took the illuſtrious Bertrand du Gueſclin priſoner. He long declined to accept a ranſom; but finding it whiſpered that he was afraid of that hero, he inſtantly ſet him at liberty without a ranſom. This may be deemed impolitic or whimſical: but is love of glory leſs praiſe-worthy than love of conqueſt? The Duke of Guiſe, victor in the battle of Dreux, reſted all night in the field of battle; and gave the Prince of Condé, his priſoner, a ſhare of his bed, where they lay like brothers. The Chevalier Bayard, commander of a French army *anno* 1524, being mortally wounded in retreating from the Imperialiſts, placed himſelf under a tree, his face however to the enemy. The Marquis de Peſcara, General of the Imperial forces, finding him dead in that poſture, behaved with the generoſity of a gallant adverſary: he directed his body to be embalmed, and to be ſent to his relations in the moſt honourable manner. Magnanimity and heroiſm, in which benevolence is an eſſential ingredient, are inconſiſtent with

with cruelty, perfidy, or any groveling paſſion. Never was gallantry in war carried to a greater height, than between the Engliſh and Scotch borderers before the crowns were united. The night after the battle of Otterburn, the victors and vanquiſhed lay promiſcuouſly in the ſame camp, without apprehending the leaſt danger one from the other. The manners of ancient warriors were very different. Homer's hero, tho' ſuperior to all in bodily ſtrength, takes every advantage of his enemy; and never feels either compaſſion or remorſe. The politic of the Greeks and Romans in war, was to weaken the ſtate by plundering its territory, and deſtroying its people. Humanity with us prevails even in war. Individuals not in arms are ſecure, which ſaves much innocent blood. Priſoners were ſet at liberty upon paying a ranſom; and by later improvements in manners, even that practice is left off, as too mercantile, a more honourable practice being ſubſtituted, viz. a cartel for exchange of priſoners. Humanity was carried to a ſtill greater height, in our late war with France, by an agreement between the Duke de Noailles and the Earl of Stair, That the hoſpitals for the ſick and wounded ſoldiers ſhould be ſecure from all hoſtilities. The humanity of the Duke de Randan in the ſame war, makes an illuſtrious figure even in the preſent age, remarkable for humanity to enemies. When the French troops were compelled to abandon their conqueſts in the electorate of Hanover, their Generals every where burnt their magazines, and plundered the people. The Duke de Randan, who commanded in the city of Hanover, put the magiſtrates in poſſeſſion of his magazines, requeſting them to diſtribute the contents among the poor; and he was beſide extremely vigilant to prevent his ſoldiers from committing acts of violence *. The neceſſity of fortifying

* Such kindlineſs in an enemy from whom nothing is expected but miſchief, is an illuſtrious inſtance of humanity. And a ſimilar inſtance will not make the leſs

fortifying towns to guard from deſtruction the innocent and defenceleſs, affords convincing evidence of the ſavage cruelty that prevailed in former times. By the growth of humanity, ſuch fortifications have become leſs frequent; and they ſerve no purpoſe at preſent but to defend againſt invaſion; in which view a ſmall fortification, if but ſufficient for the garriſon, is greatly preferable; being conſtructed at a much leſs expence, and having no mouths to provide for but the garriſon only.

figure that it was done by a man of inferior rank. When Monſ. Thurot, during our late war with France, appeared on the coaſt of Scotland with three armed veſſels, the terror he at firſt ſpred, ſoon yielded to admiration inſpired by his humanity. He paid a full price for every thing he wanted; and in general behaved with ſo much affability, that a countryman ventured to complain to him of an officer who had taken from him fifty or ſixty guineas. The officer acknowledged the fact; but ſaid, that he had divided the money among his men. Thurot ordered the officer to give his bill for the money, which, he ſaid, ſhould be ſtopped out of his pay, if they were ſo fortunate as to return to France. Compare this incident with that of the great Scipio, celebrated in Roman ſtory, who reſtored a beautiful bride to the bridegroom, and it will not ſuffer by the compariſon. Another inſtance is no leſs remarkable. One of his officers gave a bill upon a merchant in France, for the price of proviſions purchaſed by him. Thurot having accidentally ſeen the bill, informed the countryman that it was of no value, reprimanded the officer bitterly for the cheat, and compelled him to give a bill upon a merchant who he knew would pay the money. At that very time, Thurot's men were in bad humour, and were diſpoſed to mutiny. In ſuch circumſtances, would not Thurot have been excuſed, for winking at a fraud to which he was not acceſſory? But he acted all along with the ſtricteſt honour, even at the hazard of a mutiny. Common honeſty to an enemy is not a common practice in war. Thurot was ſtrictly honeſt in circumſtances that made the exertion of common honeſty an act of the higheſt magnanimity. Theſe incidents ought to be held up to princes as examples of true heroiſm. War carried on in that manner, would, from defolation and horror, be converted into a fair field for acquiring true military glory, and for exerciſing every manly virtue. I feel the greateſt ſatisfaction in paying this tribute of praiſe to the memory of that great man. He will be kept in remembrance by every true-hearted Briton, tho' he died fighting againſt us. But he died in the field of honour, fighting for his country.

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In the progreſs of ſociety there is commonly a remarkable period, when ſocial and diſſocial paſſions ſeem to bear equal ſway, prevailing alternately. In the hiſtory of Alexander's ſucceſſors, there are frequent inſtances of cruelty, equalling that of American ſavages; and inſtances no leſs frequent of gratitude, of generoſity, and even of clemency, that betoken manners highly poliſhed. Ptolemy of Egypt, having gained a complete victory over Demetrius, ſon of Antigonus, reſtored to him his equipage, his friends, and his domeſtics, ſaying, that "they ought not to make "war for plunder, but for glory." Demetrius having defeated one of Ptolemy's Generals, was leſs delighted with the victory, than with the opportunity of rivalling his antagoniſt in humanity. The ſame Demetrius having reſtored liberty to the Athenians, was treated by them as a demi-god; and yet afterward, in his adverſity, their gates were ſhut againſt him. Upon a change of fortune he laid ſiege to Athens, reſolving to chaſtiſe that rebellious and ungrateful people. He aſſembled the inhabitants in the theatre, ſurrounding them with his army, as preparing for a total maſſacre. But their terror was ſhort; he pronounced their pardon, and beſtow'd on them 100,000 meaſures of wheat. Ptolemy, the ſame who is mentioned above, having at the ſiege of Tyre ſummoned Andronicus the governor to ſurrender, received a provoking and contemptuous anſwer. The town being taken, Andronicus gave himſelf over for loſt: but the King, thinking it below his dignity to reſent an injury againſt an inferior, now his priſoner, not only overlooked the affront, but courted Andronicus to be his friend. Edward the Black Prince is an inſtance of refined manners, breaking, like a ſpark of fire, through the gloom of barbarity. The Emperor Charles V. after loſing 30,000 men at the ſiege of Metz, made an ignominious retreat, leaving his camp filled with ſick and wounded, dead and dying. Tho' the war between him and the King of France was carried on with unuſual

rancour, yet the Duke of Guiſe, governor of the town, exerted in thoſe barbarous times a degree of humanity that would make a ſplendid figure even at preſent: He ordered plenty of food for thoſe who were dying of hunger, appointed ſurgeons to attend the ſick and wounded, removed to the adjacent villages thoſe who could bear motion, and admitted the remainder into the hoſpitals that he had fitted up for his own ſoldiers; thoſe who recovered their health were ſent home, with money to defray the expence of the journey.

In the period that intervenes between barbarity and humanity, there are not wanting inſtances of oppoſite paſſions in the ſame perſon, governing alternately; as if a man could this moment be mild and gentle, and next momeut harſh and brutal. To vouch the obſervation, I beg leave to introduce two rival monarchs, who for many years diſtreſſed their own people, and diſturbed Europe, viz. the Emperor Charles, and the French King Francis. The Emperor, driven by contrary winds on the coaſt of France, was invited by Francis, who happened to be in the neighbourhood, to take ſhelter in his dominions, propoſing an interview at Aigues-Mortes, a ſea-port town. The Emperor inſtantly repaired there in his galley; and Francis, relying on the Emperor's honour, viſited him on ſhipboard, and was received with every expreſſion of affection. Next day, the Emperor repaid the confidence repoſed in him: he landed at Aigues-Mortes with as little precaution, and found a reception equally cordial. After twenty years of open hoſtilities, or of ſecret enmity, after having formally given the lie, and challenged each other to ſingle combat, after the Emperor had publicly inveighed againſt Francis as void of honour, and Francis had accuſed the Emperor as murderer of his own ſon; ſuch behaviour will ſcarce be thought conſiſtent with human nature. But theſe monarchs lived in a period verging from cruelty to humanity; and ſuch periods abound with ſurpriſing changes of temper

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and conduct. In the preſent times, ſuch changes are unknown.

Conqueſt has not always the ſame effect upon the manners of the conquered. The Tartars who ſubdued China in the thirteenth century, adopted immediately the Chineſe manners: the government, laws, cuſtoms, continued without variation. And the ſame happened upon their ſecond conqueſt of China in the ſeventeenth century. The barbarous nations alſo who cruſh'd the Roman empire, adopted the laws, cuſtoms, and manners, of the conquered. Very different was the fate of the Greek empire when conquered by the Turks. That warlike nation introduced every where their own laws and manners: even at this day they continue a diſtinct people, as much as ever. The Tartars, as well as the barbarians who overthrew the Roman empire, were all of them rude and illiterate, deſtitute of laws, and ignorant of government. Such nations readily adopt the laws and manners of a civilized people, whom they admire. The Turks had laws, and a regular government; and the Greeks, when ſubduded by them, were reduced by luxury and ſenſuality to be objects of contempt, not of imitation.

Manners are deeply affected by perſecution. The forms of procedure in the Inquiſition, enable the inquiſitors to ruin whom they pleaſe. A perſon accuſed is not confronted with the accuſer: every ſort of accuſation is welcome, and from every perſon: a child, a common proſtitute, one branded with infamy, are reputable witneſſes: a ſon is compelled to give evidence againſt his father, and a woman againſt her huſband. Nay the perſons accuſed are compelled to inform againſt themſelves, by gueſſing what ſin they may have been guilty of. Such odious, cruel, and tyrannical proceedings, made all Spain tremble: every man diſtruſted his neighbour, and even his own family: a total end was put to friendſhip, and to ſocial freedom. Hence the gravity and reſerve of a people, who have naturally all the vivacity of a tempe-

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rate clime and bountiful ſoil *. Hence the profound ignorance of that people, while other European nations are daily improving in every art and in every ſcience. Human nature is reduced to its loweſt ſtate, when governed by ſuperſtition clothed with power.

We proceed to another capital article in the hiſtory of manners, viz. the ſelfiſh and ſocial branches of our nature, by which manners are greatly influenced. Selfiſhneſs prevails among ſavages; becauſe corporeal pleaſures are its chief objects, and of theſe every ſavage is perfectly ſenſible. Benevolence and kindly affection are too refined for a ſavage, unleſs of the ſimpleſt kind, ſuch as the ties of blood. While artificial wants were unknown, ſelfiſhneſs made no figure: the means of gratifying the calls of nature were in plenty; and men who are not afraid of ever being in want, never think of providing againſt it; and far leſs do they think of coveting what belongs to another. But men are not long contented with ſimple neceſſaries: an unwearied appetite to be more and more comfortably provided, leads them from neceſſaries to conveniencies, and from theſe to every luxury of life. Avarice turns headſtrong; and locks and bars, formerly unknown, become neceſſary to protect individuals from the rapacity of their neighbours. When the goods of fortune, money in particular, come to be prized, ſelfiſhneſs ſoon diſplays itſelf. In Madagaſcar, a man who makes a preſent of an ox or a calf, expects the value in return: and ſcruples not to ſay, "You my friend, I your friend; "you no my friend, I no your friend; I ſalamanca you, you ſa- "lamanca me." Salamanca means, the making a preſent. Admiral Watſon being introduced to the King of Baba, in Madagaſcar, was aſked by his Majeſty, what preſents he had brought. Hence the cuſtom, univerſal among barbarians, of always accoſt-

* The populace of Spain, too low game for the inquiſition, are abundantly chearful, perhaps more ſo than thoſe of France.

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ing a king, or any man of high rank, with preſents. The peculiar excellence of man above all other animals, is the capacity he has of improving by education and example. In proportion as his faculties refine, he acquires a reliſh for ſociety, and finds a pleaſure in benevolence, generoſity, and in every other kindly affection, far above what ſelfiſhneſs can afford. How agreeable is this ſcene! Alas, too agreeable to laſt for ever. Opulence and luxury inflame the hoarding appetite; and ſelfiſhneſs at laſt prevails as it did originally. The ſelfiſhneſs however of ſavages differs from that of pampered people. Luxury, confining a man's whole views to himſelf, admits not of friendſhip, and ſcarce of any other ſocial paſſion. But where a ſavage takes a liking to a particular perſon, the whole force of his ſocial affection being directed to a ſingle object, becomes extremely fervid. Hence the unexampled friendſhip between Achilles and Patroclus in the Iliad; and hence many ſuch friendſhips among ſavages.

But there is much more to be ſaid of the influence of opulence on manners. Rude and illiterate nations are tenacious of their laws and manners; for they are governed by cuſtom, which is more and more rivetted by length of time. A people, on the contrary, who are poliſhed by having paſſed through various ſcenes, are full of invention, and conſtantly thinking of new modes. Manners in particular can never be ſtationary, in a nation which is refined by proſperity and the arts of peace. Good government will advance men to a high degree of civilization; but the very beſt government will not preſerve them from corruption, after becoming rich by proſperity. Opulence begets luxury, and envigorates the appetite for ſenſual pleaſure. The appetite, when inflamed, is never confined within moderate bounds, but clings to every object of gratification, without regard to propriety or decency. When Septimius Severus was elected Emperor, he found on the roll of cauſes depending before the judges in Rome no

fewer

fewer than three thouſand accuſations of adultery. From that moment he abandoned all thoughts of attempting a reformation. Love of pleaſure is ſimilar to love of money: the more they are indulged the more they are inflamed. Polygamy is an incentive to the vice againſt nature; one act of incontinence leading to others, without end. When the Sultan Achmet was depoſed at Conſtantinople, the people breaking into the houſe of one of his favourites, found not a ſingle woman. It is reported of the Algerines, that in many of their ſeraglios there are no women. For the ſame reaſon, polygamy is far from preventing adultery, a truth finely illuſtrated in Nathan's parable to David. What judgement then are we to form of the opulent cities London and Paris, where pleaſure is the ruling paſſion, and where riches are coveted as inſtruments of ſenſuality? What is to be expected but a peſtiferous corruption of manners? Selfiſhneſs, ingroſſing the whole ſoul, eradicates patriotiſm, and leaves not a cranny for ſocial virtue. If in that condition men abſtain from robbery or from murder, it is not love of juſtice that reſtrains them, but dread of puniſhment. Babylon is arraigned by Greek writers for luxury, ſenſuality, and profligacy. But Babylon repreſents the capital of every opulent kingdom, ancient and modern: the manners of all are the ſame; for power and riches never fail to produce luxury, ſenſuality, and profligacy. Canghi Emperor of China, who died in the year 1722, deſerves to be recorded in the annals of fame, for reſiſting the ſoftneſs and effeminacy of an Aſiatic court. Far from abandoning himſelf to ſenſual pleaſure, he paſſed ſeveral months yearly in the mountains of Tartary, moſtly on horſeback, and declining no fatigue. Nor in that ſituation were affairs of ſtate neglected: many hours he borrowed from ſleep, to hear his miniſters, and to iſſue orders. How few monarchs, bred up like Canghi in the downy indolence of a ſeraglio, have reſolution to withſtand the temptations of ſenſual pleaſure!

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In no other hiſtory is the influence of proſperity and opulence on manners ſo conſpicuous as in that of old Rome. During the ſecond Punic war, when the Romans were reduced by Hannibal to fight *pro aris et focis*, Hiero King of Syracuſe ſent to Rome a large quantity of corn, with a golden ſtatue of victory weighing three hundred and twenty pounds, which the ſenate accepted. But tho' their finances were at the loweſt ebb, they accepted but the lighteſt of forty golden vaſes preſented to them by the city of Naples; and politely returned, with many thanks, ſome golden vaſes ſent by the city of Pæſtum, in Lucania: A rare inſtance of magnanimity. But no degree of virtue is proof againſt the corruption of conqueſt and opulence. Upon the influx of Aſiatic riches and luxury, the Romans abandoned themſelves to every vice: they became in particular wonderfully avaricious, breaking through every reſtraint of juſtice and humanity *. Spain in particular, which abounded with gold and ſilver, was for many years a ſcene, not only of oppreſſion and cruelty, but of the baſeſt treachery, practiſed againſt the natives by ſucceſſive Roman generals, in order to accumulate wealth. Lucullus, who afterward made a capital figure in the Mithridatic war, attacked Cauca, a Celtiberian city, without the ſlighteſt provocation. Some of the principal citizens repaired to his camp with olive-branches, deſiring to be informed upon what conditions they could purchaſe his friendſhip. It was agreed, that they ſhould give hoſtages,

* Poſtquam divitiæ honori eſſe cœperunt, et eas gloria, imperium, potentia ſequebatur; hebeſcere virtus, paupertas probro haberi, innocentia pro malevolentia duci, cœpit. Igitur ex divitiis juventutem luxuria, atque avaritia, cum ſuperbia invaſere. *Salluſt. Bell. Cat. c.* 12.— [*In Engliſh thus:* "After it had become an "honour to be rich, and glory, empire, and power, became the attendants of "riches, virtue declined apace, poverty was reckoned diſgraceful, and innocence "was held ſecret malice. Thus to the introduction of riches our youth owe their "luxury, their avarice, and pride."]

with a hundred talents of ſilver. They alſo conſented to admit a garriſon of 2000 men, in order, as Lucullus pretended, to protect them againſt their enemies. But how were they protected? The gates were opened by the garriſon to the whole army; and the inhabitants were butchered, without diſtinction of ſex or age. What other remedy had they, but to invoke the gods preſiding over oaths and covenants, and to pour out execrations againſt the Romans for their perfidy? Lucullus, enriched with the ſpoils of the town, felt no remorſe for leaving 20,000 perſons dead upon the ſpot. Shortly after, having laid ſiege to Intercatia, he ſolicited a treaty of peace. The citizens, reproaching him with the ſlaughter of the Cauceans, aſked, whether, in making peace, he was not to employ the ſame right hand, and the ſame faith, he had already pledged to their countrymen. Seroclius Galba, another Roman general, perſuaded the Luſitanians to lay down their arms, promiſing them a fruitful territory inſtead of their own mountains; and having thus got them into his power, he ordered all of them to be murdered. Of the few that eſcaped Viriatus was one, who, in a long and bloody war againſt the Romans, amply avenged the maſſacre of his countrymen. Our author Appian reports, that Galba, ſurpaſſing even Lucullus in covetouſneſs, diſtributed but a ſmall ſhare of the plunder among the ſoldiers, converting the bulk of it to his own uſe. He adds, that tho' Galba was one of the richeſt men in Rome, yet he never ſcrupled at lies nor perjury to procure money. But the corruption was general: Galba being accuſed of many miſdemeanors, was acquitted by the ſenate through the force of bribes. A tribe of the Celtiberians, who had long ſerved the Romans againſt the Luſitanians, had an offer made them by Titus Didius of a territory in their neighbourhood, lately conquered by him. He appointed them a day to receive poſſeſſion; and having incloſed them in his camp under ſhew of friendſhip, he put them all to the ſword; for which mighty deed he obtained

tained the honour of a triumph. The double-dealing and treachery of the Romans, in their laſt war againſt Carthage, is beyond example. The Carthaginians ſuſpecting that a ſtorm was gathering againſt them, ſent deputies to Rome for ſecuring peace at any rate. The ſenate, in appearance, were diſpoſed to amicable meaſures, demanding only hoſtages; and yet, tho' three hundred hoſtages were delivered without loſs of time, the Roman army landed at Utica. The Carthaginian deputies attended the conſuls there, deſiring to know what more was to be done on their part. They were required to deliver up their arms; which they chearfully did, imagining that they were now certain of peace. Inſtead of which, they received peremptory orders to evacuate the city, with their wives and children; and to take up no habitation within eighty furlongs of the ſea. In peruſing Appian's hiſtory of that memorable event, compaſſion for the diſtreſſed Carthaginians is ſtifled by indignation at their treacherous oppreſſors. Durſt the monſters after ſuch treachery talk of *Punica fides?* The profligacy of the Roman people, during the triumvirate of Cæſar, Pompey, and Craſſus, is painted in lively colours by the ſame author. "For "a long time, diſorder and confuſion overſpread the common-"wealth: no office was obtained but by faction, bribery, or cri-"minal ſervice: no man was aſhamed to buy votes, which were "ſold in open market. One man there was, who, to obtain a "lucrative office, expended eight hundred talents (*a*): ill men "enriched themſelves with public money, or with bribes: no "honeſt man would ſtand candidate for an office; and into a ſi-"tuation ſo miſerable was the commonwealth reduced, that once "for eight months it had not a ſingle magiſtrate." Cicero, writing to Atticus that Clodius was acquitted by the influence of Craſſus, expreſſes himſelf in the following words. "Biduo, per unum

(*a*) About L. 150,000 Sterling.

" ſervum, et eum ex gladiatorio ludo, confecit totum negotium. " Accerſivit ad ſe, promiſit, interceſſit, dedit. Jam vero, O dii " boni, rem perditam! etiam noctes certarum mulierum, atque " adoleſcentulorum nobilium, introductiones nonnullis judicibus " pro mercedis cumulo fuerunt * (*a*)." Ptolomy King of Egypt was dethroned by his ſubjects for tyranny. Having repaired to Rome for protection, he found means to poiſon the greater part of a hundred Egyptians, his accuſers, and to aſſaſſinate Dion, their chief. And yet theſe crimes, perpetrated in the heart of Rome, were ſuffered to paſs with impunity. But he had ſecured the leading men by bribery, and was protected by Pompey. The following inſtance is, if poſſible, ſtill more groſs. Ptolomy, King of Cyprus, had always been a faithful ally to the Romans. But his gold, jewels, and precious moveables, were a tempting bait to the avarice of Rome; and all was confiſcated by a decree of the people, without even a pretext. Money procured by profligacy is not commonly hoarded up; and the Romans were no leſs voluptuous than avaricious. Alexander ab Alexandro mentions the Fanian, Orchian, Didian, Oppian, Cornelian, Ancian, and Julian laws, for repreſſing luxury of dreſs and of eating, all of which proved ineffectual. He adds, that Tiberius had it long at heart to contrive ſome effectual law againſt luxury, which now had ſurpaſſed all bounds; but that he found it impracticable to ſtem the tide. He concludes, that by tacit agreement among a corrupted

* " In two days he completed the affair, by the means of one ſlave, a gladiator. " He ſent for him, and by promiſes, wheedling, and large gifts, he gain'd his " point. Good God, to what an infamous height has corruption at length ar- " rived! Some judges were rewarded with a night's lodging of certain ladies; " and others, for an illuſtrious bribe, had ſome young boys of Noble family in- " troduced to them."

(*a*) Lib. 1. epiſt. 13.

people

people all ſumptuary laws were in effect abrogated; and that the Roman people, abandoning themſelves to vice, broke through every reſtraint of morality and religion (*a*). Tremble, O Britain, on the brink of a precipice! how little diſtant in rapacity from Roman ſenators are the leaders of thy people!

Riches produce another lamentable effect: they enervate the poſſeſſor, and degrade him into a coward. He who commands the labour of others, who eats without hunger, and reſts without fatigue, becomes feeble in mind, as well as in body, has no confidence in his own abilities, and is reduced to flatter his enemies, becauſe he hath not courage to brave them.

Selfiſhneſs among the rude and illiterate is rough, blunt, and undiſguiſed. Selfiſhneſs, which in an opulent kingdom uſurps the place of patriotiſm, is ſmooth, refined, and covered with a veil. Pecuniary intereſt, a low object, muſt be covered with the thickeſt veil: ambition, leſs diſhonourable, is leſs covered: but delicacy as to character and love of fame, are ſo honourable, that even the thinneſt veil is reckoned unneceſſary. Hiſtory juſtifies theſe obſervations. During the proſperity of Greece and Rome, when patriotiſm was the ruling paſſion, no man ever thought of employing a hoſtile weapon but againſt the enemies of his country: ſwords were not worn during peace, nor do we ever read of a private duel. The frequency of duels in modern times is no ſlight ſymptom of degeneracy: regardleſs of our country, ſelfiſhneſs is exerted without diſguiſe, when reputation or character is in queſtion; and a nice ſenſe of honour prompts revenge for every imagined affront, without regard to juſtice. How much more manly and patriotic was the behaviour of Themiſtocles, when inſulted by the Lacedemonian general in deliberating about the concerns of Greece! "Strike," ſays he, "but firſt hear me."

(*a*) Lib. 3. cap. 11.

When

When a nation, formerly in a flouriſhing ſtate, is depreſſed by luxury and ſelfiſhneſs, what follows next? Let the Egyptians anſwer the queſtion. That unhappy people, having for many ages been a prey to every barbarous invader, are now become effeminate, treacherous, cruel, and corrupted with every vice that debaſes humanity. A nation in its infancy, however ſavage, is ſuſceptible of every improvement; but a nation worn out with age and diſeaſe is ſuſceptible of no improvement. There is no remedy, but to let the natives die out, and to repeople the country with better men.

I fly from a ſcene ſo diſmal to one that will give no pain. Light is intended by our Maker for action, and darkneſs for reſt. In the fourteenth century, the ſhops in Paris were opened at four in the morning: at preſent, a ſhopkeeper is ſcarce awake at ſeven. The King of France dined at eight in the morning, and retired to his bedchamber at the ſame hour in the evening; an early hour at preſent for public amuſements. The Spaniards adhere to ancient cuſtoms *. Their King to this day dines preciſely at noon, and ſups no leſs preciſely at nine in the evening. During the reign of Henry VIII. faſhionable people in England breakfaſted at ſeven in the morning, and dined at ten in the forenoon. In Eliſabeth's time, the nobility, gentry, and ſtudents, dined at eleven forenoon, and ſupped between five and ſix afternoon. In the reign of Charles II. four in the afternoon was the appointed hour for acting plays. At preſent, even dinner is at a later hour. The King of Yeman, the greateſt prince in Arabia Fœlix, dines at nine in the morning, ſups at five after noon, and goes to reſt at eleven. From this ſhort ſpecimen it appears, that the occupations of daylight commence gradually later and later; as if there were a tendency in polite nations of converting night into day, and day into night. Nothing happens without a cauſe. Light diſpoſes to

* Manners and faſhions ſeldom change where women are locked up.

action,

action, darkneſs to reſt: The diverſions of day are tournaments, tennis, hunting, racing, and ſuch like active exerciſes: the diverſions of night are ſedentary; plays, cards, converſation. Balls are of a mixed nature, partly active in dancing, partly ſedentary in converſing. Formerly, active exerciſes prevailed among a robuſt and plain people: the milder pleaſures of ſociety prevail as manners refine. Hence it is, that candle-light amuſements are now faſhionable in France, and in other poliſhed countries; and when ſuch amuſements are much reliſhed, they baniſh the robuſt exerciſes of the field. Balls, I conjecture, were formerly more frequent in day-light: at preſent, candle-light is their favourite time: the active part is at that time equally agreeable; and the ſedentary part, much more ſo.

Gaming is the vice of idle people. Savages are addicted to gaming; and thoſe of North America in particular, are fond to diſtraction of a game termed *the platter*. A loſing gameſter will ſtrip himſelf to the ſkin; and ſome have been known to ſtake their liberty, tho' by them valued above all other bleſſings. Negroes in the ſlave-coaſt of Guinea will ſtake their wives, their children, and even themſelves. Tacitus (*a*), talking of gaming among the Germans, ſays, "Extremo ac noviſſimo jactu, de libertate et de "corpore contendant *." The Greeks were an active and ſprightly people, conſtantly engaged in war, or in cultivating the fine arts. They had no leiſure for gaming, nor any knowledge of it. Happy for them was their ignorance; for no other vice tends more to render men ſelfiſh, diſhoneſt, and, in the modiſh ſtyle, diſhonourable. A gameſter, a friend to no man, is a bitter enemy to himſelf. The luxurious of the preſent age, paſs every hour in gaming that can be ſpared from ſenſual pleaſure. Idle-

* "For their laſt throw they ſtake their liberty and life."

(*a*) De moribus Germanorum, c. 24.

neſs

neſs is their excuſe, as it is among ſavages; and they would in ſome degree be excuſable, were they never actuated by a more diſgraceful motive.

Writers do not carefully diſtinguiſh, particular cuſtoms from general manners. Formerly, women were not admitted upon the ſtage in France, Italy, or England. At that very time, none but women were admitted in Spain. From that faſhion it would be raſh to infer, that women have more liberty in Spain than in the other countries mentioned; for the contrary is true. In Hindoſtan, eſtabliſhed cuſtom prompts women to burn themſelves alive with the bodies of their deceaſed huſbands; but from that ſingular cuſtom, it would be a falſe inference, that the Hindow women are either more bold, or more affectionate to their huſbands, than in other countries. The Polanders, even after they became Chriſtians in the thirteenth century, adhered to the cuſtoms of their forefathers, the Sarmatians; the killing, for example, infants born deformed, and men debilitated by age; which would betoken horrid barbarity, if it were not a ſingular cuſtom. Roman Catholics imagine, that there is no religion in England nor in Holland, becauſe, from a ſpirit of civil liberty, all ſects are there tolerated. The encouragement given to aſſaſſination in Italy, where every church is a ſanctuary, makes ſtrangers raſhly infer, that the Italians are all aſſaſſins. Writers ſometimes fall into an oppoſite miſtake, attributing to a particular nation, certain manners and cuſtoms common to all nations in one or other period of their progreſs. It is remarked by Heraclides Ponticus as peculiar to the Athamanes, that the men fed the flocks, and the women cultivated the ground. This has been the practice of all nations, in their progreſs from the ſhepherd-ſtate to that of huſbandry; and is at preſent the practice among American ſavages. The ſame author obſerves as peculiar to the Celtæ and Aphitæi, that they leave their doors open without hazard of theft.

But

But that practice is common among all ſavages in the firſt ſtage of ſociety, before the uſe of money is known.

Hitherto there appears as great uniformity in the progreſs of manners, as can reaſonably be expected among ſo many different nations. There is one exception, extraordinary indeed if true, which is, the manners of the Caledonians deſcribed by Oſſian, manners ſo pure and refined as ſcarce to be equalled in the moſt cultivated nations. Such manners among a people in the firſt ſtage of ſociety, acquainted with no arts but hunting and making war, would, I acknowledge, be miraculous: and yet to ſuppoſe all to be invented by an illiterate ſavage, ſeems little leſs miraculous. One, at firſt view, will, without heſitation, declare the whole a pure fiction; for how is it credible, that a people, rude at preſent and illiterate, were, in the infancy of their ſociety, highly refined in ſentiments and manners? And yet upon a more accurate inſpection, many weighty conſiderations occur to balance that opinion.

From a thouſand circumſtances it appears, that the works of Oſſian are not a late production. They are compoſed in an old dialect of the Celtic tongue; and as, till of late, they were known only in the highlands of Scotland, the author muſt have been a Caledonian. The tranſlator (*a*) ſaw in the Iſle of Sky the firſt four books of the poem Fingal, written in a fair hand on vellum, and bearing date in the year 1403. The natives believe that poem to be very ancient: every perſon has paſſages of it by heart, tranſmitted by memory from their forefathers. Their dogs bear commonly the name of *Luath*, *Bran*, &c. mentioned in theſe poems, as our dogs do of *Pompey* and *Cæſar* *. Many other particulars might

(*a*) Mr Macpherſon.

* In the Iſle of Sky, the ruins of the caſtle of Dunſcaich upon an inacceſſible rock

might be mentioned; but theſe are ſufficient to evince, that the work muſt have exiſted at leaſt three or four centuries. And taking that for granted, I proceed to certain conſiderations tending to evince, that the manners deſcribed in Oſſian were Caledonian manners, and not a pure fiction. And after peruſing with attention theſe conſiderations, I am not afraid that even the moſt incredulous will continue altogether unſhaken.

It is a noted and well-founded obſervation, That manners are never painted to the life by any one to whom they are not familiar. It is not difficult to draw the outlines of imaginary manners; but to fill up the picture with all the variety of tints that manners aſſume in different ſituations, uniting all in one entire whole,—*hic labor, hoc opus eſt.* Yet the manners here ſuppoſed to be invented, are delineated in a variety of incidents, of ſentiments, of images, and of alluſions, making one entire picture, without once deviating into the ſlighteſt incongruity. Every ſcene in Oſſian relates to hunting, to fighting, and to love, the ſole occupations of men in the original ſtate of ſociety: there is not a ſingle image, ſimile, nor alluſion, but what is borrowed from that ſtate, without a jarring circumſtance. Suppoſing all to be mere invention, is it not amazing to find no mention of highland clans, nor of any name now in uſe? Is it not ſtill more amazing, that there is not the ſlighteſt hint of the Chriſtian religion, not even in a metaphor or alluſion? Is it not equally amazing, that in a work where deer's fleſh is frequently mentioned, and a curious method of roaſting it, there ſhould not be a word of fiſh as food, which is ſo common in later times? Very few

rock hanging over the ſea, are ſtill viſible. That caſtle, as vouched by tradition, belonged to Cuchullin Lord of that Iſle, whoſe hiſtory is recorded in the Poem of Fingal. Upon the green before the caſtle there is a great ſtone, to which, according to the ſame tradition, his dog Luath was chained.

highlanders

highlanders know that their forefathers did not eat fiſh; and ſuppoſing it to be known, it would require attention more than human, never once to mention it. Can it be ſuppoſed, that a modern writer could be ſo conſtantly on his guard, as never to mention corn, nor cattle? In a ſtory ſo ſcanty of poetical images, the ſedentary life of a ſhepherd, and the induſtry of a huſbandman, would make a capital figure: the cloven foot would ſomewhere appear. And yet in all the works of Oſſian, there is no mention of agriculture; and but a ſlight hint of a herd of cattle in one or two alluſions. I willingly give all advantages to the unbeliever: Suppoſing the author of Oſſian to be a late writer, embelliſhed with every refinement of modern education; yet even upon that ſuppoſition he is a miracle, far from being equalled by any other author ancient or modern.

But difficulties multiply, when it is taken into the account, that the poems of Oſſian have exiſted three or four centuries at leaſt. Our highlanders at preſent are rude and illiterate; and were in fact little better than ſavages at the period mentioned. Now to hold the manners deſcribed in that work to be imaginary, is in effect to hold, that they were invented by a highland ſavage, acquainted with the rude manners of his country, but utterly unacquainted with every other ſyſtem of manners. From what ſource did he draw the refined manners ſo deliciouſly painted by him? Suppoſing him to have been a traveller, of which we have not the ſlighteſt hint, the manners at that period of France, of Italy, and of other neighbouring nations, were little leſs barbarous than thoſe of his own country. I can diſcover no ſource other than direct inſpiration. In a word, whoever ſeriouſly believes the manners of Oſſian to be fictitious, may well ſay, with the religious enthuſiaſt, *Credo quia impoſſibile eſt:* "I believe it becauſe it is impoſ-"ſible."

But further: The uncommon talents of the author of this work

will cheerfully be acknowledged by every reader of taſte: he certainly was a great maſter in his way. Now, whether the work be late, or compoſed four centuries ago, a man of ſuch talents inventing a hiſtorical fable, and laying the ſcene of action among ſavages in the hunter-ſtate, would naturally frame a ſyſtem of manners the beſt ſuited in his opinion to that ſtate. What then could tempt him to adopt a ſyſtem of manners ſo oppoſite to any notion he could frame of ſavage manners? The abſurdity is ſo groſs, that we are forced, however reluctantly, to believe, that theſe manners are not fictitious, but in reality the manners of his country, coloured perhaps, or a little heightened, according to the privilege of an epic poet. And once admitting that fact, there can be no heſitation in aſcribing the work to Oſſian, ſon of Fingal, whoſe name it bears: we have no better evidence for the authors of ſeveral Greek and Roman books. Upon the ſame evidence we muſt believe, that Oſſian lived in the reign of the Emperor Caracalla, of whom frequent mention is made under the deſignation of *Caracul the Great King*; at which period the ſhepherd-ſtate was ſcarce known in Caledonia, and huſbandry not at all. Had he lived ſo late as the twelfth century, when there were flocks and herds in that country, and ſome ſort of agriculture, a poet of genius, ſuch as Oſſian undoubtedly was, would have drawn from theſe his fineſt images.

The foregoing conſiderations, I am perſuaded, would not fail to convert the moſt incredulous, were it not for a conſequence extremely improbable, that a people, little better at preſent than ſavages, were in their primitive hunter-ſtate highly refined; for ſuch Oſſian deſcribes them. And yet it is not leſs improbable that ſuch manners ſhould be invented by an illiterate highland bard. Let a man chuſe either ſide, the difficulty cannot be ſolved but by a miracle. What ſhall we conclude upon the whole? for the mind cannot for ever remain in ſuſpenſe. As dry reaſoning has

has left us in a dilemma, taſte perhaps and feeling may extricate us. May not the caſe be here as in real painting? A portrait drawn from fancy may reſemble the human viſage; but ſuch peculiarity of countenance and expreſſion as ſerves to diſtinguiſh a certain perſon from every other, is always wanting. Preſent a portrait to a man of taſte, and he will be at no loſs to ſay, whether it be copied from the life, or be the product of fancy. If Oſſian paint from fancy, the cloven foot will appear: but if his portraits be complete, ſo as to expreſs every peculiarity of character, why ſhould we doubt of their being copied from life? In that view, the reader, I am hopeful, will not think his time thrown away in examining ſome of Oſſian's ſtriking pictures. ſee not another reſource.

Love of fame is painted by Oſſian as the ruling paſſion of his countrymen the Caledonians. Warriors are every where deſcribed, as eſteeming it their chief happineſs to be recorded in the ſongs of the bards: that feature is never wanting in any of Oſſian's heroes. Take the following inſtances. "King of the roaring "Strumon, ſaid the riſing joy of Fingal, do I behold thee in "arms after thy ſtrength has failed? Often hath Morni ſhone "in battles, like the beam of the riſing ſun, when he diſperſes "the ſtorms of the hill, and brings peace to the glittering fields. "But why didſt thou not reſt in thine age? Thy renown is in "the ſong: the people behold thee, and bleſs the departure of "mighty Morni (*a*). Son of Fingal, he ſaid, why burns the ſoul "of Gaul? My heart beats high: my ſteps are diſordered; and "my hand trembles on my ſword. When I look toward the foe, "my ſoul lightens before me, and I ſee their ſleeping hoſt. "Tremble thus the ſouls of the valiant in battles of the ſpear? "How would the ſoul of Morni riſe if we ſhould ruſh on the foe!

(*a*) Lathmon.

"Our

" Our renown would grow in the ſong, and our ſteps be ſtately " in the eye of the brave * (*a*)."

That a warrior has acquired his fame is a conſolation in every diſtreſs: " Carril, ſaid the King in ſecret, the ſtrength of Cu- " chullin fails. My days are with the years that are paſt; and " no morning of mine ſhall ariſe. They ſhall ſeek me at Temora, " but I ſhall not be found. Cormac will weep in his hall, and " ſay, Where is Tura's chief? But my name is renowned, my " fame in the ſong of bards. The youth will ſay in ſecret, *O let* " *me die as Cuchullin died: renown clothed him like a robe; and the* " *light of his fame is great.* Draw the arrow from my ſide; and " lay Cuchullin below that oak. Place the ſhield of Caithbat near, " that they may behold me amid the arms of my fathers (*b*)." Fingal ſpeaks: " Ullin, my aged bard, take the ſhip of the King. " Carry Oſcar to Selma, and let the daughters of Morven weep. " We ſhall fight in Erin for the race of fallen Cormac. The days " of my years begin to fail: I feel the weakneſs of my arm. My " fathers bend from their clouds to receive their gray-hair'd ſon. " But, Trenmor! before I go hence, one beam of my fame ſhall " riſe: in fame ſhall my days end, as my years begun: my life " ſhall be one ſtream of light to other times (*c*)." Oſſian ſpeaks:

* Love of fame is a laudable paſſion, which every man values himſelf upon. Fame in war is acquired by courage and candour, which are eſteemed by all: it is not acquired by fighting for ſpoil, becauſe avarice is deſpiſed by all. The ſpoils of an enemy were diſplay'd at a Roman triumph, not for their own ſake, but as a mark of victory. When nations at war degenerate from love of fame to love of gain, ſtratagem, deceit, breach of faith, and every ſort of immorality, are never-failing conſequences.

(*a*) Lathmon.

(*b*) The death of Cuchullin.

(*c*) Temora.

" Did

" Did thy beauty laſt, O Ryno! ſtood the ſtrength of car-borne " Oſcar *! Fingal himſelf paſſed away, and the halls of his fa- " thers forgot his ſteps. And ſhalt thou remain, aged bard, when " the mighty have failed? But my fame ſhall remain; and grow " like the oak of Morven, which lifts its broad head to the ſtorm, " and rejoiceth in the courſe of the wind (*a*)."

The chief cauſe of affliction when a young man is cut off in battle, is his not having received his fame: " And fell the ſwifteſt " in the race, ſaid the King, the firſt to bend the bow? Thou " ſcarce haſt been known to me; why did young Ryno fall? But " ſleep thou ſoftly on Lena, Fingal ſhall ſoon behold thee. Soon " ſhall my voice be heard no more, and my footſteps ceaſe to be " ſeen. The bards will tell of Fingal's name: the ſtones will talk " of me. But, Ryno! thou art low indeed, thou haſt not re- " ceived thy fame. Ullin, ſtrike the harp for Ryno; tell what " the chief would have been. Farewell thou firſt in every field. " No more ſhall I direct thy dart. Thou that haſt been ſo fair; " I behold thee not.——Farewell (*b*)." " Calthon ruſhed into the " ſtream: I bounded forward on my ſpear: Teutha's race fell " before us: night came rolling down. Dunthalmo reſted on a " rock, amidſt an aged wood: the rage of his boſom burned a- " gainſt the car-borne Calthon. But Calthon ſtood in his grief; " he mourned the fallen Colmar; Colmar ſlain in youth, before " his fame aroſe (*c*)."

* Several of Oſſian's heroes are deſcribed as fighting in cars. The Britons in general fought in that manner. Britanni dimicant non equitatu modo, aut pedite, verum et bigis et curribus. *Pomponius Mela*, *l.* 3. — [*In Engliſh thus:* " The Bri- " tons fight, not only with cavalry, or foot, but alſo with cars and chariots."]

(*a*) Berrathon.

(*b*) Fingal.

(*c*) Calthon and Colmar.

Lamentation

Lamentation for loſs of fame. Cuchullin ſpeaks: "But, O ye "ghoſts of the lonely Cromla! ye ſouls of chiefs that are no "more! be ye the companions of Cuchullin, and talk to him in "the cave of his ſorrow. For never more ſhall I be renowned "among the mighty in the land. I am like a beam that has "ſhone; like a miſt that fled away when the blaſt of the morning "came, and brightened the ſhaggy ſide of the hill. Connal, talk "of arms no more: departed is my fame. My ſighs ſhall be on "Cromla's wind, till my footſteps ceaſe to be ſeen. And thou "white-boſom'd Bragéla, mourn over the fall of my fame; for, "vanquiſhed, never will I return to thee, thou ſun-beam of "Dunſcaich (*a*)."

Love of fame begets heroic actions, which go hand in hand with elevated ſentiments: of the former there are examples in every page; of the latter take the following examples. "And let "him come, replied the King. I love a foe like Cathmor: his "ſoul is great; his arm ſtrong; and his battles full of fame. "But the little ſoul is like a vapour that hovers round the marſhy "lake, which never riſes on the green hill, leſt the winds meet it "there (*b*)." Oſſian ſpeaks: "But let us fly, ſon of Morni, "Lathmon deſcends the hill. Then let our ſteps be ſlow, replied "the fair-hair'd Gaul, leſt the foe ſay with a ſmile, Behold the "warriors of night: they are like ghoſts, terrible in darkneſs; "but they melt away before the beam of the Eaſt (*c*)." "Son of "the feeble hand, ſaid Lathmon, ſhall my hoſt deſcend! They "are but two, and ſhall a thouſand lift their ſteel! Nuah would "mourn in his hall for the departure of Lathmon's fame: his "eyes would turn from Lathmon, when the tread of his feet ap-

(*a*) Fingal.

(*b*) Lathmon.

(*c*) Lathmon.

"proached.

" proached. Go thou to the heroes, ſon of Dutha, for I behold " the ſtately ſteps of Oſſian. His fame is worthy of my ſteel: " let him fight with Lathmon (*a*)." " Fingal does not delight in " battle, tho' his arm is ſtrong. My renown grows on the fall of " the haughty: the lightning of my ſteel pours on the proud in " arms. The battle comes; and the tombs of the valiant riſe; " the tombs of my people riſe, O my fathers! and I at laſt muſt " remain alone. But I will remain renowned, and the departure " of my ſoul ſhall be one ſtream of light (*b*)." " I raiſed my voice " for Fovar-gormo, when they laid the chief in earth. The aged " Crothar was there, but his ſigh was not heard. He ſearched " for the wound of his ſon, and found it in his breaſt: joy roſe " in the face of the aged: he came and ſpoke to Oſſian: King of " ſpears, my ſon hath not fallen without his fame: the young " warrior did not fly, but met death as he went forward in his " ſtrength. Happy are they who die in youth, when their re- " nown is heard: their memory ſhall be honoured in the ſong; " the young tear of the virgin falls (*c*)." " Cuchullin kindled at " the fight, and darkneſs gathered on his brow. His hand was " on the ſword of his fathers: his red-rolling eye on the foe. He " thrice attempted to ruſh to battle, and thrice did Connal ſtop " him. Chief of the iſle of miſt, he ſaid, Fingal ſubdues the " foe: ſeek not a part of the fame of the King (*d*)."

The pictures that Oſſian draws of his countrymen are no leſs remarkable for tender ſentiments, than for elevation. Parental affection is finely touched in the following paſſage. " Son of Com-

(*a*) Lathmon.

(*b*) Lathmon.

(*c*) Croma.

(*d*) Fingal.

" hal, replied the chief, the ſtrength of Morni's arm has failed. " I attempt to draw the ſword of my youth, but it remains in its " place: I throw the ſpear, but it falls ſhort of the mark; and I " feel the weight of my ſhield. We decay like the graſs of the " mountain, and our ſtrength returns no more. I have a ſon, O " Fingal! his ſoul has delighted in the actions of Morni's youth; " but his ſword has not been lifted againſt the foe, neither has " his fame begun. I come with him to battle, to direct his arm. " His renown will be a ſun to my ſoul, in the dark hour of my " departure. O that the name of Morni were forgot among the " people, that the heroes would only ſay, Behold the father of " Gaul (*a*)!" And no leſs finely touched is grief for the loſs of children: " We ſaw Oſcar leaning on his ſhield: we ſaw his " blood around. Silence darkened on the face of every hero: " each turned his back and wept. The King ſtrove to hide his " tears. He bends his head over his ſon; and his words are " mixed with ſighs. And art thou fallen, Oſcar, in the midſt of " thy courſe! The heart of the aged beats over thee. I ſee thy " coming battles: I behold the battles that ought to come, but " they are cut off from thy fame. When ſhall joy dwell at Sel- " ma? when ſhall the ſong of grief ceaſe on Morven? My ſons " fall by degrees, Fingal will be the laſt of his race. The fame I " have received ſhall paſs away: my age ſhall be without friends. " I ſhall ſit like a grey cloud in my hall: nor ſhall I expect the re- " turn of a ſon with his ſounding arms. Weep, ye heroes of Mor- " ven; never more will Oſcar riſe (*b*)." Crothar ſpeaks. " Son " of Fingal! doſt thou not behold the darkneſs of Crothar's hall " of ſhells? My ſoul was not dark at the feaſt, when my people " lived. I rejoiced in the preſence of ſtrangers, when my ſon

(*a*) Lathmon.

(*b*) Temora.

" ſhone

" ſhone in the hall. But, Oſſian, he is a beam that is departed, and " left no ſtreak of light behind. He is fallen, ſon of Fingal, in the " battles of his father.——Rothmar, the chief of graſſy Tromlo, " heard that my eyes had failed; he heard, that my arms were " fixed in the hall, and the pride of his ſoul aroſe. He came to- " ward Croma; my people fell before him. I took my arms in " the hall; but what could ſightleſs Crothar do? My ſteps were " unequal; my grief was great. I wiſhed for the days that were " paſt, days wherein I fought and won in the field of blood. My " ſon returned from the chace, the fair-hair'd Fovar-gormo. He " had not lifted his ſword in battle, for his arm was young. But " the ſoul of the youth was great; the fire of valour burnt in his " eyes. He ſaw the diſordered ſteps of his father, and his ſigh " aroſe. King of Croma, he ſaid, is it becauſe thou haſt no ſon; " is it for the weakneſs of Fovar-gormo's arm that thy ſighs a- " riſe? I begin, my father, to feel the ſtrength of my arm; I " have drawn the ſword of my youth; and I have bent the bow. " Let me meet this Rothmar with the youths of Croma: let me " meet him, O my father; for I feel my burning ſoul. And " thou ſhalt meet him, I ſaid, ſon of the ſightleſs Crothar! But " let others advance before thee, that I may hear the tread of thy " feet at thy return; for my eyes behold thee not, fair-hair'd " Fovar-gormo!——He went, he met the foe; he fell. The foe " advances toward Croma. He who ſlew my ſon is near, with all " his pointed ſpears (*a*)."

The following ſentiments about the ſhortneſs of human life are pathetic. " Deſolate is the dwelling of Moina, ſilence in the houſe " of her fathers. Raiſe the ſong of mourning over the ſtrangers. " One day we muſt fall; and they have only fallen before us.—— " Why doſt thou build the hall, ſon of the winged days! Thou

(*a*) Croma.

" lookeſt from thy towers to day: ſoon will the blaſt of the deſert
" come. It howls in thy empty court, and whiſtles over thy half-
" worn ſhield (*a*)." " How long ſhall we weep on Lena, or pour
" our tears in Ullin! The mighty will not return; nor Oſcar riſe
" in his ſtrength: the valiant muſt fall one day, and be no more
" known. Where are our fathers, O warriors, the chiefs of the
" times of old! They are ſet, like ſtars that have ſhone: we only
" hear the ſound of their praiſe. But they were renowned in
" their day, and the terror of other times. Thus ſhall we paſs,
" O warriors, in the day of our fall. Then let us be renowned
" while we may; and leave our fame behind us, like the laſt
" beams of the ſun, when he hides his red head in the weſt (*b*)."

In Homer's time, heroes were greedy of plunder; and, like robbers, were much diſpoſed to inſult a vanquiſhed foe. According to Oſſian, the ancient Caledonians had no idea of plunder: and as they fought for fame only, their humanity overflow'd to the vanquiſhed. American ſavages, it is true, are not addicted to plunder, and are ready to beſtow on the firſt comer what trifles they force from the enemy. But they have no notion of a pitched battle, nor of ſingle combat: on the contrary, they value themſelves upon ſlaughtering their enemies by ſurpriſe, without riſking their own ſweet perſons. Agreeable to the magnanimous character given by Oſſian of his countrymen, we find humanity blended with courage in all their actions. " Fingal pitied the
" white-armed maid: he ſtayed the uplifted ſword. The tear
" was in the eye of the King, as bending forward he ſpoke:
" King of ſtreamy Sora, fear not the ſword of Fingal: it was ne-
" ver ſtained with the blood of the vanquiſhed; it never pierced
" a fallen foe. Let thy people rejoice along the blue waters of

(*a*) Carthon.

(*b*) Temora.

" Tora:

" Tora: let the maids of thy love be glad. Why ſhould'ſt thou " fall in thy youth, King of ſtreamy Sora (*a*)!" Fingal ſpeaks: " Son of my ſtrength, he ſaid, take the ſpear of Fingal: go to " Teutha's mighty ſtream, and ſave the car-borne Colmar. Let " thy fame return before thee like a pleaſant gale; that my ſoul " may rejoice over my ſon, who renews the renown of our fa- " thers. Oſſian! be thou a ſtorm in battle, but mild where the " foes are low. It was thus my fame aroſe, O my ſon; and be " thou like Selma's chief. When the haughty come to my hall, " my eyes behold them not; but my arm is ſtretched forth to " the unhappy, my ſword defends the weak (*b*)." " O Oſcar! " bend the ſtrong in arm, but ſpare the feeble hand. Be thou a " ſtream of many tides againſt the foes of thy people, but like the " gale that moves the graſs to thoſe who aſk thy aid. Never " ſearch for the battle, nor ſhun it when it comes. So Trenmor " lived; ſuch Trathal was; and ſuch has Fingal been. My arm " was the ſupport of the injured; and the weak reſted behind the " lightning of my ſteel (*c*)."

Humanity to the vanquiſhed is diſplay'd in the following paſ- ſages. After defeating in battle Swaran King of Lochlin, Fingal ſays, " Raiſe, Ullin, raiſe the ſong of peace, and ſoothe my ſoul " after battle, that my ear may forget the noiſe of arms. And " let a hundred harps be near to gladden the King of Lochlin: " he muſt depart from us with joy: none ever went ſad from " Fingal. Oſcar, the lightning of my ſword is againſt the ſtrong; " but peaceful it hangs by my ſide when warriors yield in " battle (*d*)" " Uthal fell beneath my ſword, and the ſons of

(*a*) Carric-thura.

(*b*) Calthon and Colmal.

(*c*) Fingal, book 3.

(*d*) Fingal, book 6.

" Berrathon

" Berrathon fled. It was then I ſaw him in his beauty, and the " tear hung in my eye. Thou art fallen, young tree, I ſaid, with " all thy budding beauties round thee. The winds come from " the deſert, and there is no ſound in thy leaves. Lovely art " thou in death, ſon of car-borne Lathmor (*a*)."

After the ſcenes above exhibited, it will not be thought that Oſſian deviates from the manners repreſented by him, in deſcribing the hoſpitality of his chieftains: " We heard the voice of joy on " the coaſt, and we thought that the mighty Cathmor came; " Cathmor, the friend of ſtrangers, the brother of red-hair'd Cair- " bar. But their ſouls were not the ſame; for the light of " heaven was in the boſom of Cathmor. His towers roſe on " the banks of Atha: ſeven paths led to his hall: ſeven chiefs " ſtood on theſe paths, and called the ſtranger to the feaſt. But " Cathmor dwelt in the wood, to avoid the voice of praiſe (*b*)." " Rathmor was a chief of Clutha. The feeble dwelt in his hall. " The gates of Rathmor were never cloſed: his feaſt was always " ſpread. The ſons of the ſtranger came, and bleſſed the gene- " rous chief of Clutha. Bards raiſed the ſong, and touched the " harp: joy brightened on the face of the mournful. Dunthal- " mo came in his pride, and ruſhed into combat with Rathmor. " The chief of Clutha overcame. The rage of Dunthalmo roſe: " he came by night with his warriors; and the mighty Rathmor " fell: he fell in his hall, where his feaſt had been often ſpread " for ſtrangers (*c*)." It ſeems not to exceed the magnanimity of his chieftains, intent upon glory only, to feaſt even their enemies before a battle. Cuchullin, after the firſt day's engagement with Swaran, King of Lochlin or Scandinavia, ſays to Carril, one of

(*a*) Berrathon.

(*b*) Temora.

(*c*) Calthon and Colmal.

his

his bards, " Is this feaſt ſpread for me alone, and the King of " Lochlin on Ullin's ſhore; far from the deer of his hills, and " ſounding halls of his feaſts? Riſe, Carril of other times, and " carry my words to Swaran; tell him from the roaring of wa- " ters, that Cuchullin gives his feaſt. Here let him liſten to the " ſound of my groves amid the clouds of night: for cold and " bleak the bluſtering winds ruſh over the foam of his ſeas. Here " let him praiſe the trembling harp, and hear the ſongs of he- " roes (*a*)." The Scandinavian King, leſs poliſhed, refuſed the invitation. Cairbar ſpeaks: " Spread the feaſt on Lena, and let " my hundred bards attend. And thou, red-hair'd Olla, take the " harp of the King. Go to Oſcar, King of ſwords, and bid him " to our feaſt. To-day we feaſt and hear the ſong; to-morrow " break the ſpears (*b*)." " Olla came with his ſongs. Oſcar went " to Cairbar's feaſt. Three hundred heroes attend the chief, and " the clang of their arms is terrible. The gray dogs bound on " the heath, and their howling is frequent. Fingal ſaw the de- " parture of the hero: the ſoul of the King was ſad. He dreads " the gloomy Cairbar: but who of the race of Trenmor fears the " foe (*c*)?"

Cruelty is every where condemned as an infamous vice. Speaking of the bards, " Cairbar feared to ſtretch his ſword to the " bards, tho' his ſoul was dark; but he cloſed us in the midſt of " darkneſs. Three days we pined alone: on the fourth the noble " Cathmor came. He heard our voice from the cave, and turned " the eye of his wrath on Cairbar. Chief of Atha, he ſaid, how " long wilt thou pain my ſoul? Thy heart is like the rock of the " deſert, and thy thoughts are dark. But thou art the brother

(*a*) Fingal, book 1.

(*b*) Temora.

(*c*) Temora.

" of

" of Cathmor, and he will fight thy battles. Cathmor's ſoul is " not like thine, thou feeble hand of war. The light of my bo- " ſom is ſtained with thy deeds. The bards will not ſing of my " renown: they may ſay, Cathmor was brave, but he fought for " gloomy Cairbair: they will paſs over my tomb in ſilence, and " my fame ſhall not be heard. Cairbar, looſe the bards; they are " the ſons of other times: their voice ſhall be heard in other ages " when the Kings of Temora have failed (*a*)." " Ullin rais'd his " white ſails: the wind of the ſouth came forth. He bounded on " the waves toward Selma's walls. The feaſt is ſpread on Lena: " an hundred heroes reared the tomb of Cairbar; but no ſong is " raiſed over the chief, for his ſoul had been dark and bloody. We " remembered the fall of Cormac; and what could we ſay in Cair- " bar's praiſe (*b*)."

Genuine manners never were repreſented more to the life by a Tacitus nor a Shakeſpear. Such painting is above the reach of pure invention, and muſt be the work of knowledge and feeling.

One may diſcover the manners of a nation from the figure their women make. Among ſavages, women are treated like ſlaves; and they acquire not the dignity that belongs to the ſex, till manners be conſiderably refined. According to the manners above deſcribed, women ought to have made a conſiderable figure among the ancient Caledonians. Let us examine Oſſian upon that ſubject, in order to judge whether he carries on the ſame tone of manners to every particular. That women were highly regarded, appears from the following paſſages. " Daughter of the hand of " ſnow! I was not ſo mournful and blind, I was not ſo dark and " forlorn, when Everallin loved me, Everallin with the dark- " brown hair, the white-boſomed love of Cormac. A thouſand

(*a*) Temora.

(*b*) Temora.

" heroes

" heroes ſought the maid, ſhe denied her love to a thouſand; the " ſons of the ſword were deſpiſed; for graceful in her eyes was " Oſſian. I went in ſuit of the maid to Lego's ſable ſurge; twelve " of my people were there, ſons of the ſtreamy Morven. We " came to Branno friend of ſtrangers, Branno of the ſounding " mail.—From whence, he ſaid, are the arms of ſteel? Not ea- " ſy to win is the maid that has denied the blue-eyed ſons of Erin. " But bleſt be thou, O ſon of Fingal, happy is the maid that " waits thee. Tho' twelve daughters of beauty were mine, thine " were the choice, thou ſon of fame! Then he opened the hall " of the maid, the dark-hair'd Everallin. Joy kindled in our " breaſts of ſteel, and bleſt the maid of Branno (*a*)." " Now " Connal, on Cromla's windy ſide, ſpoke to the chief of the noble " car. Why that gloom, ſon of Semo? Our friends are the " mighty in battle. And renowned art thou, O warrior! many " were the deaths of thy ſteel. Often has Bragela met thee with " blue-rolling eyes of joy; often has ſhe met her hero returning " in the midſt of the valiant, when his ſword was red with ſlaugh- " ter, and his foes ſilent in the field of the tomb. Pleaſant to her " ears were thy bards, when thine actions roſe in the ſong (*b*)." " But, King of Morven, if I ſhall fall, as one time the warrior " muſt fall, raiſe my tomb in the midſt, and let it be the great- " eſt on Lena. And ſend over the dark-blue wave the ſword of " Orla, to the ſpouſe of his love; that ſhe may ſhow it to her ſon, " with tears, to kindle his ſoul to war (*c*)." " I lifted my eyes " to Cromla, and I ſaw the ſon of generous Semo.—Sad and ſlow " he retired from his hill toward the lonely cave of Tura. He

(*a*) Fingal, book 4.

(*b*) Fingal, book 5.

(*c*) Fingal, book 5.

" ſaw Fingal victorious, and mixed his joy with grief. The ſun " is bright on his armour, and Connal ſlowly followed. They " ſunk behind the hill, like two pillars of the fire of night, when " winds purſue them over the mountain, and the flaming heath " reſounds. Beſide a ſtream of roaring foam, his cave is in a " rock. One tree bends above it; and the ruſhing winds echo a- " gainſt its ſides. There reſts the chief of Dunſcaich, the ſon of " generous Semo. His thoughts are on the battles he loſt; and " the tear is on his cheek. He mourned the departure of his " fame, that fled like the miſt of Cona. O Bragela, thou art too " far remote to cheer the ſoul of the hero. But let him ſee thy " bright form in his ſoul; that his thoughts may return to the " lonely ſun-beam of Dunſcaich (*a*)." " Oſſian King of ſwords, " replied the bard, thou beſt raiſeſt the ſong. Long haſt thou " been known to Carril, thou ruler of battles. Often have I " touched the harp to lovely Everallin. Thou, too, haſt often " accompanied my voice in Branno's hall of ſhells. And often " amidſt our voices was heard the mildeſt Everallin. One day " ſhe ſung of Cormac's fall, the youth that died for her love. I " ſaw the tears on her cheek, and on thine, thou chief of men. " Her ſoul was touched for the unhappy, tho' ſhe loved him not. " How fair among a thouſand maids, was the daughter of the " generous Branno (*b*)." " It was in the days of peace, replied " the great Cleſſammor, I came in my bounding ſhip to Balclu- " tha's walls of towers. The winds had roared behind my ſails, " and Clutha's ſtreams received my dark-boſomed veſſel. Three " days I remained in Reuthamir's halls, and ſaw that beam of " light, his daughter. The joy of the ſhell went round, and the " aged hero gave the fair. Her breaſts were like foam on the

(*a*) Fingal, book 5.

(*b*) Fingal, book 5.

" wave,

" wave, and her eyes like ſtars of light: her hair was dark as the " raven's wing: her ſoul was generous and mild. My love for " Moina was great: and my heart poured forth in joy (*a*)." " The " fame of Oſſian ſhall riſe: his deeds ſhall be like his father's. " Let us ruſh in our arms, ſon of Morni, let us ruſh to battle. " Gaul, if thou ſhalt return, go to Selma's lofty hall. Tell Ever- " allin that I fell with fame: carry the ſword to Branno's daugh- " ter: let her give it to Oſcar when the years of his youth ſhall " ariſe (*b*)."

Next to war, love makes the principal figure: and well it may; for in Oſſian's poems it breathes every thing ſweet, tender, and elevated. " On Lubar's graſſy banks they fought; and Grudar " fell. Fierce Cairbar came to the vale of the echoing Tura, " where Braſſolis, faireſt of his ſiſters, all alone raiſed the ſong " of grief. She ſung the actions of Grudar, the youth of her ſe- " cret ſoul: ſhe mourned him in the field of blood; but ſtill ſhe " hoped his return. Her white boſom is ſeen from her robe, as " the moon from the clouds of night: her voice was ſofter than " the harp, to raiſe the ſong of grief: her ſoul was fixed on Grudar, " the ſecret look of her eye was his; — when wilt thou come in " thine arms, thou mighty in the war? Take, Braſſolis, Cair- " bar ſaid, take this ſhield of blood: fix it on high within my " hall, the armour of my foe. Her ſoft heart beat againſt " her ſide: diſtracted, pale, ſhe flew, and found her youth in his " blood. — She died on Cromla's heath. Here reſts their duſt, " Cuchullin; and theſe two lonely yews, ſprung from their " tombs, wiſh to meet on high. Fair was Braſſolis on the plain, " and Grudar on the hill. The bard ſhall preſerve their names,

(*a*) Carthon.

(*b*) Lathmon.

" and repeat them to future times (*a*)." " Pleaſant is thy voice, " O Carril, ſaid the blue-eyed chief of Erin; and lovely are the " words of other times: they are like the calm ſhower of ſpring, " when the ſun looks on the field, and the light cloud flies over " the hill. O ſtrike the harp in praiſe of my love, the lonely ſun- " beam of Dunſcaich: ſtrike the harp in praiſe of Bragela, whom " I left in the iſle of miſt, the ſpouſe of Semo's ſon.—Doſt thou " raiſe thy fair face from the rock to find the ſails of Cuchullin? " the ſea is rolling far diſtant, and its white foam will deceive " thee for my ſails. Retire, my love, for it is night, and the " dark winds ſigh in thy hair: retire to the hall of my feaſts, and " think of times that are paſt; for I will not return till the ſtorm " of war ceaſe.—O Connal, ſpeak of war and arms, and ſend " her from my mind; for lovely with her raven-hair is the white- " boſomed daughter of Sorglan (*b*)." Malvina ſpeaks. " But " thou dwelleſt in the ſoul of Malvina, ſon of mighty Oſſian. " My ſighs ariſe with the beam of the eaſt, my tears deſcend with " the drops of night. I was a lovely tree in thy preſence, Oſcar, " with all my branches round me; but thy death came like a " blaſt from the deſert, and laid my green head low: the ſpring " returned with its ſhowers, but of me not a leaf ſprung. The " virgins ſaw me ſilent in the hall, and they touched the harp of " joy. The tear was on the cheek of Malvina, and the virgins " beheld my grief. Why art thou ſad, they ſaid, thou firſt of " the maids of Lutha? Was he lovely as the beam of the morn- " ing, and ſtately in thy ſight (*c*)?" " Fingal came in his mild- " neſs, rejoicing in ſecret over the actions of his ſon. Morni's " face brightened with gladneſs, and his aged eyes looked faint-

(*a*) Fingal, book. 1.

(*b*) Fingal, book. 1.

(*c*) Croma.

" ly

" ly through tears of joy. We came to the halls of Selma, and " ſat round the feaſt of ſhells. The maids of the ſong came into " our preſence, and the mildly-bluſhing Everallin. Her dark " hair ſpreads on her neck of ſnow, her eye rolls in ſecret on Oſ- " ſian. She touches the harp of muſic, and we bleſs the daugh- " ter of Branno (*a*)."

Had the Caledonians made ſlaves of their women, and thought as meanly of them as ſavages commonly do, it could never have entered the imagination of Oſſian, to aſcribe to them thoſe numberleſs graces that exalt the female ſex, and render many of them objects of pure and elevated affection. Without the aid of inſpiration, ſuch refined manners could never have been conceived by a ſavage. I ſay more: Suppoſing a ſavage to have been divinely inſpired, manners ſo inconſiſtent with their own, would not have been reliſhed, nor even comprehended, by his countrymen. And yet that they were highly reliſhed is certain, having been univerſally diffuſed among all ranks, and preſerved for many ages by memory alone, without writing. Here the argument mentioned above ſtrikes with double force, to evince, that the manners of the Caledonians muſt have been really ſuch as Oſſian deſcribes.

Catharina Alexowna, Empreſs of Ruſſia, promoted aſſemblies of men and women, as a means to poliſh the manners of her ſubjects. And in order to preſerve decency in ſuch aſſemblies, ſhe publiſhed a body of regulations, of which the following are a ſpecimen. " Ladies who play at forfeitures, queſtions and com- " mands, &c. ſhall not be noiſy nor riotous. No gentleman muſt " attempt to force a kiſs, nor ſtrike a woman in the aſſembly, " under pain of excluſion. Ladies are not to get drunk upon any " pretext whatever; nor gentlemen before nine." Compare the

(*a*) Lathmon.

manners

manners that required ſuch regulations with thoſe deſcribed above. Can we ſuppoſe, that the ladies and gentlemen of Oſſian's poems ever amuſed themſelves, after the age of twelve, with hide and ſeek, queſtions and commands, or ſuch childiſh play? Can it enter into our thoughts, that Bragéla or Malvina were ſo often drunk, as to require the reprimand of a public regulation? or that any hero of Oſſian ever ſtruck a woman of faſhion in ire?

The immortality of the ſoul was a capital article in the Celtic creed, inculcated by the Druids (*a*). And in Valerius Maximus we find the following paſſage. "Gallos, memoriæ proditum eſt, "pecunias mutuas, quæ ſibi apud inferos redderentur, dare: "quia perſuaſum habuerint, animas hominum immortales eſſe. "Dicerem ſtultos, niſi idem braccati ſenſiſſent quod palliatus Py- "thagoras ſenſit * (*b*)." All ſavages have an impreſſion of immortality; but few, even of the moſt enlightened before Chriſtianity prevailed, had the leaſt notion of any occupations in another life, but what they were accuſtomed to in this. Even Virgil, with all his poetical invention, finds no amuſements for his departed heroes, but what they were fond of when alive; the ſame love for war, the ſame taſte for hunting, and the ſame affection to their friends. As we have no reaſon to expect more invention in Oſſian, the obſervation may ſerve as a key to the ghoſts introduced by him, and to his whole machinery, as termed by critics. His deſcription of theſe ghoſts is copied plainly from the creed of his country.

* "It is reported, that the Gauls frequently lent money to be paid back in the "infernal regions, from a firm perſuaſion that the ſouls of men were immortal. "I would have called them fools, if thoſe wearers of breeches had not thought the "ſame as Pythagoras who wore a cloak."

(*a*) Pomponius Mela. Ammianus Marcellinus.

(*b*) Lib. 2.

In

In a hiſtorical account of the progreſs of manners, it would argue groſs inſenſibility to overlook thoſe above mentioned. The ſubject, it is true, has ſwelled upon my hands beyond expectation; but it is not a little intereſting. If theſe manners be genuine, they are a ſingular phenomenon in the Hiſtory of Man: if they be the invention of an illiterate bard, among ſavages utterly ignorant of ſuch manners, the phenomenon is no leſs ſingular. Let either ſide be taken, and a ſort of miracle muſt be admitted. In the inſtances above given, ſuch a beautiful mixture there is of ſimplicity and dignity, and ſo much life given to the manners deſcribed, that real manners were never repreſented with a more ſtriking appearance of truth. If theſe manners be fictitious, I ſay again, that the author muſt have been inſpired: they plainly exceed the invention of a ſavage; nay, they exceed the invention of any known writer. Every man will judge for himſelf: it is perhaps fondneſs for ſuch refined manners, that makes me incline to reality againſt fiction.

I am aware at the ſame time, that manners ſo pure and elevated, in the firſt ſtage of ſociety, are difficult to be accounted for. The Caledonians were not an original tribe, to found a ſuppoſition that they might have manners peculiar to themſelves: they were a branch of the Celtæ, and had a language common to them with the inhabitants of Gaul, and of England. The manners probably of all were the ſame, or nearly ſo; and if we expect any light for explaining Caledonian manners, it muſt be from that quarter: we have indeed no other reſource. Diodorus Siculus (*a*) reports of the Celtæ, that, tho' warlike, they were upright in their dealings, and far removed from deceit and duplicity. Cæſar (*b*), "Galli homines aperti minimeque inſidioſi, qui

(*a*) Lib. 5.

(*b*) De bello Africo.

"per

" per virtutem, non per dolum, dimicare conſueverunt *." And tho' cruel to their enemies, yet Pomponius Mela (*a*) obſerves, that they were kind and compaſſionate to the ſupplicant and unfortunate. Strabo (*b*) deſcribes the Gauls, as ſtudious of war, and of great alacrity in fighting; otherwiſe an innocent people, altogether void of malignity. He ſays, that they had three orders of men, bards, prieſts, and druids; that the province of the bards was to ſtudy poetry, and to compoſe ſongs in praiſe of their deceaſed heroes; that the prieſts preſided over divine worſhip; and that the druids, beſide ſtudying moral and natural philoſophy, determined all controverſies, and had ſome direction even in war. Cæſar, leſs attentive to civil matters, comprehends theſe three orders under the name of *druids*; and obſerves, that the druids teach their diſciples a vaſt number of verſes, which they muſt get by heart. Diodorus Siculus ſays, that the Gauls had poets termed *bards*, who ſung airs accompanied with the harp, in praiſe of ſome, and diſpraiſe of others. Lucan, ſpeaking of the three orders, ſays,

" Vos quoque, qui fortes animas, belloque peremptas,
" Laudibus in longum, vates, dimittitis ævum,
" Plurima ſecuri fudiſtis carmina bardi †."

* " The Gauls are of an open temper, not at all inſidious; and in fight they " rely on valour, not on ſtratagem."

† " You too, ye bards! whom ſacred raptures fire,
" To chant your heroes to your country's lyre;
" Who conſecrate in your immortal ſtrain,
" Brave patriot ſouls, in righteous battle ſlain.
" Securely now the tuneful taſk renew,
" And nobleſt themes in deathleſs ſongs purſue."

ROWE.

(*a*) Lib. 3.

(*b*) Lib. 4.

With

With reſpect to the Celtic women in particular, it is agreed by all writers, that they were extremely beautiful (*a*). They were no leſs remarkable for ſpirit than for beauty. If we can rely on Diodorus Siculus, the women in Gaul equalled the men in courage. Tacitus, in his life of Agricola, ſays, that the Britiſh women frequently joined with the men, when attacked by an enemy. And ſo much were they regarded, as to be thought capable of the higheſt command. "Neque enim ſexum in imperiis diſcernunt*," ſays the ſame author (*b*). And accordingly, during the war carried on by Caractacus, a gallant Britiſh King, againſt the Romans, Cartiſmandua was Queen of the Brigantes. Boadicea is recorded in Roman annals as a queen of a warlike ſpirit. She led on a great army againſt the Romans; and in exhorting her people to behave with courage, ſhe obſerved, that it was not unuſual to ſee a Britiſh army led on to battle by a woman; to which Tacitus adds his teſtimony: "Solitum quidem Britannis fœminarum ductu "bellare † (*c*)." No wonder that Celtic women, ſo amply provided with ſpirit, as well as beauty, made a capital figure in every public entertainment (*d*).

The Gallic Celtæ undoubtedly carried with them their manners and cuſtoms to Britain, and ſpread them gradually from ſouth to north. And as the Caledonians, inhabiting a mountainous country in the northern parts of the iſland, had little commerce with other nations, they preſerved long in purity many Celtic cuſtoms,

* "They made no diſtinction of ſex in conferring authority."

† "The Britons even follow'd women as leaders in the field."

(*a*) Diodorus Siculus, lib. 5. Athenæus, lib. 13.

(*b*) Vita Agricolæ, cap. 16.

(*c*) Annalium lib. 14.

(*d*) Athenæus, lib. 10.

particularly that of retaining bards. All the chieftains had bards in their pay, whoſe province it was to compoſe ſongs in praiſe of their anceſtors, and to accompany thoſe ſongs with the harp. This entertainment enflamed their love for war, and at the ſame time ſoftened their manners, which, as Strabo reports, were naturally innocent and void of malignity. It had beſide a wonderful influence in forming virtuous manners: the bards, in praiſing deceaſed heroes, would naturally ſelect virtuous actions, which make the beſt figure in heroic poetry, and tend the moſt to illuſtrate the hero of their ſong: vice may be flattered; but praiſe is never willingly nor ſucceſsfully beſtow'd upon any atchievement but what is virtuous and heroic. It is accordingly obſerved by Ammianus Marcellinus (*a*), that the bards inculcated in their ſongs virtue and actions worthy of praiſe. The bards, who were in high eſtimation, became great proficients in poetry; of which we have a conſpicuous inſtance in the works of Oſſian. Their capital compoſitions were diligently ſtudied by thoſe of their own order, and much admired by all. The ſongs of the bards, accompanied with the harp, made a deep impreſſion on the young warrior, elevated ſome into heroes, and promoted virtue in every hearer *. Another circumſtance concurred to form Caledonian manners, common to them with every nation in the firſt ſtage of ſociety; which is, that avarice was unknown among them. People in that ſtage, ignorant of habitual wants, and having a ready ſupply of all that nature requires, have little notion of property, and not the ſlight-

* Polydore Virgil ſays, *Hiberni ſunt muſicæ peritiſſimi.* — [*In Engliſh thus:* "The "Iriſh are moſt ſkilful in muſic." —— Ireland was peopled from Britain; and the muſic of that country muſt have been derived from Britiſh bards. The Welſh bards were the great champions of independence; and in particular promoted an obſtinate reſiſtance to Edward I. when he carried his arms into Wales. And hence the tradition, that the Welſh bards were all ſlaughtered by that King.

(*a*) Lib. 15.

eſt

eſt notion of accumulating the goods of fortune; and for that reaſon are always found honeſt and diſintereſted. With reſpect to the female ſex, who make an illuſtrious figure in Oſſian's poems, if they were ſo eminent both for courage and beauty as they are repreſented by the beſt authors, it is no wonder that they are painted by Oſſian as objects of love the moſt pure and refined. Nor ought it to be overlooked, that the ſoft and delicate notes of the harp have a tendency to purify manners, and to refine love.

Whether the cauſes here aſſigned of Celtic manners be fully adequate, may well admit of a doubt; but if authentic hiſtory be relied on, we can entertain no doubt, that the manners of the Gallic and Britiſh Celtæ, including the Caledonians, were ſuch as are above deſcribed. And as the manners aſcribed by Oſſian to his countrymen the Caledonians, are in every particular conformable to thoſe now mentioned, it clearly follows, that Oſſian was no inventor, but drew his pictures of manners from real life. This is made highly probable from intrinſic evidence, the ſame that is ſo copiouſly urged above: and now by authentic hiſtory that probability is ſo much heightened as ſcarce to leave room for a doubt.

Our preſent highlanders are but a ſmall part of the inhabitants of Britain; and they have been ſinking in their importance, from the time that arts and ſciences made a figure, and peaceable manners prevailed. And yet in that people are diſcernible many remaining features of their forefathers the Caledonians. They have to this day a diſpoſition to war, and when diſciplined make excellent ſoldiers, ſober, active, and obedient. They are eminently hoſpitable; and the character given by Strabo of the Gallic Celtæ, that they were innocent, and devoid of malignity, is to them perfectly applicable. That they have not the magnanimity and heroiſm of the Caledonians, is eaſily accounted for. The Caledonians were a free and independent people, unaw'd by any ſuperior power, and living under the mild government of their own

chieftains: compared with their forefathers, the preſent highlanders make a very inconſiderable figure: their country is barren, and at any rate is but a ſmall part of a potent kingdom; and their language deprives them of intercourſe with their poliſhed neighbours.

There certainly never happened in literature, a diſcovery more extraordinary than the works of Oſſian. To lay the ſcene of action among hunters in the firſt ſtage of ſociety, and to beſtow upon ſuch a people a ſyſtem of manners that would do honour to the moſt poliſhed ſtate, ſeemed at firſt an ill-contrived forgery. But if a forgery, why ſo bold and improbable? why not invent manners more congruous to the ſavage ſtate? And as at any rate the work has great merit, why did the author conceal himſelf? Theſe conſiderations rouſed my attention, and produced the foregoing diſquiſition; which I finiſhed, without imagining that any more light could be obtained. But after a long interval, a thought ſtruck me, that as the Caledonians formerly were much connected with the Scandinavians, the manners of the latter might probably give light in the preſent enquiry. I chearfully ſpread my ſails in a wide ocean, not without hopes of importing precious merchandiſe. Many volumes did I turn over of Scandinavian hiſtory; eſpecially where the manners of the inhabitants in the firſt ſtage of ſociety are delineated; and now I proceed to preſent my reader with the fruits of my labour.

The Danes, ſays Adam of Bremen, are remarkable for elevation of mind: the puniſhment of death is leſs dreaded by them than that of whipping. "The philoſophy of the Cimbri," ſays Valerius Maximus, "is gay and reſolute: they leap for joy in a "battle, hoping for a glorious end: in ſickneſs they lament, for "fear of the contrary." What fortified their courage was a perſuaſion, that thoſe who die in battle fighting bravely, are inſtantly tranſlated to the hall of Odin, to drink beer out of the ſkull of an

an enemy. "Happy in their miſtake," ſays Lucan, "are the "people who live near the pole: perſuaded that death is only a "paſſage to long life, they are undiſturbed by the moſt grievous "of all fears, that of dying: they eagerly run to arms, and e- "ſteem it cowardice to ſpare a life they ſhall ſoon recover in ano- "ther world." Such was their magnanimity, that they ſcorned to ſnatch a victory by ſurpriſe. Even in their piratical expeditions, inſtances are recorded of ſetting aſide all the ſhips that exceeded thoſe of the enemy, leſt the victory ſhould be attributed to ſuperiority of numbers. It was held unmanly to decline a combat, however unequal; for courage, it was thought, rendered all men equal. The ſhedding tears was unmanly, even for the death of friends.

The Scandinavians were ſenſible in a high degree to praiſe and reproach; for love of fame was their darling paſſion. Olave, King of Norway, placing three of his ſcalds or bards around him in a battle, "You ſhall not relate," ſaid he, "what you have "only heard, but what you are eye-witneſſes of." Upon every occaſion we find them inſiſting upon glory, honour, and contempt of death, as leading principles. The bare ſuſpicion of cowardice, was attended with univerſal contempt: a man who loſt his buckler, or received a wound behind, durſt never again appear in public. Frotho King of Denmark, taken captive in a battle, obſtinately refuſed either liberty or life. "To what end," ſays he, "ſhould I ſurvive the diſgrace of being made a captive? "Should you even reſtore to me my ſiſter, my treaſure, and my "kingdom, would theſe benefits reſtore me to my honour? Fu- "ture ages will always have it to ſay, that Frotho was taken by "his enemy (*a*)."

Much efficacy is above aſcribed to the ſongs of Caledonian

(*a*) Saxo Grammaticus.

bards;

bards; and with ſatisfaction I find my obſervations juſtified in every Scandinavian hiſtory. The Kings of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, are repreſented in ancient chronicles as conſtantly attended with ſcalds or bards; who were treated with great reſpect, eſpecially by princes diſtinguiſhed in war. Harold Harfager at his feaſts placed them above all his other officers; and employed them in negotiations of the greateſt importance. The poetic art, held in great eſtimation, was cultivated by men of the firſt rank. Rogvald, Earl of Orkney, paſſed for an able poet. King Regnar was diſtinguiſhed in poetry, no leſs than in war. It was the proper province of bards in Scandinavia, as in other countries, to celebrate in odes the atchievements of deceaſed heroes. They were frequently employ'd in animating the troops before a battle. Hacon, Earl of Norway, in his famous engagement againſt the warriors of Iomſburg, had five celebrated poets, each of whom ſung an ode to the ſoldiers ready to engage. Saxo Grammaticus, deſcribing a battle between Waldemar and Sueno, mentions a ſcald belonging to the former, who, advancing to the front of the army, reproached the latter in a pathetic ode as the murderer of his own father.

The odes of the Scandinavian bards have a peculiar energy; which is not difficult to be accounted for. The propenſity of the Scandinavians to war, their love of glory, their undaunted courage, and their warlike exploits, naturally produced elevated ſentiments, and an elevated tone of language; both of which were diſplay'd in celebrating heroic deeds. Take the following inſtances. The firſt is from the Edda, which contains the birth and genealogy of their gods. "The giant Rymer arrives from the eaſt, "carried in a chariot: the great ſerpent, rolling himſelf furiouſ-"ly in the waters, lifteth up the ſea. The eagle ſcreams, and "with his horrid beak tears the dead. The veſſel of the gods is "ſet afloat. The black prince of fire iſſues from the ſouth, ſur-

"rounded

" rounded with flames: the ſwords of the gods beam like the ſun:
" ſhaken are the rocks, and fall to pieces. The female giants
" wander about weeping: men in crowds tread the paths of death.
" Heaven is ſplit aſunder, the ſun darkened, and the earth ſunk
" in the ocean. The ſhining ſtars vaniſh: the fire rages: the
" world draws to an end; and the flame aſcending licks the vault
" of heaven. From the boſom of the waves an earth emerges,
" clothed with lovely green: the floods retire: the fields produce
" without culture: misfortunes are baniſhed from the world.
" Balder and his brother, gods of war, return to inhabit the
" ruin'd palace of Odin. A palace more reſplendent than the ſun,
" riſes now to view; adorned with a roof of gold: there good
" men ſhall inhabit; and live in joy and pleaſure through all
" ages." In a collection of ancient hiſtorical monuments of the north, publiſhed by Biorner, a learned Swede, there is the following paſſage. " Grunder, perceiving Grymer ruſhing furiouſ-
" ly through oppoſing battalions, cries aloud, *Thou alone remaineſt*
" *to engage with me in ſingle combat. It is now thy turn to feel the*
" *keenneſs of my ſword.* Their ſabres, like dark and threatening
" clouds, hang dreadful in the air. Grymer's weapon darts down
" like a thunderbolt: their ſwords furiouſly ſtrike: they are
" bathed in gore. Grymer cleaves the caſque of his enemy, hews
" his armour in pieces, and pours the light into his boſom.
" Grunder ſinks to the ground; and Grymer gives a dreadful
" ſhout of triumph." This picture is done with a maſterly hand. The capital circumſtances are judiciouſly ſelected; and the narration is compact and rapid. Indulge me with a moment's pauſe to compare this picture with one or two in Oſſian's manner. " As
" autumn's dark ſtorms pour from two echoing hills; ſo to each
" other approach the heroes. As from high rocks two dark
" ſtreams meet, and mix and roar on the plain; ſo meet Lochlin
" and Innis-fail, loud, rough, and dark in battle. Chief mixes

" his

" his ſtrokes with chief, and man with man; ſteel ſounds on " ſteel, helmets are cleft on high. Blood burſts, and ſmoaks a- " round. Strings murmur on the poliſhed yew. Darts ruſh a- " long the ſky. Spears fall like ſparks of flame that gild the " ſtormy face of night. As the noiſe of the troubled ocean when " roll the waves on high, as the laſt peal of thundering heaven, " ſuch is the noiſe of battle. Tho' Cormac's hundred bards were " there, feeble were the voice of an hundred bards to ſend the " deaths to future times; for many were the heroes who fell, and " wide poured the blood of the valiant." Again, "As roll a " thouſand waves to the rocks, ſo came on Swaran's hoſt: as " meets a rock a thouſand waves, ſo Innis-fail met Swaran. The " voice of death is heard all around, and mixes with the ſound " of ſhields. Each hero is a pillar of darkneſs, and the ſword a " beam of fire in his hand. From wing to wing echoes the field, " like a hundred hammers that riſe by turns on the red ſun of the " furnace. Who are thoſe on Lena's heath, ſo gloomy and dark? " they are like two clouds, and their ſwords lighten above. Who " is it but Oſſian's ſon, and the car-borne chief of Erin?" Theſe two deſcriptions make a deeper impreſſion, and ſwell the heart more than the former: they are more poetical by ſhort ſimiles finely interwoven; and the images are far more lofty. And yet Oſſian's chief talent is ſentiment, in which Scandinavian bards are far inferior: in the generoſity, tenderneſs, and humanity of his ſentiments, he has not a rival.

The ancient Scandinavians were undoubtedly a barbarous people compared with the ſouthern nations of Europe; but that they were far from being groſs ſavages, may be gathered from a poem ſtill extant, named *Havamaal*; *or*, *The ſublime diſcourſe of Odin*. Tho' that poem is of great antiquity, it is replete with good leſſons and judicious reflections; of which the following are a ſpecimen.

Happy he who gains the applauſe and good will of men.

Love

Love your friends, and love alſo their friends.

Be not the firſt to break with your friend: ſorrow gnaws the heart of him who has not a ſingle friend to adviſe with.

Where is the virtuous man that hath not a failing? Where is the wicked man that hath not ſome good quality?

Riches take wing: relations die: you yourſelf ſhall die. One thing only is out of the reach of fate; which is, the judgement that paſſes on the dead.

There is no malady more ſevere than the being diſcontented with one's lot.

Let not a man be overwiſe nor overcurious: if he would ſleep in quiet, let him not ſeek to know his deſtiny.

While we live, let us live well: a man lights his fire, but before it be burnt out death may enter.

A coward dreams that he may live for ever: if he ſhould eſcape every other weapon, he cannot eſcape that of old age.

The flocks know when to retire from paſture: the glutton knows not when to retire from the feaſt.

The lewd and diſſolute make a mock of every thing, not conſidering how much they deſerve to be mocked.

The beſt proviſion for a journey is ſtrength of underſtanding: more uſeful than treaſure, it welcomes one to the table of the ſtranger.

Hitherto the manners of the Scandinavians reſemble in many capital circumſtances thoſe delineated in the works of Oſſian. I lay not however great ſtreſs upon that reſemblance, becauſe ſuch manners are found among ſeveral other warlike nations in the firſt ſtage of ſociety. The circumſtance that has occaſioned the greateſt doubt about Oſſian's ſyſtem of manners, is the figure his women make. Among other ſavage nations, they are held to be beings of an inferior rank; and as ſuch are treated with very little reſpect: in Oſſian they make an illuſtrious figure, and are highly

regarded by the men. I have not words to expreſs my ſatisfaction, when I diſcovered, that anciently among the barbarous Scandinavians, the female ſex made a figure no leſs illuſtrious. A reſemblance ſo complete with reſpect to a matter extremely ſingular among barbarians, cannot fail to convert the moſt obſtinate infidel, leaving no doubt of Oſſian's veracity. —— But I ought not to anticipate. One cannot paſs a verdict till the evidence be ſummed up; and to that taſk I now proceed, with ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs.

It is a fact aſcertained by many writers, That women in the north of Europe were eminent for reſolution and courage. Cæſar, in the firſt book of his Commentaries, deſcribing a battle he fought with the Helvetii, ſays, that the women with a warlike ſpirit exhorted their huſbands to perſiſt, and placed the waggons in a line to prevent their flight. Florus and Tacitus mention, that ſeveral battles of thoſe barbarous nations were renewed by their women, preſenting their naked boſoms, and declaring their abhorrence of captivity. Flavius Vopiſcus, writing of Proculus Cæſar, ſays, that a hundred Sarmatian virgins were taken in battle. The Longobard women, when many of their huſbands were cut off in a battle, took up arms, and obtained the victory (*a*). The females of the Galactophagi, a Scythian tribe, were as warlike as the males, and went often with them to war (*b*). In former times, many women in Denmark applied themſelves to arms (*c*). Jornandes deſcribes the women of the Goths as full of courage, and trained to arms like the men. Joannes Magnus, Archbiſhop of Upſal, ſays the ſame; and mentions in particular an expedition of the Goths to invade a neighbouring country, in which more wo-

(*a*) Paulus Diaconus.

(*b*) Nicolaus Damaſcenus.

(*c*) Saxo Grammaticus.

men

men went along with the men than were left at home (*a*). Several Scandinavian women exerciſed piracy (*b*). The Cimbri were always attended with their wives even in their diſtant expeditions, and were more afraid of their reproaches than of the blows of the enemy. The Goths, compelled by famine to ſurrender to Beliſarius the city of Ravenna, were bitterly reproached by their wives for cowardice (*c*). In a battle between Regner King of Denmark and Fro King of Sweden, many women took part with the former, Langertha in particular, who fought with her hair flowing about her ſhoulders. Regner, being victorious, demanded who that woman was who had behaved ſo gallantly; and finding her to be a virgin of noble birth, he took her to wife. He afterward divorced her, in order to make way for a daughter of the King of Sweden. Regner being unhappily engaged in a civil war with Harald, who aſpired to the throne of Denmark, Langertha, overlooking her wrongs, brought from Norway a body of men to aſſiſt her huſband; and behaved ſo gallantly, that, in the opinion of all, Regner was indebted to her for the victory.

To find women in no inconſiderable portion of the globe dropping their timid nature, and rivalling men in their capital property of courage, is a ſingular phenomenon. That this phenomenon muſt have had an adequate cauſe, is certain; but of that cauſe, it is better to acknowledge our utter ignorance, however mortifying, than to ſqueeze out conjectures that will not bear examination.

In rude nations, prophets and ſoothſayers are held to be a ſuperior claſs of men: what a figure then muſt the Vandal women

(*a*) Book 1.

(*b*) Olaus Magnus.

(*c*) Procopius, Hiſtoria Gothica, lib. 2.

have made, when in that nation, as Procopius ſays, all the prophets and ſoothſayers were of the female ſex? In Scandinavia, women are ſaid to have been ſkilful in magic arts, as well as men. Tacitus informs us, that the Germans had no other phyſicians but their women. They followed the armies, to ſtaunch the blood, and ſuck the wounds of their huſbands *. He mentions a fact that ſets the German women in a conſpicuous light, That female hoſtages bound the Germans more ſtrictly to their engagements than male hoſtages. He adds, "Ineſſe quin etiam ſanc-" tum aliquid et providum putant: nec aut conſilia earum aſper-" nantur, aut reſponſa negliguntur †." The hiſtories and romances of the north repreſent women, and even princeſſes, acting as phyſicians in war.

Polygamy ſprung up in countries where women are treated as inferior beings: it can never take place where the two ſexes are held to be of equal rank. For that reaſon, polygamy never was known among the northern nations of Europe. Saxo Grammaticus, who wrote the hiſtory of Denmark in the twelfth century, gives not the ſlighteſt hint of polygamy, even among kings and princes. Crantz, in his hiſtory of the Saxons (*a*), affirms, that polygamy was never known among the northern nations of Eu-

* The expreſſion of Tacitus is beautiful: "Ad matres, ad conjuges, vulnera" ferunt: nec illæ numerare aut exfugere plagas pavent: ciboſque et hortamina" pugnantibus geſtant." — [*In Engliſh thus:* "When wounded, they find phyſi-" cians in their mothers and wives, who are not afraid to count and ſuck their" wounds. They carry proviſions for their ſons and huſbands, and animate them" in battle by their exhortations."]

† "They believe that there is ſomething ſacred in their character, and that" they have a foreſight of futurity: for this reaſon their counſels are always re-" ſpected; nor are their opinions ever diſregarded."

(*a*) Lib. 1. cap. 2.

rope;

rope; which is confirmed by every other writer who gives the hiſtory of any of thoſe nations. Scheffer in particular, who writes the hiſtory of Lapland, obſerves, that neither polygamy nor divorce were ever heard of in that country, not even during Paganiſm.

We have the authority of Procopius (*a*), that the women in thoſe countries were remarkable for beauty, and that thoſe of the Goths and Vandals were the fineſt that ever had been ſeen in Italy; and we have the authority of Crantz, that chaſtity was in high eſtimation among the Danes, Swedes, and other Scandinavians. When theſe facts are added to thoſe above mentioned, it will not be thought ſtrange, that love between the ſexes, even among that rude people, was a pure and elevated paſſion. That it was in fact ſuch, is certain, if hiſtory can be credited, or the ſentiments of a people expreſſed in their poetical compoſitions. I begin with the latter, as evidence the moſt to be rely'd on. The ancient poems of Scandinavia contain the warmeſt expreſſions of love and regard for the female ſex. In an ode of King Regner Lodbrog, a very ancient poem, we find the following ſentiments. "We fought "with ſwords upon a promontory of England, when I ſaw ten "thouſand of my foes rolling in the duſt. A dew of blood di- "ſtilled from our ſwords: the arrows, that flew in ſearch of the "helmets, hiſſed through the air. The pleaſure of that day was "like the claſping a fair virgin in my arms." Again, "A young "man ſhould march early to the conflict of arms; in which con- "ſiſts the glory of the warrior. He who aſpires to the love of a "miſtreſs, ought to be dauntleſs in the claſh of ſwords." Theſe Hyperboreans, it would appear, had early learned to combine the ideas of love and of military proweſs; which is ſtill more conſpicuous in an ode of Harald the Valiant, of a later date. That

(*a*) Hiſtoria Gothica, lib. 3.

prince,

prince, who made a figure in the middle of the eleventh century, traverſed all the ſeas of the north, and made piratical incurſions even upon the coaſts of the Mediterranean. In this ode he complains, that the glory he had acquired made no impreſſion on Eliſſir, daughter to Jariſlas, King of Ruſſia. "I have made the "tour of Sicily. My brown veſſel, full of mariners, made a ſwift "progreſs. My courſe I thought would never ſlacken — and "yet a Ruſſian maiden ſcorns me. The troops of Drontheim, "which I attacked in my youth, exceeded ours in number. Ter-"rible was the conflict: I left their young king dead on the field "— and yet a Ruſſian maiden ſcorns me. Eight exerciſes I can "perform: I fight valiantly: firm is my ſeat on horſeback: in-"ured I am to ſwimming: ſwift is my motion on ſcates: I dart "the lance: I am ſkilful at the oar — and yet a Ruſſian maiden "ſcorns me. Can ſhe deny, this young and lovely maiden, that "near a city in the ſouth I joined battle, and left behind me laſt-"ing monuments of my exploits? — and yet a Ruſſian maiden "ſcorns me. My birth was in the high country of Norway, fa-"mous for archers: but ſhips were my delight; and, far from "the habitations of men, I have traverſed the ſeas from north to "ſouth — and yet a Ruſſian maiden ſcorns me." In the very ancient poem of Havamaal, mentioned above, there are many expreſſions of love to the fair ſex. "He who would gain the love "of a maiden, muſt addreſs her with ſmooth ſpeeches, and ſhowy "gifts. It requires good ſenſe to be a ſkilful lover." Again, "If I aſpire to the love of the chaſteſt virgin, I can bend her "mind, and make her yield to my deſires." The ancient Scandinavian chronicles preſent often to our view young warriors endeavouring to acquire the favour of their miſtreſſes, by boaſting of their accompliſhments, ſuch as their dexterity in ſwimming and ſcating, their talent in poetry, their ſkill in cheſs, and their knowing all the ſtars by name. Mallet, in the introduction to his

hiſtory

hiſtory of Denmark, mentions many ancient Scandinavian novels that turn upon love and heroiſm. Theſe may be juſtly held as authentic evidence of the manners of the people: it is common to invent facts; but it is not common to attempt the inventing manners.

It is an additional proof of the great regard paid to women in Scandinavia, that in Edda, the Scandinavian Bible, female deities make as great a figure as male deities.

Agreeable to the manners deſcribed, we find it univerſally admitted among the ancient Scandinavians, that beauty ought to be the reward of courage and military ſkill. A warrior was thought intitled to demand in marriage any young woman, even of the higheſt rank, if he overcame his rivals in ſingle combat: nor was it thought any hardſhip on the young lady to be yielded to the victor. The ladies were not always of that opinion; for the ſtouteſt fighter is not always the handſomeſt fellow, nor the moſt engaging. And in the hiſtories of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, many inſtances are related, of men generouſly interpoſing to reſcue young beauties from brutes, deſtitute of every accompliſhment but ſtrength and boldneſs. Such ſtories have a fabulous air; and many of them probably are mere fables. Some of them however have a ſtrong appearance of truth: men are introduced who make a figure in the real hiſtory of the country; and many circumſtances are related that make links in the chain of that hiſtory. Take the following ſpecimen. The ambaſſadors of Frotho, King of Denmark, commiſſioned to demand in marriage the daughter of a King of the Hunns, were feaſted for three days, as the cuſtom was in ancient times; and being admitted to the young Princeſs, ſhe rejected the offer; "Becauſe," ſays ſhe, "your "King has acquired no reputation in war, but paſſes his time ef-"feminately at home." In Biorner's collection of ancient hiſtorical monuments, mentioned above, there is the following hiſtory.

Charles

Charles King of Sweden kept on foot an army of choſen men. His Queen had born him a daughter named *Inguegerda*, whoſe lively and graceful accompliſhments were admired ſtill more than her birth and fortune. The breaſt of the King overflow'd with felicity. Grymer, a youth of noble birth, knew to dye his ſword in the blood of his enemies, to run over craggy mountains, to wreſtle, to play at cheſs, and to trace the motions of the ſtars. He ſtudied to ſhow his ſkill in the apartment of the damſels, before the lovely Inguegerda. At length he ventured to open his mind. "Wilt thou, O fair Princeſs! accept of me for a huſ-"band, if I obtain the King's conſent?" "Go," ſays ſhe, "and "ſupplicate my father." The courtly youth, reſpectfully addreſſing the King, ſaid, "O King! give me in marriage thy beau-"tiful daughter." He anſwered ſternly, "Thou haſt learned to "handle thy arms: thou haſt acquired ſome honourable diſtinc-"tions: but haſt thou ever gained a victory, or given a banquet "to ſavage beaſts that rejoice in blood?" "Where ſhall I go, O "King! that I may dye my ſword in crimſon, and render myſelf "worthy of being thy ſon-in-law?" "Hialmar, ſon of Harec," "ſaid the King, "who governs Biarmland, has become terrible by "a keen ſword: the firmeſt ſhields he hews in pieces, and loads "his followers with booty. Go, and prove thy valour, by attack-"ing that hero: cauſe him to bite the duſt, and Inguegerda "ſhall be thy reward." Grymer, returning to his fair miſtreſs, ſaluted her with ardent looks of love. "What anſwer haſt thou "received from the King?" "To obtain thee I muſt deprive the "fierce Hialmar of life." Inguegerda exclaimed with grief, "Alas! my father hath devoted thee to death." Grymer ſelected a troop of brave warriors, eager to follow him. They launch their veſſels into the wide ocean: they unfurl the ſails, which catch the ſpringing gale: the ſhrowds rattle: the waves foam, and daſh againſt the prows: they ſteer their numerous veſſels to the ſhore

of

of Gothland; bent to glut the hungry raven, and to gorge the wolf with prey. Thus landed Grymer on Gothland; and thus did a beauteous maiden occaſion the death of many heroes. Hialmar demanded who the ſtrangers were. Grymer told his name; adding, that he had ſpent the ſummer in queſt of him. "May "your arrival, reply'd Hialmar, be fortunate; and may health "and honour attend you. You ſhall partake of my gold, with "the unmixed juice of the grape. Thy offers, ſaid Grymer, I "dare not accept. Prepare for battle; and let us haſten to give "a banquet to beaſts of prey. Hialmar laid hold of his white "cuiraſs, his ſword, and his buckler. Grymer, with a violent "blow of his ſabre, transfixes Hialmar's ſhield, and cuts off "his left hand. Hialmar enraged, brandiſhes his ſword, and "ſtriking off Grymer's helmet and cuiraſs, pierces his breaſt and "ſides: an effuſion of blood following the wounds. Grymer rai-"ſing his ſabre with both hands, lays Hialmar proſtrate on the "ground; and he himſelf ſinks down upon the dead body of "his adverſary. He was put on ſhipboard, and ſeemed to be at "the laſt period of life when he landed. The diſtreſſed Princeſs "undertook his cure; and reſtored him to health. They were "married with great ſolemnity; and the beauteous bride of Gry-"mer filled the heart of her hero with unfading joy."

According to the rude manners of thoſe times, a lover did not always wait for the conſent of his miſtreſs. Joannes Magnus, Archbiſhop of Upſal, obſerves, in his hiſtory of the Goths, that raviſhing of women was of old no leſs frequent among the Scandinavians than among the Greeks. He relates, that Gram, ſon to the King of Denmark, carried off the King of Sweden's daughter, whoſe beauty was celebrated in verſes exiſting even in his time. Another inſtance he gives, of Nicolaus King of Denmark (*a*),

(*a*) Book 18.

who courted Uluilda, a noble and beautiful Norvegian lady, and obtained her conſent. Nothing remained but the celebration of the nuptials, when ſhe was carried off by Suercher, King of Sweden. We have the authority of Saxo Grammaticus, that Skiold, one of the firſt Kings of Denmark, fought a duel for a beautiful young woman, and obtained her for a wife. That author relates many duels of the ſame kind. It was indeed common among the Scandinavians, before they became Chriſtians, to fight for a wife, and to carry off the deſired object by force of arms. No cauſe of war between neighbouring kings was more frequent. Fridlevus King of Denmark ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to Haſmundus King of Norway, to demand in marriage his daughter. Haſmundus had a rooted averſion to the Danes, who had done much miſchief in his country. "Go," ſays he to the ambaſſadors, "and demand a "wife where you are leſs hated than in Norway." The young lady, who had no averſion to the match, intreated leave to ſpeak. "You ſeem," ſaid ſhe, "not to conſult the good of your king-"dom in rejecting ſo potent a ſon-in-law, who can carry by "force what he is now applying for by intreaties." The father however continuing obſtinate, diſmiſſed the ambaſſadors. Fridlevus ſent other ambaſſadors, redoubling his intreaties for a favourable anſwer. Haſmundus ſaid, that one refuſal might be thought ſufficient; and in a fit of paſſion put the ambaſſadors to death. Fridlevus invaded Norway with a potent army; and, after a deſperate battle, carried off the lady in triumph.

The figure that women made in the north of Europe by their courage, their beauty, and their chaſtity, could not fail to produce mutual eſteem and love between the ſexes: nor could that love fail to be purified into the moſt tender affection, when their rough manners were ſmoothed in the progreſs of ſociety. If love between the ſexes prevail in Lapland as much as any where, which is vouched by Scheffer in his hiſtory of that country, it

muſt

muſt be for a reaſon very different from that now mentioned. The males in Lapland, who are great cowards, have no reaſon to deſpiſe the females for their timidity; and in every country where the women equal the men, mutual eſteem and affection naturally take place. Two Lapland odes communicated to us by the author mentioned, leave no doubt of this fact, being full of the tendereſt ſentiments that love can inſpire. The following is a literal tranſlation.

FIRST ODE.

I.

Kulnaſatz my rain-deer,
We have a long journey to go;
The moors are vaſt,
And we muſt haſte;
Our ſtrength, I fear,
Will fail if we are ſlow;
And ſo
Our ſongs will do.

II.

Kaigé, the watery moor,
Is pleaſant unto me,
Though long it be;
Since it doth to my miſtreſs lead,
Whom I adore:
The Kilwa moor
I ne'er again will tread.

III.

Thoughts fill'd my mind
Whilſt I thro' Kaigé paſt
Swift as the wind,

And my desire,
Wing'd with impatient fire,
My rain-deer, let us haste.

IV.

So shall we quickly end our pleasing pain:
Behold my mistress there,
With decent motion walking o'er the plain.
Kulnasatz my rain-deer,
Look yonder, where
She washes in the lake:
See while she swims,
The waters from her purer limbs
New clearness take.

SECOND ODE.

I.

With brightest beams let the sun shine
On Orra moor:
Could I be sure
That from the top o' th' lofty pine
I Orra moor might see,
I to its highest bow would climb,
And with industrious labour try
Thence to descry
My mistress, if that there she be.

II.

Could I but know, amid what flowers,
Or in what shade she stays,
The gaudy bowers,
With all their verdant pride,
Their blossoms and their sprays,

Which

Which make my miſtreſs diſappear,
And her in envious darkneſs hide,
I from the roots and bed of earth would tear.

III.

Upon the raft of clouds I'd ride,
Which unto Orra fly:
O' th' ravens I would borrow wings,
And all the feather'd inmates of the ſky:
But wings, alas, are me deny'd,
The ſtork and ſwan their pinions will not lend,
There's none who unto Orra brings,
Or will by that kind conduct me befriend.

IV.

Enough, enough! thou haſt delay'd
So many ſummer's days,
The beſt of days that crown the year,
Which light upon the eye-lids dart,
And melting joy upon the heart:
But ſince that thou ſo long haſt ſtay'd,
They in unwelcome darkneſs diſappear.
Yet vainly doſt thou me forſake;
I will purſue and overtake.

V.

What ſtronger is than bolts of ſteel?
What can more ſurely bind?
Love is ſtronger far than it;
Upon the head in triumph ſhe doth ſit;
Fetters the mind,
And doth control
The thought and ſoul.

VI.

VI.

A youth's deſire is the deſire of wind;
All his eſſays
Are long delays:
No iſſue can they find.
Away fond counſellors, away,
No more advice obtrude:
I'll rather prove
The guidance of blind love;
To follow you is certainly to ſtray:
One ſingle counſel, tho' unwiſe, is good.

In the Scandinavian manners here deſcribed is diſcovered a ſtriking reſemblance to thoſe deſcribed by Oſſian. And as ſuch were the manners of the Scandinavians in the firſt ſtage of ſociety, it no longer remains a wonder, that the manners of Caledonia ſhould be equally pure in the ſame early period. And now every argument above urged in favour of Oſſian as a genuine hiſtorian has its full weight, without the leaſt counterpoiſe. It is true, that Caledonian manners appear from Oſſian to have been ſtill more poliſhed and refined than thoſe of Scandinavia; but that difference may have proceeded from many cauſes, which time has buried in oblivion.

I make no apology for inſiſting ſo largely on Scandinavian manners; for they tend remarkably to ſupport the credit of Oſſian, and conſequently to aſcertain a fact extremely intereſting, that our forefathers were by no means ſuch barbarians as they are commonly held to be. All the inhabitants of Britain were of Celtic extraction; and we have reaſon to believe, that the manners of Caledonia were the manners of every part of the iſland, before the inhabitants of the plains were enſlaved by the Romans. The only circumſtance peculiar to the Caledonians, is their mountainous ſituation:

tuation: being leſs expoſed to the oppreſſion of foreigners, and farther removed from commerce, they did longer than their ſouthern neighbours preſerve their manners pure and untainted.

I have all along conſidered the poems of Oſſian merely in a hiſtorical view. In the view of criticiſm they have been examined by a writer of diſtinguiſhed taſte (*a*); and however bold to enter a field where he hath reaped laurels, I imagine that there ſtill remain ſome trifles for me to glean. Two of theſe poems, Fingal and Temora, are regular epic poems; and perhaps the ſingle inſtances of epic poetry moulded into the form of an opera. We have in theſe two poems both the *Recitativo* and *Aria* of an Italian opera; drop'd indeed in the tranſlation, from difficulty of imitation. Oſſian's poems were all of them compoſed with a view to muſic; tho' in the long poems mentioned it is probable, that the airs only were accompanied with the harp, the recitative being left to the voice. The poems of Oſſian are ſingular in another reſpect, being probably the only work now remaining that was compoſed in the hunter-ſtate. Some ſongs of that early period may poſſibly be remaining, but nothing like a regular work. One may advance a ſtep farther, and pronounce, with a high degree of probability, that Fingal and Temora are the only epic poems that ever were compoſed in that ſtate. How great muſt have been the talents of the author, beſet with every obſtruction to genius, the manners of his country alone excepted; a cold unhoſpitable climate, with ſuch deformity on the face of the country as ſcarce to afford a pleaſing object; and he himſelf abſolutely illiterate! One, advancing ſtill farther, may venture boldly to affirm, that ſuch a poem as Fingal or Temora never was compoſed in any other part of the world under ſuch diſadvantageous circumſtances.

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The

Tho' permanent manners enter not regularly into the preſent ſketch, I am however tempted to add a few words concerning the influence of ſoil upon the diſpoſition of man, in order to ſhow the wiſdom of Providence, which fits the ground we tread on, not only for ſupplying our wants, but for improving our manners. The ſtupidity of the inhabitants of New Holland, mentioned above, is occaſioned by the barrenneſs of their ſoil, yielding nothing that can be food for man or beaſt. Day and night they watch the ebb of the tide, in order to dig ſmall fiſh out of the ſand; and ſleep in the intervals, without an hour to ſpare for any other occupation. People in that condition muſt for ever remain ignorant and brutiſh. Were all the earth barren like New Holland, all men would be ignorant and brutiſh, like the inhabitants of New Holland. On the other hand, were every portion of this earth naturally ſo fertile as ſpontaneouſly to feed all its inhabitants, which is the golden age figured by poets, what would follow? Upon the former ſuppoſition, man would be a meagre, patient, and timid animal: upon the latter ſuppoſition, he would be pampered, lazy, and effeminate. In both caſes, he would be ſtupidly ignorant, and incapable of any manly exertion, whether of mind or body. But the ſoil of our earth is more wiſely accommodated to man, its chief inhabitant. Taking it in general, it is neither ſo fertile as to ſuperſede labour, nor ſo barren as to require our whole labour. The laborious occupation of hunting for food, produced originally ſome degree of induſtry: and tho' all the induſtry of man was at firſt neceſſary for procuring food, cloathing, and habitation; yet the ſoil, by ſkill in agriculture, came to produce plenty with leſs labour, which to ſome afforded ſpare time for thinking of conveniencies. A habit of induſtry thus acquired, excited many to beſtow their leiſure-hours upon the arts, proceeding from uſeful arts to fine arts, and from theſe to the ſciences. Wealth, accumulated by induſtry, has a wonderful influence

influence upon manners: feuds and war, the offspring of wealth, call forth into action friendſhip, courage, heroiſm, and every ſocial virtue, as well as many ſelfiſh vices. How like brutes do we paſs our time, without once reflecting on the conduct of Providence operating even under our feet!

Diverſity of manners, at the ſame time, enters into the plan of Providence, as well as diverſity of talents, of feelings, and of opinions. Our Maker hath given us a taſte for variety; and he hath provided objects in plenty for its gratification. Some ſoils, naturally fertile, require little labour: ſome ſoils, naturally barren, require the extremity of labour. But the advantages of ſuch a ſoil are more than ſufficient to counterbalance its barrenneſs: the inhabitants are ſober, induſtrious, vigorous; and conſequently courageous, ſo far as courage depends on bodily ſtrength *. The diſadvantages of a fertile ſoil, on the contrary, are more than ſufficient to counterbalance its advantages: the inhabitants are rendered indolent, weak, and cowardly. Hindoſtan may ſeem to be an exception; for tho' it be extremely fertile, the people however are induſtrious, and export manufactures in great abundance at a very low price. But Hindoſtan properly is not an exception. The Hindows, who are prohibited by their religion to kill any living creature, muſt abandon to animals for food a large proportion of land; which obliges them to cultivate what remains with double induſtry, in order to procure food for themſelves. The populouſneſs of their country contributes alſo to make them in-

* That a barren country is a great ſpur to induſtry, appears from Venice and Genoa in Italy, Nuremberg in Germany, and Limoges in France. The ſterility of Holland required all the induſtry of its inhabitants for procuring the neceſſaries of life; and by that means chiefly they become remarkably induſtrious. Cambden aſcribes the ſucceſs of the town of Halifax in the cloth-manufacture, to its barren ſoil.

duſtrious. Arragon was once the moſt limited monarchy in Europe, England not excepted: the barrenneſs of the ſoil was the cauſe, which rendered the people hardy and courageous. In a preamble to one of their laws, the ſtates declare, that were they not more free than other nations, the barrenneſs of their country would tempt them to abandon it. Oppoſed to Arragon ſtands Egypt, the fertility of which renders the inhabitants ſoft and effeminate, and conſequently an eaſy prey to every invader *. The fruitfulneſs of the province of Quito in Peru, and the low price of every neceſſary, occaſioned by its diſtance from the ſea, have plunged the inhabitants into ſupine indolence, and exceſſive luxury. The people of the town of Quito in particular have abandoned themſelves to every ſort of debauchery. The time they have to ſpare from wine and women, is employed in exceſſive gaming. In other reſpects alſo the manners of a people are influenced by the country they inhabit. A great part of Calabria, formerly populous and fertile, is at preſent covered with trees and ſhrubs, like the wilds of America; and the ferocity of its inhabitants correſpond to the rudeneſs of the fields. The ſame is viſible in the inhabitants of Mount Etna in Sicily: the country and its inhabitants are equally rugged.

* Fear impreſſed by ſtrange and unforeſeen accidents, is the moſt potent cauſe of ſuperſtition. What then made the ancient Egyptians ſo ſuperſtitious? No other country is leſs liable to ſtrange and unforeſeen accidents: no thunder, ſcarce any rain, perfect regularity in the ſeaſons, and in the riſe and fall of the river. So little notion had the Egyptians of variable weather as to be ſurpriſed that the rivers of Greece did not overflow like the Nile. They could not comprehend how their fields were watered: rain, they ſaid, was very irregular; and what if Jupiter ſhould take a conceit to ſend them no rain? The fertility of the ſoil, and the inaction of the inhabitants during the inundation of the river, enervated both mind and body, and rendered them timid and puſillanimous. Superſtition was the offſpring of this character, as it is of ſtrange and unforeſeen accidents in other countries.

SKETCH